# History of Maharashtra

# Mediaeval Period

**MAHARASHTRA STATE GAZETTEERS**

*History, Part II - Mediaeval Period*

Author

**Dr. B. G. Kunte**

**BOMBAY**

**1972**

# MAHARASHTRA STATE GAZETTEERS

*Government of Maharashtra*

# HISTORY

## PART II—MEDIAEVAL PERIOD

1972
DIRECTORATE OF GOVERNMENT PRINTING, STATIONERY
AND PUBLICATIONS, MAHARASHTRA STATE
BOMBAY

# MAHARASHTRA STATE GAZETTEERS
# GENERAL SERIES

FIRST EDITION: 1972

*Author*

**Dr. B. G. KUNTE**

M.A., PH.D. (ECON.), PH.D. (HIST.), Executive Editor and Secretary.

PRINTED IN INDIA BY THE MANAGER, GOVERNMENT PRESS AND BOOK DEPOT, NAGPUR AND PUBLISHED BY THE DIRECTOR, GOVERNMENT PRINTING, STATIONERY AND PUBLICATIONS, MAHARASHTRA STATE, BOMBAY-4.

# CONTENTS


PAGE

PREFACE ... iii

INTRODUCTION ... v

FOREWORD ... ix

CHAPTER 1: THE DECCAN ON THE EVE OF THE MUSLIM INVASION— 1

CHAPTER 2: THE BAHAMANIS OF THE DECCAN— 11

Background 11; Alauddin Hasan Bahaman Shah 14; Sultan Muhammad I 16; Alauddin Mujahid Shah 20; Daud Shah 21; Sultan Mahmud 21; Ghiyasuddin 22; Shamsuddin Daud Shah 23; Firoz Shah 24; Ahmad Shah 29; Alauddin Ahmad Shah II 36; Alauddin Humayun Shah 48; Nizamuddin Ahmad III 52; Shamsuddin Muhammad III 57.

CHAPTER 3: THE NIZAMSHAHI OF AHMADNAGAR— 71

Background 71; Malik Ahmad Nizam Shah 75; Burhan Nizam Shah 80; Husain Nizam Shah 99; Murtaza Nizam Shah 105; Miran Husain Nizam Shah 128; Ismail Nizam Shah 130; Burhan Nizam Shah II 133; Ibrahim Nizam Shah 137; Ahmad Nizam Shah 138; Bahadur Nizam Shah 139.

CHAPTER 4: PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENTS ON THE WESTERN COAST— 151

CHAPTER 5: THE ADILSHAHI OF BIJAPUR— 161

Background 161; Yusuf Adil Shah 164; Ismail Adil Shah 169; Ibrahim Adil Shah 174; Ali Adil Shah 181; Ibrahim Adil Shah II 188.

CHAPTER 6: THE IMADSHAHI OF BERAR— 201

Fathullah Imad Shah 207; Alauddin Imad Shah 203; Darya Imad Shah 206; Burhan Imad Shah 208.

CHAPTER 7: THE QUTBSHAHI OF GOLCONDA AND THE BARIDSHAHI OF BIDAR— 213

CHAPTER 8: THE FARUQIS OF KHANDESH— 235

The Delhi Sultanate 235; Malik Raja 237; Malik Nasir 240; Miran Adil 243; Miran Mubarak 244; Adil Khan II 244; Daud Khan 246; Ghazni Khan 247; Adil Khan III 248; Miran Muhammad 249; Miran Mubarak 257; Miran Muhammad Khan 252; Raja Ali Khan 254; Bahadur Shah 258.

PAGE

CHAPTER 9: THE MOGHALS IN MAHARASHTRA— 265

Background 265; Jahangir 266—281; Shah Jahan's Rebellion 271; Shah Jahan 282—322; Rebellion of Khan Jahan 282; War in the Deccan 286; Treaty with Bijapur 302; Settlement with Golconda 303; Moghal Campaign against Shahaji 304; Aurangzeb Appointed Viceroy 307; Conquest of Baglana 309; Reforms of Murshid Quli Khan 310; Rise of Shivaji 311; War with Golconda and Bijapur 312; Aurangzeb 323—360; War with Shivaji and Treaty of Purandar 323; War with Bijapur 325; Moghal-Maratha Relations 337; Death of Shivaji 341; Sambhaji 341; Invasion of Bijapur 345; Fall of Bijapur 347; Invasion of Golconda 348; Fall of Golconda 351; Capture and Death of Sambhaji 360; Epilogue 360.

CHAPTER 10: MEDIAEVAL ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIAL ORGANISATION— 361

Introduction 361; Delhi Sultanates 362; Bahamanis 363—381; Administration 368; Art and Architecture 372; Literature 376; Ahmadnagar 381—384; Administration 381; Bijapur—Administration 384; Account of Foreign Travellers—Ahmadnagar and Bijapur 386—394; Varthema 386; Barbosa 386; Caesar Frederick 387; Francois Pyrard 388; Mandelslo 388; Barbosa 388; Tavernier 389; Ogilby 390; Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Khandesh 395—404; Architecture 395; Forts 403; Ahmadnagar and Bijapur 404-405; Literature 404; Moghals 405—423; Administration 406; Social Organisation 415; Literature 420; Architecture 421

BIBLIOGRAPHY ... ... ... 425

CHRONOLOGY ... ... ... 431

DYNASTIC LISTS AND GENEALOGICAL TABLES ... 439

INDEX ... ... ... ... 451

MAPS—

(1) Bahamani and other Kingdoms in 1398 ... 530

(2) Five Deccan and other neighbouring States in 1525. 531

(3) Five Kingdoms of the Deccan and neighbouring States in 1570. 532

PLATES.

# PREFACE

THIS VOLUME ENTITLED "HISTORY, PART II — MEDIAEVAL PERIOD" is one of the eight General Volumes proposed to be published by the Gazetteers Department. The Volume is entirely contributed by the Executive Editor and Secretary.

My thanks are due to Shri P. Setu Madhava Rao, former Executive Editor and Secretary for reading the manuscript of the present Volume and to Dr. P. N. Chopra, Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. V. V. Mirashi and Dr. C. D. Deshpande, Members of the Editorial Board and Shri K. P. Nadkarni, Deputy Secretary, General Administration Department, for carefully going through the Foreword and making very valuable suggestions.

I am also thankful to the Joint Editor, Shri K. K. Chaudhari, M. A.; the Statistical Officer, Dr. V. N. Gurav, M.A., Ph.D.; Sarvashri M. H. Ranade (on deputation to Government of Goa as Research Officer), D. L. Naik (now Professor, Chaugule College, Madgaon, Goa), A. N. Kamble and P. N. Narkhede, Smt. N. S. Alawani, Shri S. K. Khilare and Miss M. N. Dharkar, Research Assistants, and other members of the staff for the assistance rendered by them in the preparation of the press copy and correction of proofs. My thanks are also due to Shri B. W. Khadilkar, Director, Government Printing, Stationery and Publications, Bombay, to Shri S. A. Sapre, Deputy Director, Government Printing, Stationery and Publications, Bombay and to Shri R. B. Alva, Manager, and other staff of the Government Press and Book Depot, Nagpur.

BOMBAY:
15 August, 1972.

B. G. KUNTE,
*Executive Editor and Secretary.*

# INTRODUCTION

THE first idea of compiling information about the different districts of the Bombay Presidency conceived as far back as 1843, was in the form of Statistical Accounts. The Government called on the Revenue Commissioner to obtain from all the Collectors as part of their next Annual Report, the fullest available information regarding their district . . . . Government remarked that as Collectors and their Assistants during the large portion of the year moved about the district in constant and intimate communication with all classes, they possessed advantage which no other public officers enjoyed of acquiring a full knowledge of the condition of the country; the causes of progress or retrogradation, the good measures which require to be fostered and extended, the evil measures which call for abandonment, the defects in existing institutions which require to be remedied and the nature of the remedies to be applied. Collectors also, it was observed, have an opportunity of judging of the effect of British rule on the condition and character of the people, and their caste prejudices, and on their superstitious observances. They can trace any alteration for the better or worse in dwellings, clothing and diet, and can observe the use of improved implements of husbandry or other crafts, the habits of locomotion, the state of education, particularly among the higher classes whose decaying means and energy under our most levelling system compared with that of the preceding Governments will attract their attention. Finally, they can learn how far existing village institutions are effectual to their end and may be made available for Self-Government and in the management of local taxation for local purposes.

In obedience to these orders reports were received from the Collectors of Ahmedabad, Broach, Kaira, Thana and Khandesh. Some of the reports contained much interesting information. These five northern reports were practically the only result of the Circular Letter of 1843.

The matter does not appear to have been pursued any further.

Later in October 1867, the Secretary of State for India desired the Bombay Government to take concrete steps for the compilation of a Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency on the model of the Gazetteer prepared during that year for the Central Provinces. The Government of Bombay then requested some of its responsible officials to submit a scheme for carrying out into effect the orders of the Secretary of State, and in 1868, appointed the Bombay Gazetteer Committee to supervise and direct the preparation of the Gazetteer. After a few organizational experiments the responsibility was finally entrusted to Mr. James M. Campbell of the Bombay Civil Service, who commenced the compilation in 1874 and completed the series in 1884. The

actual publication, however, of these volumes both in the General and District Series was spread over a period of 27 years between 1877 and 1904 in which year the last General Index Volume was published.

Though a Gazetteer literally means only a geographical dictionary, the scope of this particular compilation was much wider. It included not only a description of the physical and natural features of a region but also a broad narrative of the social, political, economic and cultural life of the people living in the region. The purpose which the Gazetteer was intended to serve was made clear by Sir William Hunter when his opinion was sought on the subject. He said "My own conception of the work is that in return for a couple of days' reading, the account should give a new Collector, a comprehensive, and, at the same time, a distinct idea of the district which he has been sent to administer. Mere reading can never supersede practical experience in the district administration. But a succinct and well-conceived district account is capable of ante-dating the acquisition of such personal experience by many months and of both facilitating and systematising a Collectors' personal enquiries . . . But in all cases a District Account besides dealing with local specialities should furnish a historical narration of its revenue and expenditure since it passed under the British rule, of the sums which we have taken from it in taxes, and of the amount which we have returned to it in the protection of property and person and the other charges of Civil Government".

The Gazetteer, thus both in its District and General Series was intended to give a complete picture of the district to men who were entire strangers to India and its people but who as members of the ruling race carried on their shoulders the responsibility of conducting its administration.

The Gazetteer had 27 Volumes, some split up into two or three parts making a total of 35 books including the General Index Volume which was published in 1904. Some of the Volumes as stated earlier were of a general nature and were not confined to the limits of a particular district. For example, Volume I dealt with History and was split up into two parts, one dealing with Gujarat and the other with Konkan, Deccan and Southern Maratha Country. Part I was based on the material prepared by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji and completed by Mr. A. M. T. Jackson. Part II was composed of the following articles:—

(1) History of the Konkan by Rev. Alexander Kyd. Nairne.

(2) Early History of the Deccan down to Mahomadan Conquest by Prof. Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar.

(3) The Dynasties of the Kanarese districts from the Earliest Historical Times to the Musalman Conquent by Dr. J. F. Fleet.

(4) Dakhan History—Musalman and Marathas A.D. 1300—1800 by W. W. Loch, Esquire and History of the Bombay and Karnatack—Musalman and Maratha A.D. 1300—1800 by Major E. W. West.

This Volume was very highly prized. The Editor says in the Preface, "the general contributions on History in Volume I, Parts I and II are among the valuable portions of the Gazetteer".

Besides Volume I, there were two more Volumes, *viz.*, Volume IX and Volume XXV which were of a general nature ; the former devoted to the population of Gujarat containing two parts, one describing Hindus and the other Musalmans and Parsis and the latter gave an account of the Botany of the area covered in the whole Presidency. It may, however, be stated that there was no corresponding Volume to Volume IX devoted to the population of Maharashtra or Karnatak. The remaining Volumes dealt with various districts of the Presidency and with what were then known as Native States attached to the Bombay Presidency.

This Gazetteer compiled over 90 years ago had long become scarce and entirely out of print. Though the Gazetteer contained authentic and useful information on several aspects of life and was considered to be of great value to the administrator, and scholar and the general reader, there was a general desire that there should be a new and revised edition of this monumental work. There was an added reason also which prompted this desire. Today our notions about the Gazetteers have greatly changed. They are intended to serve not only the administrators but the entire nation. The people must have full information about *inter alia* the past history and culture of their country with an inevitable shift in emphasis in the presentation and interpretation of certain phenomena. What was necessary was a change in perspective in presenting that account so that it could be viewed against the background of a broad nationalism and the synthesis of a larger social life. With this in view the then Government of Bombay decided that the old Gazetteers should be revised and republished, and entrusted the work of revision to an Editorial Board specially created for that purpose in 1949. In addition to the revision and compilation of District Gazetteers, the Board also decided to prepare General Volumes covering the whole of the then Bombay State to be published along with the District Volumes. The General Volumes were to be on the following subjects :—

(1) Maharashtra — Land and Its People
(2) Geography
(3) Public Administration
(4) Botany
(5) History
(6) Language and Literature
(7) Fauna
(8) Places

Of these, the History Volume was to be published in four parts, *viz.*, (1) Ancient Period, (2) Mediaeval Period, (3) Maratha Period, and (4) Modern Period.

The present Volume on the History of the Mediaeval Period consists of ten chapters as stated below :—

(1) The Deccan on the Eve of the Muslim Invasion
(2) The Bahamanis of the Deccan
(3) The Nizamshahi of Ahmadnagar
(4) Portuguese Settlements on the Western Coast
(5) The Adilshahi of Bijapur
(6) The Imadshahi of Berar
(7) The Qutbshahi of Golconda and the Baridshahi of Bidar
(8) The Faruqis of Khandesh
(9) The Moghals in Maharashtra
(10) Mediaeval Administration and Social Organization.

It will be noticed that the present volume is much more comprehensive in details and description than the corresponding articles in Volume I, Part II. As a matter of fact that article on Deccan History divided into two parts by W. W. Loch, Esquire gave a very brief history of Poona, Satara and Sholapur districts (Part I) and Khandesh, Nasik and Ahmadnagar districts (Part II) and not a detailed history of the various dynasties that ruled them in mediaeval times. Though the articles have the caption Dakhan History : Musalman and Maratha A. D. 1300—1818, a large part of these is devoted to the Maratha rather than the Muslim Period. The present Volume fully deals with the rise and fall of the Bahamani Kingdom, the history of the five Deccan *Sultanates* which were the successor States of the fallen Bahamani Kingdom, the history of the Faruqis of Khandesh as also the gradual expansion of and the final absorption by the Moghal power of these Deccan States. Again the articles in the earlier edition dealt only with political history while in the present Volume a full Chapter is devoted to the analysis of the socio-economic organisation and the administrative set-up of the mediaeval times. This is in keeping with the modern wider conception of History. A select bibliography has also been appended at the end. The entire text of the Volume excluding the footnotes has been diacritically marked in order to enable the reader to understand the correct pronunciation of the names of places, objects, persons, etc., that appear in the text. For ease of reference a detailed index appears at the end. An added feature of this Volume is the photo plates of important forts that played such a distinctive role in the period under review as also of the architectural remains of the period which could appropriately be described as the legacy of the mediaeval Deccan.

BOMBAY:
15 August, 1972.

B. G. KUNTE,
*Executive Editor and Secretary.*

# FOREWORD

Introductory.

It was with a feeling of pride and a deep sense of responsibility that I agreed to undertake the preparation of the General Volume on the History of Mediaeval Maharashtra when requested to do so by the then Executive Editor and Secretary, Shri P. Setu Madhava Rao in 1964. The assignment entailed much work and took nearly four years from 1964 to 1968. This had to be done in addition to my normal duties but it proved challenging. It gave me an opportunity to study this period of the history of Maharashtra on the basis of the latest available data and present a succinct interpretation of the events. It will not be out of place here to describe briefly the method followed in the compilation of this work, the sources used as well as other general assessment of the period under study.

The history of the Mediaeval Maharashtra could be said to have begun with the first Muslim invasion of the Deccan in 1296 though the Muslim rule came to be firmly established with the final extinction of the Yadav Kingdom in 1317. Though the invasion of Alauddin Khilji (1296) was initially prompted by the rumours of fabulous wealth in possession of the Yadavas of Devagiri, the general political situation in the Deccan itself offered to the Muslim invaders from the North immense political opportunities of extending their power in the sub-continent. The warring Hindu States of the Deccan peninsula which had earlier displayed vitality presented a weak target to the northern invaders because of intervening wars and feuds and succumbed easily to their onslaughts. In a quarter of a century after the fall of Yadavas the Muslims succeeded in bringing practically the whole of the Deccan under their sway. However, the Delhi *Sultanates* were never able to consolidate their political gains and establish their rule firmly here. Their political opportunism soon gave way to avarice and this was reflected in the caprice of their Governors who squeezed the ryots of their well-earned incomes for their aims. This led to popular uprisings and weakening of the hold of Delhi over their far stretched empire in the Deccan and no efforts on their part could succeed in re-establishing that hold. The unrest thus created, generated a spate of political revolutions locally, leading finally to the establishment of a separate Muslim Kingdom in the Deccan under Hasan Gangu Bahaman Shah in 1347 A.D. No great changes were expected during the short span of thirty years of the rule of the Delhi *Sultanates* (1317—1347) over the Deccan peninsula except the obvious changes inherent in the displacement of the Hindu rule by a typically theocratic Muslim State. The year 1347 in which the Bahamani dynasty came into existence is notable in the history of the Deccan not because it registered something spectacular but more because it cut off the Deccan from the hegemony of the North at least for a period of well over 150 years following. The Bahamanis reigned

Deccan under the Bahamanis.

but they could not rule over their empire because of inherent weakness in their administrative system and political set-up. They could hardly bring to their rule the same glory that their predecessors, the Yadavas, acquired nor could they distinguish themselves like their contemporaries of the Vijayanagar Kingdom. The foundations of the Bahamani Kingdom were too weak to absorb the blows they received from their rivals, both the Hindu and the Muslim rulers. As a matter of fact, in the heydays of the Bahamani rule, when the kingdom was attacked by the none-too-strong rulers of Malwa (1462) they had to seek the help of their arch enemies the rulers of Gujarat to save their territory and their capital from falling into the hands of the invaders. The history of the relations of the Bahamanis with the Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagar also cannot be regarded as a testimony to their political and military prowess because the margin of success or failure in all their confrontations was very thin. Perhaps, with better judgment, sound determination and quiet diplomacy the kings of Vijayanagar could have easily overcome their vulnerable opponents and liquidated the Muslim rule in the Deccan—something which the Yadavas could have as well achieved three quarters of a century ago. It will not be an exaggeration to say that except during the last days of the Kingdom, the Bahamani rule was maintained not because of the power and glory of its rulers but because of the sense of frustration and the spirit of pessimism that pervaded throughout the Deccan. If the gallant leadership provided by Shivaji in the early seventeenth century had come two centuries earlier or if the spirit of the forgotten Harpaldev who was flayed alive by Malik Kafur in 1317 had regenerated and reverberated throughout the Deccan, the country and its people could have been spared the agonies and sufferings of an alien rule. What the Bahamanis gave the country was fratricidal warfare, internal strife, political unrest and economic instability that retarded the development and growth of the culture of the country for well over two hundred years. The Bahamanis were never masters of the political situation, the main reason perhaps being the virtual curse of succession disputes that had befallen their house. No succession in the time of the Bahamani kings took place without bloodshed including the assassination of innocents. Naturally we see a spate of short reigns even of less than a year with either the brother or the son dethroning, assassinating, blinding or imprisoning the reigning monarch to establish his claim to the throne. This weakened the monarchy and gave an upper hand to the nobility without whose help and active backing such palace revolutions were not possible. The case of Taghalchin is very much to the point. It is easy to understand the psychology of a powerful noble to activate palace revolutions to maintain his hold over the regal person but it is difficult to understand the working of the mind of a royal personage of proven ability to assert his claim to royalty by disposing off his brother or father. Otherwise, what could have motivated Ahmad Shah Bahamani to defeat and dethrone his brother Firoz Shah (1322) except sheer greed, total lack of responsibility, judgment,

Bahamanis and Vijayanagar.

Bahamani nobility.

foresight and political immaturity. The results were disastrous to the person as well as to the prestige of royalty. No Bahamani king ever felt that security of life and competence of mind that enables a person to take momentous political decisions and embark upon a definite policy of internal reforms. As a matter of fact, the efforts of the Bahamani kings were more directed towards maintaining their own power by creating dissensions among the nobility and deliberately fomenting the Foreign-Deccani rivalry.[1] It cannot of course be denied that this rivalry had its roots in the influx of foreigners in the Deccan and their arrogating positions of power in the administrative hierarchy. But the Bahamani monarchs, at one time or the other, deliberately took sides sometimes encouraging the foreigners and sometimes the Deccanis which resulted in wanton massacres. Examples of such wilful murders are not few, the most noteworthy being the large-scale massacre of innocent foreigners at Chakan (1453-1454) after the fruitless Konkan campaign under the command of Khalaf Hasan Basri, the Malik-ut-tujjar which was immediately followed by a similar massacre of the Deccanis whose plot was exposed by those who escaped the massacre of Chakan. The Bahamanis could have easily brought about a compromise between these two warring factions to consolidate their political power over the Deccan peninsula but what they did was to attempt balance of power involving treachery, revenge and diplomacy of a mean order. The evil effects of this rivalry were ultimately recognised by Mahmud Gawan who sought a *via-media* to bring the Deccanis and foreigners together by following a policy of progressive administrative reforms that would have enabled a strong central government composed of liberal-minded foreigners and Deccanis. Had Mahmud Gawan received the strong support he expected and deserved from the monarchy, the future tragedy of the complete eclipse of monarchy and the final disintegration of the Bahamani Kingdom could easily have been avoided. The irony of it was that Mahmud Gawan himself fell a victim to this cruel rivalry and the blame for his murder could be placed not so much on persons who hatched the conspiracy as on the wicked, imbecile and irresponsible Muhammad Shah Bahamani who ordered the brutal killing of his own prime minister. Leaving aside, for the time being, this element of rivalry that had crippled the body politic of the Deccan, one cannot credit the Bahamani kings with the qualities of maturity, foresight, judgment and intelligent anticipation of the future. Otherwise, the tragedy of Mahmud Gawan could not have taken place. No Bahamani king possessed that magnanimity of character, that capacity to distinguish between right and wrong and those attributes that go with personal valour which together make or unmake history. Weakness for wine and women almost became an addiction with the ruler often leading to imbalance and physical incapacity. Hardly any Bahamani monarch was free from these weaknesses. This brought on

**The Foreign-Deccani rivalry.**

**Bahamani kings—their vices and virtues.**

[1] The Foreigners were emigrant Muslims from Central Asia who sought service in the courts of the Muslim Kingdoms in India whereas the Deccanis comprised the local Muslim population among whom many were Hindu converts.

wars of attrition and retribution upon the Bahamani Kingdom. It was in such a condition that Muhammad Shah ordered his slave to cut down Mahmud Gawan (1481) and showed the heartlessness of watching this ghastly murder of a person who had helped him win many a war and force his enemy to abject surrender. This debased condition perhaps instilled a false sense of power and security and arrogance in the Bahamani Kings. It made them do things that a normal person would scrupulously avoid. Otherwise, how one could explain the behaviour of Humayun Shah (1458—61) scandalously known as the tyrant in enjoying large-scale massacres, trampling of women and children by elephants and throwing the condemned into cauldrons of boiling oil except as perversity of the worst kind? This perversity is also seen in the attitude of the Bahamani rulers towards the Hindus who constituted a major portion of their subjects. This is amply illustrated in the histories of the court historians of the Bahamanis and later of their successors who revelled in gloating over the atrocities committed by the victorious Muslim armies over the civil population of their Hindu opponents and who vied with each other in claiming the number of the Hindu soldiers killed, wounded or maimed on the battlefield. It is true that there are not many examples of forcible conversions of Hindus on a mass scale or deliberate destruction and desecration of Hindu temples of worship. The reason perhaps was that the Bahamanis were too busy with their internecine warfare or too much afraid of the repercussions on the majority of the Hindu population to follow such a policy of wilful proselytism. As a matter of fact, the canker of communal hatred leading to eruption of communal riots came very late in the Indian politics and it goes to the credit of Bahamanis that they refrained from introducing it in the social organisation of their times, for the obvious reason of their numerical inferiority. This perhaps explains the unwillingness of the Bahamanis to bring about any radical changes in the lower administrative machinery which was entirely manned by the Hindus though this by no means hides their animosity towards the Hindus. The number of converts was too small and the influx of foreigners too insufficient to allow the replacement of the Hindu personnel by their Muslim counterparts. But the Bahamanis meticulously avoided the recruitment of Hindus in the higher set-up of the administrative hierarchy. Very few Hindus found positions as commanders, ministers, subhedars, etc., in the Bahamani Kingdom which was more due to the superiority complex of the Bahamanis as victors, than to the non-availability of efficient and skilled Hindu administrators. Because, not long ago, prior to the Muslim invasion of the Deccan, the Hindus were masters of the Deccan peninsula. In these circumstances, it is very difficult to accept the claim of some modern historians that under the Bahamanis there was a complete fusion, if not identity, of the Hindu and the Muslim cultures. Very little of the past or the Hindu Deccan was reflected in the art and architecture, in the language and literature, in the political and military system, in short in the various facets of the culture that developed under

Status of the Hindus.

the Bahamanis. As a matter of fact, a wide gulf had been created between the Hindus and the Muslims of those times not of the kind that would exist between the rich and the poor but as would be between the victors and the vanquished.

Causes of disintegration of Bahamani Kingdom.

The Bahamani Kingdom had expanded considerably during its existence of well over a hundred years (1347—1450) and now at its zenith its boundaries extended from the Arabian sea to the Bay of Bengal. But in this very expansion of their territory were hidden the root causes of their weakness. The indolent nature of the Bahamani *Sultans* and the attitude of insubordination that had gradually developed among the provincial governors ultimately led to a rift between the two. The Bahamani Kingdom disintegrated when the central authority of the Bahamani rulers lost its grip over the provincial administration and the provincial governors refused to respect and obey the commands of their Bahamani *Sultans*. This paved the way for the establishment of independent dynasties by the powerful provincial governors (1490).

The assassination of Mahmud Gawan was primarily responsible for the disintegration of the Bahamani Kingdom and was symbolic of a deep seated disorder. The decision to declare their independence had probably been already taken by Malik Ahmad, Yusuf Adil and Fateullah long before 1490 and they were waiting for an opportunity to do so. No sooner did they see the confused state of affairs at Bidar after the death of Muhammad Shah (1482), then they decided to strike a bargain among themselves and assumed the insignia of royalty. This entirely changed the complexion of politics in the Deccan because the Deccan, instead of being governed by a single central authority which had so far given at least a semblance of political and geographical cohesion was now going to be ruled by a coterie of unprincipled and unscrupulous provincial governors of the Bahamani Kingdom. Their rebellion against the weak royal power at Bidar after the assassination of Mahmud Gawan shows these provincial governors in their true colours. What could be said of Malik Ahmad cannot be applied to Yusuf Adil and Fateullah. Malik Ahmad was brought up by his father Malik Hasan who had favoured a rebellion against the central authority under the Bahamanis and had he lived long enough would have definitely assumed independence. That was not the case with the latter two. Both Yusuf Adil and Fateullah were brought up and nursed in the fine tradition of Mahmud Gawan; both knew the value of loyalty and obedience and both had witnessed the excellent spirit of self-sacrifice displayed by Mahmud Gawan when he was confronted with death. It is really surprising that instead of perpetuating the memory of Mahmud Gawan by firmly supporting the successor of Muhammad Shah Bahamani and thus strengthening the central power, both of them, under the pretext of danger to their life, shirking their prime responsibility towards the very kingdom which they themselves had helped to build, quietly made for their provincial charges. A bold and positive approach to the

Assumption of independence by Malik Ahmad, Yusuf Adil and Fateullah Imad-ul-mulk in retrospection.

situation by these two governors rather than the exhibition of greed, avarice and self-interest on their part would have put a check upon the growing rebellious tendencies in the kingdom and would have prevented the withering away of the central power. Indeed the action of these two brought the situation to a crisis and hastened the disintegration of the Bahamani Kingdom. That these two and their successors, continued to respect what remained of the Bahamani power at Bidar as long as it existed is a very poor justification of their behaviour and makes them unworthy followers of a noble and magnanimous politician like Mahmud Gawan.

The division of the Bahamani Kingdom into five separate kingdoms was thus inevitable though the formal assumption of independence by their respective rulers came at different dates. The separate kingdoms of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Berar came into existence in 1490 whereas Bidar and Golconda declared their independence formally in 1526 and 1512, respectively. The coming into existence of these five independent *Sultanates* ushered in an area of unrest, insecurity and instability in the Deccan peninsula, with these petty-minded *Sultans* warring amongst themselves for political and military supremacy over one another. Till the Moghals invaded the Deccan and annexed Berar to their empire in the closing years of the sixteenth century, there were no less than hundred occasions when the *Sultanates* either went to war with one another or with the Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagar. There were combinations and alliances between the *Sultanates* against one another but their nature was so strange that the friends at one time became the adversaries at some other time. There was no love lost between the kingdoms of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur but for the sake of their own aggrandisement. They twice formed an alliance to divide the kingdoms of Bidar, Berar and Golconda between themselves. The villains of the piece in the early career of the *Sultanates* were the *Sultans* of Bidar who had no compunctions in dethroning or assassinating the titular Bahamani monarch (1521) in pursuit of their selfish aims. One of the Baridshahas was voluptuous enough to cast an evil eye upon the queen of one of the decadent Bahamani *Sultans*. There is ample evidence to show that a few *Sultans* of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Bidar were perverts. Ethically low as were these standards of behaviour they had their impact on political events.

Relations between the Deccan Sultanates and the Kingdom of Vijayanagar.

Like their predecessors, the Bahamanis, the Deccan *Sultans*, very often, displayed religious animosity. The founder of the Nizamshahi Kingdom of Ahmadnagar is stated to have converted the infidels and desecrated and destroyed Hindu temples of worship in his Konkan campaign. To most of them, the prosperity and glory of the kingdom of Vijayanagar was a threat to their security. Though many a time the *Sultans* of Bijapur secured the help of Vijayanagar to face the hostilities of Ahmadnagar, only once did the *Sultans* of the Deccan unite against their common foe, the kingdom of Vijayanagar and

practically destroyed it by carrying fire and sword throughout its territory with a vengeance rarely known to history (1564-65). It was only on this occasion that the latent hatred of the *Sultans* of the Deccan against their powerful opponent came to the fore and it did not subside till Husain Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar ordered the execution of Ramraja, the Commander of Vijayanagar forces (1564) and soaked his hands in the royal blood. This typical religious animosity of the Deccan *Sultanates* was, however, tempered, by a sense of caution due to certain extraneous circumstances beyond their control. The Bahamanis though weak politically and militarily presented a geographical cohesion and could easily afford to dispense with the services of their predominantly Hindu section. It was not the same with their successors. With the disintegration of the Bahamani Kingdom came division of power and responsibility, and break-up of the administrative machinery and political hierarchy. Every succeeding State was forced to create an administrative set-up of its own on the same lines as the parent State of the Bahamanis and the personnel that was required for this purpose was definitely lacking. Naturally, there was no alternative left for the *Sultanates* except to employ the services of the Hindus and we find Hindus occupying even the high posts of prime ministers, commanders, finance ministers and the like. The appointment of Kanhu Narsi as the Prime Minister under Burhan Nizam Shah is one of the examples where the Deccan *Sultans* had to seek the co-operation of the traditional Hindu administrators. The more important field where the Deccan *Sultans* had to rely on the Hindus was in respect of recruitment in the army. The number of Muslims was not adequate enough in the six Kingdoms of the Deccan to maintain standing armies entirely composed of Muslims. Similarly, the continuous wars that were being fought between the *Sultanates* took a heavy toll of soldiery and thus the recruitment of Hindus as ordinary soldiers and in some cases petty officers of some rank became inevitable. It was in the Bijapur army that the Hindus dominated as compared to the armies of other kingdoms and it was the Hindu cavalry of Bijapur that fought and won many a battle for its masters against the Nizamshahis and Qutbshahis. In the later period, when the Muslim nobility became weak, the Deccan *Sultans* had to rely more and more upon their Hindu counterparts and the Hindus rose to quite a few higher ranks superior to their Muslim brethren. Leaving aside this limited aspect of the relationship between the rulers and the ruled, the Hindus as a class were kept docile and in subordination till the end of the sixteenth century.

Status of Hindus under the Deccan Sultanates.

The study of the mediaeval history of this part of India offers a fascinating opportunity to analyse the relationship between the *Sultanates* themselves and between the *Sultanates* and the rulers of other kingdoms. In this context a study of their personal character is useful. By no stretch of imagination can the five *Sultans* of the successor States, the Hindu kings of Vijayanagar and Orissa, the *Sultans* of Gujarat, Khandesh and Malwa be compared with the Moghal emperors in their resplendent glory and

Deccan Sultanates—their inter-relations.

pomp. With all their overbearing attitude, the Moghal emperors did show with a few exceptions magnanimity, sound judgment, intelligent anticipation and tenacity. They could rise to the occasion and they had the capacity to accept a situation with good grace. Very few of the rulers of the South could be said to possess these qualities. The most unpredictable of all the *Sultans* were those of Golconda many of whom neither followed a stable policy nor a code of conduct in their relationship with their counterparts in the other Deccan Kingdoms. The instances of Golconda forming a league with Bijapur, Bidar and Berar against Ahmadnagar at one time and forming a confederacy with Ahmadnagar and Bidar against Bijapur at another were numerous. The reason given for such an attitude was the belated realisation on the part of the *Sultans* of Golconda that their joining in league with either Ahmadnagar or Bijapur would tilt the balance of power in the Deccan to their disadvantage. This evoked a resentment in the kingdoms of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur and the *Sultans* of Golconda, for such duplicity, had to pay a heavy price at the hands of the *Sultans* of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur. Perhaps, the loss of Berar, Ahmadnagar and Khandesh to the Moghals at the close of the 16th century, forced the *Sultans* of Golconda to adopt a more reasonable attitude and throughout the 17th century, barring a few instances, we find the *Sultans* of Bijapur and Golconda fighting shoulder to shoulder for their very survival against the Moghal invaders. The relations between Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, Ahmadnagar and Berar, and Bijapur and Bidar need to be considered in a different perspective as also those of the Deccan *Sultanates* and the rulers of Khandesh, Gujarat and Vijayanagar. These relations were perhaps shadowed more by a personal vendetta. Take for example, the treatment meted out by Ismail Adilshah to Amir Ali Barid after the defeat of the Baridshahis at the hands of the Bijapuris. The poor and hapless Baridshah was made to stand in the scorching sun for two hours and was made a victim of a cruel joke by Ismail Adilshah the import of which Amir Ali Barid Shah failed to understand but was intelligent enough to realise that it was directed against him. As a matter of fact, all the rulers of the five successor States were equal partners in the division of the erstwhile Bahamani kingdom and, as such, political animosity amongst them should not have clouded their personal dealings with one another. It was one thing to describe Amir Ali Barid Shah as the fox of the Deccan and it was quite another to humiliate the old fox. Alauddin Imad Shah, as a veteran of many battles and the wisest among the Deccan *Sultans* should have intervened to prevent the sorry episode but he did not even raise a finger to protest. There was always a special relationship between the Beraris and the Bijapuris. The Bijapuris had every reason to be grateful to the Beraris because in most of the conflicts between the *Sultans* of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, the Berar *Sultans* had either remained neutral or covertly or overtly sided with the Bijapuris. This typical attitude was reflected in the early years of the 16th century when the *Sultans* of Bidar Ahmadnagar and Golconda formed

Bijapur and Bidar.

Special relationship between Bijapur and Berar.

an alliance against Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur on the latters proclamation regarding the acceptance of the Shiah faith (1504). Yusuf Adil Shah deserted his kingdom and took asylum with Imadshah who advised him to create dissensions among the allies and then strike hard against the *Sultan* of Bidar whom he pointed out, as the main culprit behind the conspiracy against Yusuf Adil Shah. The Bijapuris also acknowledged this debt and paid it off by extending unflinching support to Berar against Ahmadnagar in its dispute over Pathri (1527). The end of this relationship was, however, sad ; when the Bijapuris wrote off Berar, the local power there was usurped by Tufal Khan (1561) who allowed it later to lapse to Ahmadnagar.

**Ahmadnagar and Berar and Bijapur-frustrated relationship.**

The relations between Ahmadnagar on the one hand and Berar and Bijapur on the other were always acrimonious, ill and mainly governed by political and military considerations except during the last days of the Ahmadnagar kingdom when the Bijapuris, forgetting the past, went out of their way to help the Nizamshahis in their fight for survival against the Moghals. If the same spirit of co-operation and friendly alliance had been displayed by both the *Sultanates* throughout the sixteenth century, the almost continuous wars that devastated the land and its people could have been averted. The actual circumstances, however, present an entirely different picture. The *Sultans* of Ahmadnagar never treated those of Berar, Bidar or Golconda as equals but merely as pawns in the game of power politics in the Deccan. The early history of the 16th century, therefore, reveals the attempts of the *Sultans* of Ahmadnagar to suppress the *Sultans* of Berar under one pretext or another. These attempts, however, did not always succeed because of Beraris inviting the intervention sometimes of their fellow *Sultans* such as the *Sultans* of Bijapur and sometimes of an outsider, *viz.*, the *Sultans* of Gujarat. On one such occasion, the troops of Khandesh, Berar and Gujarat actually occupied most of the Ahmadnagar territory and forced the *Sultan* of Ahmadnagar to accept a humiliating treaty (1528). This was, however, small consolation to the *Sultans* of Berar and Khandesh because individually neither the kingdom of Berar nor that of Khandesh was strong enough to withstand the military power of the Ahmadnagar kingdom. This was amply illustrated on a couple of occasions when the Ahmadnagar forces marched to the very gates of the capitals of both these kingdoms, devastating their territory during the march. But the fate of the kingdom of Berar was already sealed with the formal division of the Deccan between Ahmadnagar and Bijapur (1532-33) with Berar being conceded as Ahmadnagar's sphere of influence and activity. The climax was reached in the reign of Murtaza Nizam Shah when on the pretext of Tufal Khan usurping the power in Berar, Murtaza invaded the country and annexed it finally to the kingdom of Ahmadnagar (1574). It is very difficult to visualise the sudden change in the attitude of Bijapur towards Berar because Bijapur had supported the Berar kingdom

in all its long drawn struggles with the kingdom of Ahmadnagar and on many occasions, Bijapur sought the help of Vijayanagar to overcome the opposition of Ahmadnagar. Perhaps, the usurpation of power in Berar by Tufal Khan by deposing its legal ruler, Burhan Imad Shah forced the hands of Bijapur in acceding to the demand of Ahmadnagar for annexation of Berar in return for an equal territory in the South.

Eternal enmity between Ahmadnagar and Bijapur.

The kingdoms of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur stand in a different category altogether. As stated earlier, excepting the short period in the last decades of the sixteenth century, the relations between the two kingdoms were far from cordial and friendly. Of the five successor States of the Bahamanis and the sixth, *viz.*, the kingdom of Khandesh, Ahmadnagar and Bijapur were evenly balanced and the rest were no match for them in respect of power, resources, military strength and diplomacy. Both Ahmadnagar and Bijapur aimed at acquisition of as much territory and arrogation of as much political supremacy as possible in the Deccan peninsula. Though Malik Ahmad Nizam Shah invited Yusuf Adil Shah and Fateullah Imad Shah in 1490 to declare independence and assume the insignia of royalty, both Malik Ahmad and Yusuf Adil realised at the same time that their interests clashed and they were more rivals than allies. The enmity between these two kingdoms could be traced back to the seventies and eighties of the fifteenth century when the father of Malik Ahmad *viz.*, Malik Hasan Bahry stoutly resented the supremacy of foreigners and hatched a treacherous plot against Mahmud Gawan of whom Yusuf Adil was an ardent follower and a devoted disciple. The enmity between the two kingdoms erupted in the early years of the sixteenth century when Malik Ahmad Nizam Shah formed an alliance with the *Sultans* of Golconda and Bidar against Yusuf Adil Shah who announced the acceptance of the Shiah faith. This enmity continued unabated practically throughout the 16th century and the pretexts for confrontations between the two were not wanting. First it was the dispute between Berar and Ahmadnagar on the question of Pathri (1527). Then it was the fort of Sholapur which Ahmadnagar kingdom claimed in dowry in the marriage of Mariam, sister of Ismail Adil Shah with Burhan Nizam Shah I. Then it was Burhan Nizam Shah II whose claim to the Ahmadnagar throne was recognised by Bijapur against its reigning monarch (1589). Such and other causes produced and aggravated enmity between the two kingdoms, and this brought about alliances and counter-alliances and frequent intervention on the part of the kingdom of Vijayanagar. The struggle between the two kingdoms could be well compared with the hundred year war between France and England in Europe. And if France lost it because it was fighting for an unjust cause, Ahmadnagar did so because it was always backing a wrong horse. In most of the crucial engagements between Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, the former lost heavily. And on two occasions at least, defeat and death stared bleakly at the *Sultans* of Ahmadnagar, once when Burhan Nizam

Shah utterly exhausted had to beat a hasty retreat before the onslaughts of Bijapur (1552) and secondly when Ibrahim Nizam Shah attacked the Bijapuris against the advice of his generals and was shot dead on the battlefield (1595). The reason is not far to seek. The court of Ahmadnagar had become a hotbed of political intrigues—a curse that had rigged the court of Bijapur at the height of Moghal invasion of the Deccan kingdoms in the latter half of the 17th century—among its noblemen due to the eccentricity and shortsightedness of some of its reigning monarchs. One of the finest nobles of the Ahmadnagar kingdom, during the reign of the mad Murtaza Nizam Shah *viz.*, Changiz Khan, was forced to commit suicide (1576) as Murtaza believed in the charge of conspiracy levelled against this noble of attempting to overthrow the royal authority in the newly annexed kingdom of Berar. Salabat Khan, the prime minister of generations of Ahmadnagar *Sultans* and saviour of Ahmadnagar kingdom, many a time miraculously escaped a similar fate at the hands of this same monarch but was humiliated and imprisoned in chains with several indignities imposed upon his person. The irony of fate was that when Murtaza was faced with the prospects of an invasion of his kingdom from the north by his brother Burhan, he had to recall hurriedly the imprisoned minister to save the kingdom (1580). The provincial governors, the commanders and ministers under the kingdom of Ahmadnagar did not enjoy security of life and position and their continuance was entirely dependent upon the sweet will and whims of their monarchs. This deprived the kingdom of Ahmadnagar of that stability which is so essential for political progress and economic prosperity. A single reign sometimes saw the successive administration of more than half a dozen prime ministers. It would be wrong, however, to suppose that the kingdom of Bijapur was free from intrigues but these had not plagued the court of Bijapur to the same extent they had done in the case of Ahmadnagar. This factor gave the kingdom of Bijapur a cohesion in its policy, unity of purpose and a definite edge of military and political superiority over Ahmadnagar which even after a hundred years of its existence, the latter could not attain. The result was futile wars fought all over the Deccan peninsula leaving in their trail, desolation, devastation, misery and gloom involving as they did sufferings to the common people. There was no scope for the people to attend to constructive activities. As a matter of fact, the wars which the *Sultans* of the Deccan were fighting among themselves were for their own selfish ends and were the least concerned with the welfare of the common man. The latter, therefore, felt disgusted, disgruntled and frustrated about these wars that were forced upon him. Neither the humiliating defeat of his monarch caused him grief nor his resounding victory, a sense of jubilation. It will not be out of place here to deal with a few of the strange traits of character which some of the Nizamshahs had developed and from which the *Sultans* of Bijapur as also those of the rest of the *Sultanates* were comparatively free. This fact also explains the

Deccan Sultans—their vices and virtues.

humiliating experiences of the *Sultan* of Ahmadnagar when confronted with *Sultans* of Gujarat and the kings of Vijayanagar.

Burhan Nizam Shah I.

Take for example, the frantic efforts of Burhan Nizam Shah I to secure an audience with Bahadur Shah of Gujarat on the latter's victory over the *Sultan* of Malwa (1531). It was a strange spectacle to see Burhan Nizam Shah standing face downwards before Bahadur Shah. His minister Shah Tahir consoled his master that Bahadur Shah stepped down from the throne to welcome him when as a matter of fact it was not to respect Burhan that Bahadur did so but to respect the *Quran* that Shah Tahir carried. Sayyad Ali, the Ahmadnagar historian, ruefully describes this episode as a great stratagem on the part of Shah Tahir and later gleefully records the praises that Bahadur heaped upon Burhan for his sportsmanship and marksmanship. It is also surprising that Burhan whose father was the first to declare independence should stoop so low as to accept the title of Shah and other insignia of royalty from Bahadur Shah, forgetting his self-respect and honour. No wonder Burhan received a very taunting retort from Ismail Adil Shah of Bijapur when they confronted each other some time after this event (1531-32).

Husain Nizam Shah.

The same sorry tale was repeated in the reign of his son Husain Nizam Shah but the occasion and the person concerned were different this time. It was after the crushing defeat that Husain had received at the hands, principally, of the king of Vijayanagar and the *Sultan* of Bijapur that Husain met Ramraja of Vijayanagar (1560). Ramraja offered a '*pan*' to Husain who accepted it but called for a bowl to wash his hands immediately afterwards to claim them for being soiled by the touch of an infidel. Ramraja in the presence of the assemblage retorted that had Husain not been invited as a guest of honour he would have felt no compunction in cutting off the tongue that uttered such words. Burhan could forget his humiliation at the hands of Bahadur but Husain never forgot this humiliation at the hands of Ramraja and led by a mad obsession to destroy Ramraja he formed a league among the *Sultans* of the Deccan excluding that of Berar which ultimately resulted in the battle of Talikota (1564) and destruction of the Vijayanagar empire. The *Sultan* of Bijapur on getting the news of the defeat of Ramraja foresaw the fate that awaited him at the hands of Husain Nizam Shah. He wanted to prevent the murder of a vanquished enemy but before he could reach the spot the *Sultan* of Ahmadnagar had ordered the beheading of Ramraja. The obsession and hatred of Husain were so malignant that he paraded the head of Ramraja and stuffing it sent it to Tufal Khan of Berar. That the alliance of the Deccan *Sultans* was opportunistic is proved by the fact that no sooner the objective was gained than the allies dispersed and again began the same story of fratricidal wars which weakened them and brought in their wake the Moghal invasion of the Deccan.

Murtaza Nizam Shah I.

It is possible to attribute to the peculiar traits developed by the later Nizamshahs the deteriorating political conditions in the Deccan and the vicious relationship that developed among the

Deccan *Sultanates*. Perhaps Murtaza Nizamshah acquired from his father that viciousness of character and erratic mentality. Otherwise it is very difficult to explain his fascination for such low-born persons like Sahib Khan and Fatteh Shah. He promised the kingdom of Bidar to Sahib Khan and he made over the treasure of Ahmadnagar kingdom accumulated over generations to Fatteh Shah. Salabat Khan, his faithful *Wazir,* came under heavy rebuke from Murtaza for having passed over fake diamonds as genuine ones to Fatteh Shah. So great was the hold of Sahib Khan over him that Murtaza gave up attending to public business and lived a life of recluse for a number of years. His antic deeds and ill-conceived romances gave him the title of mad Murtaza. The menace of Sahib Khan had to be liquidated by assassinating him as the nobles of Ahmadnagar realised that if Sahib Khan was allowed to have his own way, the very existence of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar would be in jeopardy. The mad streak in Murtaza reached dangerous proportions in the closing years of his reign when he suspected that his son Miran Husain was fomenting a plot to kill him and usurp the throne. Nothing but perversity and mental imbalance could explain such a behaviour. But, by a strange irony of fate, Murtaza Nizam Shah had to pay a heavy penalty shortly afterwards because Miran Husain luckily saved by Fatteh Shah from sure destruction killed his father by torture (1588). But the narration of the personal eccentricities of the *Sultans* of Ahmadnagar and the resulting sufferings of their citizens and nobility does not become complete unless one incident pertaining to Murtaza Nizam Shah and the other, to Burhan Nizam Shah II are described. In the palace of the *Sultans* of Ahmadnagar a low class of servants such as *sais, divte,* etc., was employed. One of them was seen entering the private apartment of the queen. Murtaza, when he heard of the incident ordered a massacre of all such servants employed in the palace. A ruthless killing followed in which hundreds lost their lives, which incidentally shows that contempt in which the *Sultans* of Ahmadnagar held the commoners. Murtaza's brother Burhan Nizam Shah II showed the same disregard for his nobility and soldiery when he heard that in the siege of Chaul 12,000 Deccanis were killed by the Portuguese (1593). It was an occasion to rush reinforcement to the besieging garrison which, though not outnumbered, was very ill-equipped. But Murtaza denied such an idea and actually celebrated the occasion by promoting foreigners in the place of the killed Deccanis. It may be pointed out that the disintegration of the Bahamani Kingdom was due to the Deccani — Foreign rivalry. The rivals who constituted the combined court nobility had dispersed to found their own kingdoms and, during the century that followed, the disintegration of the Bahamani kingdom. the hatchet of the old rivalry seemed almost to have been buried. The wars that were fought among the Deccan *Sultanates* and the alliances and counter-alliances that were formed among them had no traces of this evil and it will not be untrue to assert that, with the exception of the kingdom

The Foreign-Deccani rivalry.

of Ahmadnagar, the rest of the *Sultanates* of the Deccan as also those of Gujarat, Malwa and Khandesh at least in the 16th century were free from this rivalry. In almost all the successive reigns, beginning from Murtaza Nizam Shah, massacres of the innocent Deccanis and foreigners were brought about at the instance of either fiends like Sahib Khan, or religious fanatics like Mirza Khan or a degenerate, insensate and slothful *Sultan* like Burhan Nizam Shah II. It is not necessary here to narrate the evil influence this rivalry exercised upon the political life in the Deccan nor is it pertinent to take stock of the political convulsions and palace revolutions that it brought about. Suffice it to say that the danger which the Moghals posed to the very existence of the Deccan *Sultanates* forced them to close their ranks and fight in a united manner with the Moghals.

The Portuguese.

A brief reference to the Portuguese on the Western coast is necessary before we close our evaluation of the rule of the Deccan *Sultanates*. The Portuguese possessions on the Western coast ranged from Goa in the south to Diu and Daman in the north. They had also made considerable dents on the entire length of the western coast in the form of territorial pockets and enclaves. The chief among them were Chaul, Revdanda, Bassein, Thana, Mahim, Bombay etc. Like all other western powers the Portuguese had arrived from across the seas as traders and merchants but the unsettled political conditions in the country gave them a splendid opportunity to dabble in the inter-state rivalries in the Deccan peninsula and turn the whole situation to their advantage. The Portuguese did not get a foot-hold anywhere on the western coast when the Bahamani kingdom was at the height of power but its disintegration gave them an excellent opportunity to firmly establish themselves. They made a beginning by snatching Goa from the Bijapur kingdom and then under the pretext of establishing a factory at Chaul, they fortified the place. The northward extension of the Portuguese power at the expense of the *Sultans* of Gujarat was soon complete when Bahadurshah of Gujarat conceded Bassein, Diu and Daman to them. No concerted effort on the part of the Deccan *Sultanates* succeeded in evicting the Portuguese from their possessions which they now used as centres of trade as also bases from which to launch attacks on the hinterland. The whole history of the relationship between the Deccan *Sultanates* on the one hand and the Portuguese on the other shows that there were a number of causes responsible for the success of the latter. First the Deccan kingdoms never made any serious attempt to liquidate the Portuguese because they considered their presence as a leverage in their mutual rivalries. They were, moreover, no match, for the Portuguese in respect of organisation, discipline, fire power, determination and generalship, which the latter displayed in almost all their confrontations, be it with the *Sultans* of Gujarat or those of Ahmadnagar or Bijapur. As compared with the resources of the Deccan *Sultans* in men and material, those of the Portuguese

were of little consequence. But inspite of this fact, the *Sultans* of the Deccan never quite succeeded in overcoming the Portuguese. The massacre of 12,000 Deccani Muslims by the Portuguese garrison which was one tenth or even less in number than the besieging Ahmadnagar army at Chaul-Revadanda is an instance in point. The Portuguese used all sorts of tactics, political gamble, treachery, seduction, bribery and surprise attack to achieve their ends. Their attitude in the early phases of political advance was ingeniously accommodative but with experience and the realization of the disarray that haunted the combination of the Deccan *Sultans* against them, they grew more confident, aggressive, defiant and bold in political diplomacy as also in war. They no longer fought any defensive war but always took the offensive, many a time at risks to their emergent role. Their daring attacks on the Thana coast illustrate their ruthlessness and determination in pursuing their objectives. They had no scruples in changing sides and treachery was their second nature. This was amply proved when they encompassed the death of Bahadur Shah of Gujarat by drowning him in the course of a friendly meeting off the coast of Gujarat. They often played the crooked game of setting the rivals against each other and joining the side that was going to yield them the maximum advantage. In spite of their superiority in diplomacy and military warfare, the Portuguese never succeeded in creating an empire as the British and to some extent the French in a later period. The reasons for this are not far to seek. The Portuguese had their strong European rivals and when confronted with the same technique and strategy but better political insight of the English, the Dutch and the French they were reduced to a minor colonial power. Whereas the British gradually expanded their territorial gains, the Portuguese were just able to hold on to the tiny enclave of Goa which they had won from the Bijapur kingdom and Diu and Daman from the kingdom of Gujarat in the 16th century. They followed a ruthless policy of suppression, religious bigotry and forcible conversion of the local population which alienated them from the majority of them. However, the European powers that sailed on the western and eastern coasts of the Deccan peninsula could be credited with having given stunning blows to the arrogant Muslim powers there and to some extent it paved the way for the rise of nationalism in the Deccan peninsula in the first half of the 17th century. The Portuguese could have cashed on the belief of the local populace relating to the superior strength of the "foreign devils" as they were called but they lost what they gained on the battle-field by failing to create confidence amongst the natives of the land when they adopted the policy of proselytisation.

Daring and Treachery of the Portuguese.

Proselytism of the Portuguese.

In the situation that prevailed in the Deccan in the last quarter of the 16th century, the intervention by the Moghals became inevitable and, if viewed in the proper perspective, necessary as well. The infighting among the Deccan *Sultanates* had rendered them extremely weak and vulnerable to an outside attack. The

Moghal Invasion of the Deccan—its causes and implications.

embassies sent by Akbar (1591) to Bijapur, Ahmadnagar and Golconda were more in the nature of probing missions than the heralds of good will as described by the Moghal historians. The resources of the Moghal empire were too great to require the friendly hand of the quarrelling *Sultans* of the Deccan for its stability and security. And Akbar was too shrewd a politician to declare enmity with the Deccan *Sultans* before he was aware of their strength and weaknesses. That is what his embassies achieved. The kingdoms of Malwa and Gujarat were already annexed to the Moghal empire. The discord among the Ahmadnagar nobility and the invitation extended by one party to the Moghals to intervene was gladly accepted. No doubt, the tolerance and civility of Akbar has to be acknowledged; but it was plain that Akbar had set his heart upon the conquest of the Deccan peninsula, extension of the boundaries of the Moghal empire further south and bringing the whole of the Indian subcontinent under one political suzerainty. He followed this policy in a methodical and ruthless manner. No conquests are ever peaceful involving as they do terrible loss of human life, wholesale destruction of property and a negation of social and moral values which take several generations to build up. Emperor Aurangzeb is blamed and of course rightly for letting loose wanton aggression against the Deccan and subjection of the people there to untold misery and sufferings. The same charge could easily be levelled against Akbar who was the first Moghal emperor to cast an evil eye upon the Deccan peninsula, and circumstances enabled him to send his well equipped and large army ostensibly to help settle the affairs in Ahmadnagar but, in reality, to begin the conquest of the Deccan (1595-96). The onrush of the Moghal army immediately awakened the Deccan *Sultanates* to the realities of the situation and forced them to muster their resources to face this aggression from the north. The struggle was heroic and the battles fought were bitter. The campaign which the Moghals thought they could easily finish off within the shortest possible time dragged on with the shattering blows which the Moghals received not only from the degenerate *Sultans* and their equally degenerate nobility but also from a majority of the local people. The Bijapuris came to the succour of Ahmadnagar in their hour of peril by sending their finest Maratha cavalry realising that after Ahmadnagar it would be their turn. The fiercest of the Moghal onslaughts were repulsed by Ahmadnagar under the able leadership of Chandbibi supported by the Deccan and foreign nobility, including the Marathas. But the fate which was watching the turn of events well over a hundred years in the Deccan peninsula refused to smile on the gallant cavalcade, and the might of the Moghals succeeded in overpowering the Ahmadnagar resistance (1596). The Moghal invasion had to be contained at least temporarily by the cession of Berar. No sooner did the danger posed by the Moghals recede than the Deccan nobility, instead of preparing for the long-drawn struggle that was to come, resumed their internecine quarrels. The spectre of mutual jealousy and hatred

Fall of Ahmadnagar.

raised its ugly head and struck its heavy blows at the person of Chandbibi who was cruelly assassinated. Akbar whose imperialist ambition had not been satisfied by the annexation of Berar quickly sent his generals to besiege Ahmadnagar with a vast army. The same story was repeated. Again, the Deccanis rallied. Both sides suffered temporary setbacks and had moments of triumph. On this occasion, as also on the previous one, the Moghal image was marred by wanton acts of depredation and devastation and unnecessary loss and damage inflicted on civil life and property. There were internal conflicts between the royal princes who were in overall command and the generals who actually fought the battles. This restricted field activities and gave opportunity to the defenders to inflict heavy damage upon the besieging Moghal army. Added to this was the debauchery and the sloth of both the princes, Murad and Daniel which considerably hampered the progress of the campaign. These lapses and drawbacks, however, did not prove very costly because the issue as to who was to be the winner in this uneven struggle was never in doubt. The fall of Ahmadnagar (1600) closed the campaign and the Moghals now succeeded in adding a large chunk of the Deccan peninsula to their empire. Had Akbar not been hampered by palace bickerings and the rebellious tendencies displayed by his son, he could have vigorously pursued the campaign and left for his successors only mopping up operations and consolidation of the already acquired gains. Death overcame him and it was left to Salim better known as Jahangir to complete the task of his father. But the circumstances in the Deccan were now showing gradual signs of change. There was a growing spirit of resistance to these Moghal hordes from the north and the psychology of the local population was getting metamorphosed under the nascent political leadership of the rising Maratha nobility. To them, Muslim domination for well over 300 years, had outlived its utility. They realised that their Muslim overlords were aliens in their land, and they were themselves exploited politically, socially and economically, and deprived of their natural right of self-government. Therefore it was now their opportunity to take advantage of the struggle that was taking place between the imperial power of the north and what remained of the successor States in the Deccan peninsula. The resistance of these States was sooner or later to crumble—a fact which was realised by them—and naturally they decided to withdraw their whole-hearted support to these overlords of local character, and shift their allegiance to the side in whose favour the balance was tilting. It goes to the credit of Akbar that in all the wars that he fought he was not fired by any religious fanaticism. With the result that though there was savagery and ruthlessness in all the conflicts in which he was involved, these conflicts were free from viciousness, hatred, revenge and retribution. This accounts for the manner in which Akbar was successful in consolidating his gains. The nature of the wars that were fought in the Deccan in the three successive generations of the Moghal emperors after Akbar was a mixture of political and religious motives. The intensity of these wars went on increasing with the growing spirit

**Growing Spirit of resistance to the Moghals in the Deccan Peninsula.**

Jahangir, Shahjahan. and Aurangzeb—their approach to the Politics in the Deccan.

of resistance in the Deccan peninsula and culminated in the extermination of the Bijapur and Golconda *Sultanates* because they followed a sect of Islam which was not to the liking of Aurangzeb, the ruling Moghal emperor. The cruel execution of Sambhaji, the Maratha king who dared to challenge the religious bigotry of Emperor Aurangzeb gave a further edge to the resistance.

Fall of Ahmadnagar and after.

The fall of Ahmadnagar and its formal annexation by the Moghals was a stunning blow to the marathon struggle that was being waged by the Nizamshahis against the Moghals. It seemed as if all was lost and the spirit of battle and resistance would die down. But the death of Akbar and the lull that developed on the accession of Jahangir (1605) gave a breathing time to Ahmadnagar nobility which rallied round the banner of Malik Ambar, the saviour of Ahmadnagar and winner of many a battle against the Moghals, ably supported by Shahaji. Malik Ambar organised his forces, settled the country by a judicious policy of land reforms and decided to continue the struggle that all but took him to the cherished goal that he had placed before himself *viz.,* to drive away the Moghal invaders of the north and re-establish the long-lost power of Ahmadnagar. Malik Ambar followed a bold policy

Rise of Malik Ambar and Shahaji.

of hitting at the weak spots in the Moghal armour and in doing so he did not spare the Bijapuris when they attempted to take sides to the detriment of the cause for which he was fighting. The qualities which Malik Ambar displayed in so advanced an age, stood in bold relief against the lethargy and vulnerability of the generals of the mighty Moghal emperor. He showed a perfect understanding of the political situation in the Deccan peninsula and there was no match for him in respect of agility and quick manoeuvre. He appeared in those quarters where he was least expected and by his guerilla tactics he blunted the Moghal offensive and sometimes converted a gloomy defeat into a spectacular victory. The presence of Jahangir in person in the Deccan would have had a positive and stabilising effect on the overall situation in the Deccan but to Jahangir, the heavenly gardens of Kashmir were dearer than the arid wilderness of the rugged Deccan. Jahangir failed to realise the dangerous and explosive situation that was developing in the Deccan and with a view to containing the activities of Malik Ambar and his Maratha confederates sent his best generals to the Deccan. Both the parties suffered heavily in these combats but complete victory eluded them both. However, complete victory was not what Malik Ambar aimed at or hoped for in view of the meagre resources in men and material at his command, the not-too-helpful attitude of Bijapur and Golconda and the internal bickerings that were brewing at the instigation of the titular Nizam Shah whom he had placed on the throne. He, however, succeeded, though temporarily, in containing the Moghal might and liberating a large part of the former Ahmadnagar kingdom. The success of Malik Ambar, however, was short-lived and Shah Jahan who was sent to the Deccan (1616 and 1621) by Jahangir to defeat Malik Ambar succeeded in putting considerable restraint upon his activities.

The success that crowned Shah Jahan's efforts emboldened him to revolt against his father (1623). The situation created by this rebellion temporarily diverted the attention of the Moghals from the happenings in the Deccan and Malik Ambar was not slow in taking advantage of this opportunity. He scored resounding victories over the Moghal forces or what was left of them in the Deccan but when he was in the sunshine of victory death overtook him. Malik Ambar by his dauntless spirit, attacking postures and clever manoeuvres had harried the Moghals for well over twenty years and they must have heaved a sigh of relief at the news of his death. History very often is a combination of strange phenomena and sometimes presents a spectacle too crude for an imaginative mind to delineate but none the less very true. The drama that was being enacted on the political stage of India in the first quarter of the 17th century was truly illustrative of this strange facet of history. On the one hand, we see the rebel son of the once rebel father fighting against heavy odds, roaming all over the country, begging asylum and on the other, we find a noble possessed of a noble heart, fired by a sense of patriotism, making the ravines and mountain forts his resort for a desperate blow to the enemy. One was the picture of frustration and dejection, and the other, the personification of a moving spirit. Both had to submit to destiny, the former being trapped and cornered by the relentless pursuits of his father's army and the latter being exhausted by forlorn hope and anxiety. Shahjahan who was fighting a losing battle surrendered to his father and was quietly received in the imperial fold. Malik Ambar had his meeting with the destiny from which there was no turning back (1626). Jahangir had now only a few days left. Dissipation and lewdness had taken a heavy toll of his otherwise sound health and within years of the rebellion of his son, he died (1627) leaving to Shah Jahan the mantle of imperial power. It is surprising that no succession to the throne after Akbar was accomplished without bloodshed. Jahangir had to fight for the throne with his father Akbar. Shah Jahan had to rebel against his father and kill and blind his brothers to set his own eyes on the throne. Aurangzeb went a step further. He imprisoned his father during his life-time and by a cruel stratagem first enticed his brothers to join him and later killed them or made them destitutes, once his object was realised. Perhaps the reason for the bloodbaths that invariably accompanied the succession to the throne was the longevity of the reigning monarchs who were never free from the lust to rule as long as they could and the frustration and disillusionment of the prospective heir when his chances of ascending the throne became weak. The aspirations of the heir apparent and his machinations to realise his objective also contributed to this state of affairs. To give but a few instances: the long reign of Firoz Shah Bahamani brought about his assassination at the hands of his brother Ahmadshah (1422). Quli Qutb Shah ruled till the ripe age of 92 years when his second son Jamshid assassinated him (1543) and ascended the throne. Akbar ruled for well over fifty years which unsettled his son Jahangir

The spirit roused by Malik Ambar.

The anatomy of palace assassinations.

who was past thirty years and forced him to rebel. Such was also the case with Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. The latter, however, donned the royal robes till the age of 89 (1618—1707) and succeeded in preventing all attempts at assassination by his presence of mind, his grip over the administration and his assiduous vigilance for his personal safety. The instances of murderous assassinations of the reigning monarchs purely out of greed, selfishness and hatred stand galore in the annals of Indian history. To quote a few—Jalaluddin Khilji was killed by his nephew Alauddin Khilji (1296). Mujahid Shah Bahamani was murdered by his brother Daudshah (1317) who in his turn was killed by the machinations of the dead Sultan's wife (1378). Ghiyasuddin Bahamani was murdered by his noble Taghalchin (1396) who wanted to usurp power and was succeeded by Shamsuddin Daud who was blinded and imprisoned by Firoz Shah Bahamani (1397). When the Bahamani Kingdom disintegrated, the *Sultan* of Bidar, *viz.*, Malik Barid placed on the throne and assassinated the princes of the Bahamani house at his own will till the last of them Kalimullah died at Bijapur (1538) and after his death his son Illamullah escaped to Mecca. The murder of Murtaza Nizam Shah by his son Miran Husain (1588) has already been referred to.

Deccan Sultanates on the eve of Shah Jahan's accession.

The accession of Shah Jahan (1627) introduced vigour and strength in the Deccan campaign because unlike his father he was determined to bring the entire Deccan under his control by the use of ruthless force if necessary and by actually going to the Deccan if the circumstances demanded his presence there. The task of defending what remained of Ahmadnagar now fell to Shahaji who was bred and brought up in the fighting traditions of Malik Ambar. The latter's son Fath Khan had now become the prime minister of the titular Ahmadnagar *Sultan* (1626) and could not be said to have been on friendly terms with him. Though not a very mature and experienced politician, Shahaji had carefully seen the gradual extension of the Moghal power in the Deccan peninsula and this had brought him the realization that unless the powers in the Deccan made renewed and concerted efforts to stem the tide of Moghal aggression the whole Deccan would be lost to them. He had seen and experienced the role of Bijapur and Golconda in the marathon struggle between Ahmadnagar and the Moghals. Golconda had done nothing but to extend its territory to the south and eastwards at the cost of the territory of the former Vijayanagar empire and had been a silent spectator in the freedom struggle that was being waged by Malik Ambar against the Moghals. The role of Bijapur was unabashedly irritating. It had annexed Bidar in the first quarter of the seventeenth century and extended its frontiers by making incursions into the erstwhile territory of the Ahmadnagar kingdom. It had helped Malik Ambar in his fight with the Moghals when it suited its objective but was more or less indifferent and apathetic to the political situation in the Deccan. If the Bijapuris and the Qutbshahis had resisted the Moghal pressure as

they did in the last quarter of the seventeenth century before their final annexation by Aurangzeb, the outcome would have been difficult to anticipate. Shahaji, therefore, decided to give a lone fight fully conscious of the heavy odds that weighed against him. There was absolutely no doubt about the fact that Shahaji had in his mind some notion of establishing independence for himself if not directly at least by proxy under the pretext of owing allegiance to the nominal Ahmadnagar ruler whom he proposed to enthrone and support. He was certain that any attempt on his part to declare directly independence by setting aside the nominal Nizamshahi ruler would awaken the otherwise indolent *Sultans* of Bijapur and Golconda to counter his design and frustrate his aims. Though throughout the 17th century the courts of the Deccan *Sultanates* had become the hot-beds of political intrigues and their palaces dancing dens of beautiful courtesans, there was a mutual understanding among them of not allowing the emergence of any political power that did not belong to their fraternity. Even the biggest threat to their security would not force them to allow the existence of a petty Hindu principality, leave aside an organised state that would have definitely helped them in their hour of peril. Naturally, any thought Shahaji might have had of carving out a separate state for himself had to be given up and he had to rest content with the position of the principal noble of a powerless, unambitious and adventureless titular monarch. Under these circumstances, Shahaji continued the struggle with the Moghals who were fighting determinedly under the orders of Shah Jahan. The treachery of the puppet Nizamshah made Shahaji temporarily forsake him and change sides (1630). But his dalliance with the Moghals was shortlived and he again returned to the Ahmadnagar territories to carry on the struggle by putting up a scion of the Ahmadnagar House on the throne (1633). But now the odds were heavily against Shahaji. The Bijapuris and the Qutbshahis under threats of punishment had cast their lot with the Moghals by entering into treaties with them and the latter launched a campaign for liquidating, once and for all the remnant of the opposition that was being put up by the Ahmadnagar partisans. It was now a running battle between Shahaji and the combined forces of the Moghals and the Bijapuris. Having no popular support Shahaji had to submit and give up all pretensions of sustaining an independent house of Ahmadnagar. The fall of Daulatabad (1633) and later of Mahuli (1636) which Shahaji surrendered to the Moghals sealed the fate of the Ahmadnagar kingdom whose territory now lapsed to the Moghal empire (1636). The second stage of the Moghal conquest of the Deccan which had begun with the annexation of Malwa, Khandesh and Gujarat was over with the liquidation of Ahmadnagar kingdom. Ahmadnagar had annexed Berar in 1574. Berar was surrendered to the Moghals in 1596. Ahmadnagar capitulated in 1600. Bidar was annexed by Bijapur in 1619. With the conclusion of the campaign against Shahaji, there now remained in the Deccan two viable States *viz.*, Bijapur and Golconda whose conquests would

Shahaji carries forward the struggle against the Moghals.

Final extinction of the Ahmadnagar Kingdom.

have completed the Moghal supremacy over the Deccan. Towards this end, the Moghal efforts were now directed. Both the kingdoms had virtually accepted the suzerainty of the Moghals and had become their vassals. Their conquest and annexation were not necessary or essential for such a step was superfluous. That was exactly where Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, the newly appointed viceroy of the Deccan, differed. Shah Jahan, though a religious fanatic, was extremely averse to the destruction of the brother kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda. His subsequent instructions issued as late as in 1656 to annex Bijapur were politically motivated. As a matter of fact, Shah Jahan's religious fanaticism was more directed against the Hindus than otherwise. With Aurangzeb it was entirely different. He never hid his open contempt and hatred for the Hindus as also for those of his own fellow religionists who followed the religious doctrine which was not to his liking. He realised half a century before the final annexation of Bijapur and Golconda (when he assumed his first viceroyalty of the Deccan in 1636) the necessity to liquidate these States and would have done so if Shah Jahan had not prevented him. So long as there was no third power in the Deccan besides the two kingdoms, it was perhaps reasonable and logical to think in terms of their final annihilation and annexation. But with the rise of the Marathas under the leadership of Shivaji, a third power more potent and dangerous had come into existence and the policy of setting these powers against one another until they were completely exhausted would have suited the Moghal intentions better than the policy which Aurangzeb followed in the last quarter of the 17th century. To that, we shall come later. The only point that deserves to be noted here is that the differences between emperor Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb led to the postponement of the conquest of these two kingdoms by a period of well over 25 years. The first task of Aurangzeb after the assumption of viceroyalty (1636) was to settle and consolidate the Moghal gains in the Deccan which he did splendidly. Perhaps throughout the Moghal contacts in the Deccan, first during his viceroyalty and later during the period of his sovereignty, that was the only aspect of his administration that does credit to his sagacity, astuteness, daring, perseverance and shrewdness, the qualities he is said to possess. On the contrary his dealings with Shivaji were of the most crooked and atrocious nature and displayed his utter disregard for human values. The treatment he meted out to his own father and later to his son Akbar exhibited callousness and total lack of paternal feelings. And last but not the least, was the cruel execution of Sambhaji (1689) which had no parallel in regard to the manner in which it was done. Shivaji was a genius. He was quick to grasp the significance of the political situation which then prevailed and had the judgment to analyse the causes that had led to it. The domination of the Muslims who regarded themselves as foreigners and who always carried with them the superiority complex of the victorious, for well over three hundred years, had created a sense of frustration and disillusionment in the mind of the

Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb—comparison and contrast.

Rise of Shivaji.

common man in the Deccan. The social organization was so devoid of any vitality and vigour that the common man's attitude had become totally apathetic and indifferent to the happenings of every-day life. Neither did he care for the destruction of his places of worship nor did he bother about his fellowmen consciously or unconsciously embracing a religious faith that was so strange to his hereditary concepts of conservatism and traditionalism. His attitude was stoic and his outlook towards life self-centered. It was not, therefore, surprising that the lively currents of spiritualism and materialism that pervade human existence no longer existed and the common man had developed an inertia of body and mind. He neither cared for the worldly affairs here nor was he inclined to show any interest in the world beyond. He had become a fatalist and instead of revolting against the forces that oppressed and suppressed him, he calmly accepted his lot in the new set-up as the next best alternative. It was this that brought home to Shivaji the futility of any isolated attempt to revolt against the political aggression that had eaten deep into the social, religious, cultural and aesthetic framework of the organisational set-up of the Deccan of those times. He had witnessed his father's efforts to free himself from the yoke of foreign bondage and the failure that had accompanied them. He had also seen the weak response Shahaji's appeal had evoked from the common man to join in the common struggle that was being waged against the Moghals. Shivaji realised that the circumstances made no impact upon the common man whose emotions were neither stirred nor his mind moved. In such a situation what was necessary was to awaken the common man from his lethargy, to the bizarre situation that was developing due to his complacency and make him understand the nemesis that would ultimately befall him if he continued to persist in his indifferent attitude. It was easy to draw inspiration from history and depict a glorious future. Shivaji exactly did this. By his personality he galvanised the people of Maharashtra into activity. He exhorted them to reflect on their rich heritage, on their excellent traditions of heroism and of the greatness of their religion and philosophy that had once dominated the whole Indian subcontinent. By appealing to their sentiments Shivaji had rallied the support of his people. Shivaji though younger in age showed greater imagination and wisdom in his approach to the people than Aurangzeb whose approach was basically that of a religious bigot. The response to Shivaji was spontaneous and Aurangzeb was the first to recognise the signs of danger in this revival of the dormant nationalistic feelings in the people of Maharashtra. Shahaji who did not possess the imagination which his son showed cautioned Shivaji of the consequences resulting from his activities and the tremendous sacrifice he and his followers would have to make if his dream of establishing an independent State was to materialise. He withdrew from the politics of Maharashtra, extending moral support and blessings to his son and asking him to begin where he had left. The period of twenty years that followed the first viceroyalty of the Deccan under

Character of Shivaji and his teachings.

Shivaji and Aurangzeb.

Aurangzeb saw the beginnings of the establishment of an independent State and the confusing political trends that developed in the Deccan in relation to the Moghals as a result of the acrimonious exchanges between Aurangzeb and Shah Jahan and a succession of incompetent viceroys. Shah Jahan never allowed his son peace of mind perhaps thinking that if his son was given a *carte blanche* in the Deccan and was permitted to squeeze out the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda he may be tempted to establish a separate kingdom in the Deccan. The matters were so stretched that, at one time, Aurangzeb thought of resigning his post in the Deccan and seeking an appointment elsewhere. Shivaji carefully watched the situation, decided upon the policy of gradually nibbling at the war torn kingdom of Bijapur and thus acquire a sizeable territory which would serve him as a base for future operations. No one had better understood Shivaji than Aurangzeb who got an inkling of the things to come and warned his commanders to be wary and vigilant against the tactics and manoeuvres of Shivaji. Shivaji who was building up his resources realised that any provocation at that time on his part against the Moghals would bring upon him the wrath of the Moghal might which he would not be able to resist. And very diplomatically he followed his raids on Moghal territory by offers of compromise and submission the purport behind which Aurangzeb alone could understand. There was no doubt about the fact that Aurangzeb, from the very beginning of his political career was zealously directing his efforts towards creating circumstances that would easily pave his way to succeed as the Moghal emperor. Though he realised the potential threat from Shivaji he knew that Shivaji's power did not pose an immediate danger and he, therefore, must have decided to counter Shivaji locally. That was perhaps his major blunder because, behind the facade of friendship with the Moghals, Shivaji was determined to take advantage of the unsettled situation in the Deccan and prepare himself thoroughly to resist the attack as and when it would be launched by the Moghals against him. In this policy, he succeeded beyond measure as later events clearly demonstrate. Aurangzeb's policy towards Bijapur and Golconda was based on the fear that these kingdoms may provide a bulwark of opposition in the future when he would be required to fight the battle of succession.

Aurangzeb's policy towards Bijapur and Golconda.

Naturally, when he came to the Deccan again to resume his second viceroyalty he decided to conquer both the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda thoroughly neglecting for the moment, the fact that over a period of 10 to 15 years Shivaji had acquired large chunks of territory from the Bijapur kingdom and the erstwhile kingdom of Ahmadnagar and had virtually established himself in a position of independence. These kingdoms had not as yet realised the dangerous situation that they were facing and instead of preparing themselves fully against the Moghals as they did when the latter finally assaulted them allowed extremely valuable time to pass. A timely treaty on their part with Shivaji forming a basis for tripartite alliance might have saved the

situation. The result was disastrous for both the kingdoms. Aurangzeb, with impunity and on a very feeble pretext, attacked both the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda and cowed them down with a show of force and then bound them with treaties which brought them much humiliation. The crooked nature of Aurangzeb and the length to which he was willing to go became visible in the episode of Mir Jumla, the prime minister of Golconda. It reminds one of a parallel incident in the history of Ahmadnagar when Sayyad Murtaza a noble of the Ahmadnagar kingdom defected to the Moghals, a hundred and fifty years ago, being at cross-roads with the political situation then existing in that State. The incident showed the character of the nobility of the Muslim courts who had no compunctions in sacrificing their lord to fulfil their own interests and motives. It also brings out the perfidy of Aurangzeb's character who not only faked letters but caused the imprisonment of Mir Jumla. The virtual overpowering of the two remaining successor States showed that they were out of the fight, that their destiny was sealed and it was only a matter of time when they would vanish. Their immediate extinction was prevented by the restraining hand of Shah Jahan and the departure of Aurangzeb for the north (1658) to assert his claim for the throne after entering into make-believe understandings with both the kingdoms of Bijapur (1656) and Golconda (1655) determined, however, at the same time that at the opportune moment he would abrogate the treaties and destroy the kingdoms with vengeance. It is futile to imagine what course history would have taken if Aurangzeb had failed against his brothers or if Shah Jahan had succeeded in putting down his overbearing son. Perhaps the two Deccan Kingdoms would have received a further lease of life or perhaps the Moghals would have given up their attempts to conquer the Deccan or perhaps unitedly with Shivaji and his successors the Deccan Kingdoms would have overthrown the influence of the northerners as the Deccanis did in 1347 previous to the establishment of Bahamani kingdom. There was, however, no doubt that Shah Jahan was positively ill-disposed to Aurangzeb and his enthronement was the last thing he would have desired and hoped for. When, however, it came to an open combat neither the resources of the Moghal empire at the disposal of Shah Jahan nor the skill and political acumen of his three sons who stood in opposition to Aurangzeb, succeeded in matching the prowess, ingenuity and tactical ability of Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb showed himself to be a superior in the art of organising forces and in military skill. He proved himself as a ruthless human machine devoid of any passions or emotions and his success which appeared unsure in the beginning was beyond doubt as the contest progressed.

Aurangzeb's diplomacy and duplicity.

The departure of Aurangzeb to the north (1658) and the certainty of his non-arrival in the Deccan for the time being till the affairs in the north were settled gave Shivaji the opportunity for which he was waiting. The period that followed again saw

alliances and counter-alliances, sometimes the Bijapuris joining hands with the Marathas to face the Moghal onslaught, (1662 and 1667), sometimes the Qutb Shahis and the Marathas coming together (1677) to face the united opposition of the Bijapuris and the Moghals, and sometimes the Moghals and the Marathas, being in alliance against Bijapur (1666) under the terms of the treaty of Purandar (1665). The period also saw the very strange aloofness of the Golconda kingdom and its unconcern at provocative Moghal postures except when they were allied with Shivaji in his southern campaign. The position in the courts of Bijapur and Golconda was similar to that which prevailed in the court of Ahmadnagar a century ago when the front-ranking noblemen set aside the interest of their respective kingdoms and fought among themselves for power and supremacy. Corruption and vice had become rampant with assassinations galore bringing the very security of the state into jeopardy. The Deccani-Foreign rivalry as also the poison of communal hatred again raised their ugly heads and accounted for veterans in the field of polity as Madanna (1686) and Akanna in Golconda and Khavas Khan in Bijapur (1676). The period also saw the tragic death of Shah Jahan (1666) in prison in Agra fort and his prophesy came true when Akbar, revolted against his father and joined Sambhaji, the Maratha king (1681). The descent of Aurangzeb to the Deccan immediately thereafter (1681) proved to be the beginning of the end that was to come twenty-five years later (1707) and the processes of expansion and disintegration of the Moghal empire worked simultaneously. Before we come to the final phases of the so-called mediaeval period, a brief reference to Shivaji's role in shaping the course of events that were to follow will not be out of place. As a matter of fact, the towering personality of Aurangzeb, his gigantic military preparations to crush the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda, the excellent account of themselves given by these two *Sultanates* before and after his arrival in the Deccan, the Moghal-Maratha chase all over the Deccan and last but not the least, the marathon sieges first of Bijapur (1686) and then of Golconda (1687), are all overshadowed and fade into insignificance before the magnificent achievements of Shivaji in so short a time. The objects of Shivaji were very clear and find expression in one of his lucid communications to the old diehards of Maratha nobility who still persisted in their outdated concepts of servility to the Deccan *Sultans* and who had refused to acknowledge the emergence of a new State with Shivaji as its undisputed leader. Shivaji's appeal was universal and religion was no bar to his idealism. It would be wrong to impute to Shivaji modern concepts such as determination to fight the oppression and exploitation of the common man by the old nobility or to depict him as the forerunner of the doctrine of social and economic equality. His struggle was mainly political, aimed at freeing the common man from his political bondage of well over 300 years and bringing to him the realization that the country wherein he lived was his own and it was his natural right to fight the usurper who had displaced him. Shivaji knew

State of politics in the Deccan Kingdoms.

Shivaji faces the challenge.

that his task was difficult and it would require all the resources at his command to overcome these difficulties and obstacles. But Shivaji was no novice in the art of war and political diplomacy. The way he dealt with Afzal Khan (1659) who had come from Bijapur with the avowed intention of killing him or his daring attack on Chandrarao More of Javli (1656) bespeak the valour, organising ability, the discipline he exacted from his troopers as also the respect he commanded of them. The defeat of such a powerful enemy as Afzal Khan created among the Maratha soldiery on the one hand, a sense of confidence about his power and the innate ability to strike hard blows to the adversaries and, on the other, it gave a solemn warning to the powers that be, of the shape of things to come. Shivaji now did not consider the Bijapur and Golconda *Sultanates* as his principal foes. He was shrewd enough to realise that the real contest would be between the Marathas and the Moghals because Aurangzeb had never reconciled himself to the emergence of the new Maratha State and was determined to crush it at the first opportunity. Shivaji, therefore, planned for consolidating his gains. He also realised that initially any direct confrontation with the Moghals was out of question and hence his preference for guerilla warfare. His conquest of a considerable portion of the Bijapur territory and his daring attacks on the Moghal domains compelled Aurangzeb to dispatch his maternal uncle Shayasta Khan to contain Shivaji (1660). How Shivaji defeated Shayasta Khan (1660—1663) is well-known to students of history but the episode is an eloquent testimony to Shivaji as an adept strategist and supreme commander. The successes of Shivaji alarmed Aurangzeb and he now decided to send his veteran general Mirza Raja Jaising (1664) to subjugate the recalcitrant Maratha leader. The loyalty of the Rajput was beyond doubt but there is every reason to suggest an ulterior motive of Aurangzeb in the dispatch of an Hindu against an Hindu. If, in this contest, Mirza Raja succeeded it was well and good because it would remove the potential threat of Shivaji and make his own plans for the ultimate subjugation of Deccan easier. If, on the other hand, Shivaji succeeded it would remove, from the Moghal court, a nobleman who had reached a position of power and supremacy by his undaunted courage and diplomatic tact. Mirza Raja, perhaps realising this demanded a unified command in the campaign. He proved his superiority in the field of battle by the capture of Purandar (1665) and his diplomatic skill by refusing to respond to Shivaji's appeal to his religious conscience. What a considerable difference it would have made if the same loyalty had been shown by those for whom the Rajputs had sacrificed their honour and life. But that apart, Mirza Raja was unmoved by this appeal and demanded complete surrender of Shivaji. The latter knew that time was against him and if the honour, life and property of his subjects were to be saved, capitulation was the only way in the circumstances. He followed it as Mirza Raja had warned him of the consequences any refusal on his part would involve. It was the only political and military reverse Shivaji had to suffer in his career and the price

First large-scale invasion of the Deccan—an analysis of the motives of Aurangzeb.

for it was worth paying as the later events made abundantly clear. The visit to Agra (1666) was inevitable and shows the willingness of Shivaji to sacrifice his own self to save his people and his nation in contrast to the perfidy and treachery of Aurangzeb to imprison and attempt to kill him. But what else could be expected of Aurangzeb whose hands were already stained with the assassination of his kith and kin. However, fortune smiles upon the brave as was shown by the daring escape of Shivaji from Agra. Thereafter Shivaji never looked back. Not only did he make deep forays into the Moghal territory but also made extensive additions to his territory. Not even the most powerful generals, Aurangzeb sent against him, could succeed in containing him. He took calculated military risks which were more often than not accompanied by spectacular successes. His guerilla tactics and his success over Bahadurkhan (1674) were his *tour-de-grace* of political diplomacy and military strategy. Open military confrontation with the Moghals was not avoided thereafter as his later exploits reveal. These magnificent achievements culminated in his coronation as the rightful king of the Marathas. Notwithstanding the fulminations of Aurangzeb the ceremony was carried out with all pomp and glory (1674). Thus it was after nearly several centuries that Maharashtra was to witness an event of such importance and magnificence. Chhatrapati Shivaji had laid the basis for a future of promise and had roused the people from the lethargy into which they had fallen. Thus the foundation of महाराष्ट्र धर्म was securely laid by Shivaji. It was left to the people to carry on further. How people responded and sustained the spirit magnificently was proved by the wars the Marathas fought for their independence relentlessly with Aurangzeb till the latter's death in 1707. Shivaji's death hastened the descent of Aurangzeb into the Deccan though Akbar's rebellion provided an immediate cause. From both the military and the political points of view, it was a blunder that Aurangzeb made in deciding to conquer the Deccan *Sultanates* and the Maratha State by force of arms. Their mutual wars would have continued to sap their energy and in a later period they might have merged on their own in the Moghal empire. As a matter of fact there was no strength left in Bijapur and Golconda but the provocative postures of Aurangzeb in massing his troops after the reverses suffered in the Maratha country roused them to give a last-ditch battle to the Moghals even when they had no doubts about its outcome. Strategically, Aurangzeb should have stayed his hands after the defeat of the *Sultanates* of Bijapur and Golconda, and allowed their respective monarchs to continue while he could muster a few hundred of the defeated *Sultanate* nobility on his side. Unfortunately the decision of Aurangzeb to vanquish these two kingdoms was fateful and the consequences ominous. Because the military forces released after the capitulation of Bijapur and Golconda joined the Marathas who decided to wage a relentless struggle for their independence against the Moghals after the cruel execution of Sambhaji (1689). They formed themselves into groups under their self-chosen leaders to work

Coronation of Shivaji—what it implied.

Aurangzeb—where his policy went wrong.

behind the lines of Moghal advance and disrupt their supplies and communication. Perhaps, one of the major causes of the ultimate disaster that fell upon Aurangzeb and his empire was the destruction of the Deccan *Sultanates* and the religious and retributive wars he waged against the Marathas. The moments of his greatest triumph also proved to be the beginning of the end that was not very far off.

Method of narration—chapter analysis.

The study of history always poses a problem regarding the sources available, the method to be used in their presentation and their reasonable and acceptable interpretation. There is also the problem of arrangement of chapters either chronologically or dynasty-wise so that the presentation should not suffer from the drawbacks of omission or commission. Of course, a perfect dynasty-wise history of the period under review is available beginning as it does with the *Sultanates* of Delhi and followed by the Bahamanis and Faruqis, the former having a *de facto* control over the territory now composed of Maharashtra minus the territory possessed by the Faruqis of Khandesh. With the extinction of the rule of the *Sultans* of Delhi, the major portion of the present Maharashtra came under the complete sway of the Bahamanis with the Faruqis holding their territory as before. However, the minor incursions by Gujarat, Malwa, Orissa and Vijayanagar have to be taken note of ; but in the study of the history of Maharashtra, dynastic consideration of these kingdoms is of only marginal significance. The sequence of the chapters *viz.*, Deccan on the eve of Muslim invasion and the Bahamanis, therefore, most naturally follows. After the disintegration of the Bahamani Kingdom, five independent *Sultanates* came into existence in the Deccan in different periods with the Faruqi dynasty continuing its existence as before. A chapter each is devoted to the narration of their political history though Bidar and Golconda have been dealt with in a single chapter as these dynasties had, under their administrative control, only a small territory of the present State of Maharashtra now belonging to the Nanded and Osmanabad districts. The Portuguese played a specific role in the mediaeval history of Maharashtra. Though their territorial possessions in Maharashtra were small and though there was a feeling of animosity about them in the hearts of the general public, the Portuguese showed, by their valour and determination, that even the most powerful among the *Sultanates* of the Deccan could be defeated. This called for a separate chapter for the Portuguese in so far as their settlements on the western coast are concerned. As stated earlier, Berar was annexed by Ahmadnagar in 1574, Khandesh and Ahmadnagar fell to the Moghals in 1600. The Moghals had already conquered Berar in 1596. Bijapur annexed Bidar in 1619. Thus in the early decades of 17th century only two States remained on the political map of the Deccan *viz.*, Bijapur and Golconda. However, they had lost all their former glory and had fallen a prey to the expansionist designs of the Moghals. The Moghals now dominated the political scene in the Deccan peninsula. Naturally, any separate narration of the

history of the two kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda would have been an exercise in formality only. Hence a separate chapter for the Moghal role in the Deccan has been provided by combining the history of the two Deccan kingdoms in that of the Moghals. The period of about 400 years beginning with the first Muslim invasion of the Deccan and ending with 1687 when the Muslim hold on the Deccan was as good as lost saw a tremendous upheaval in the social organization of the Deccan. Language and literature, administrative organization and political institutions, art and architecture, and economic and moral values, in fact every aspect of the culture and civilization of the Deccanis felt the impact of the Muslim way of life which was entirely foreign to the people of the Deccan. A separate chapter has, therefore, been devoted to the narration and analysis of this change in the Deccan culture which absorbed and assimilated it. The problem that remained now is about the treatment and presentation of each dynasty, the historical personalities that dominated the political scene in the Deccan and the totality of events around which the history of the Deccan could be woven. In the sequence of the chapter scheme, every dynasty that was mainly concerned with the history of the Deccan or more correctly Maharashtra finds a place and its achievements in so far as they pertain to the present boundaries of Maharashtra have been described in detail. Its activities outside Maharashtra find only a marginal reference, perhaps with the exception of the Moghals whose activities after 1680 were mainly confined to the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda and hence find a detailed treatment. This applies also to some extent to the Bahamanis who were engaged in the expansion of their kingdom outside Maharashtra and thus came into conflict with the kingdoms of Vijayanagar and Orissa. Thus, for example Malik Ahmad Nizam Shah's or Burhan Nizam Shah's conquests are given a detailed treatment whereas the expansion of the Adilshahis or Qutbshahis in the southern or eastern Deccan is referred to only in passing. In so far as the historical personalities are concerned only those who left their impress upon the history of the Deccan find a narration here in regard both to their ability and their achievements. In this category could be included Alauddin Khilji, Hasan Gangu Bahamani, Malik Saifuddin Ghori, Khwaja Jahan Mahmud Gawan, Malik Ahmad Nizam Shah, Yusuf Adil Shah, Fateullah Imad-ul-mulk, Malik Barid, Ramraja of Vijayanagar, Chandbibi, Malik Ambar, Shahaji, Shah Jahan, Shivaji, Shayasta Khan, Aurangzeb, Mirza Raja Jaising, Abul Hasan Qutbshah and Sambhaji, to mention only a leading few. The narration of the history of the five successor States posed a problem because the events taking place during the period of over a hundred years of their combined existence could not be compartmentalised and their description dynasty-wise would have meant repetition. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the hundred year history of these dynasties was largely a history of wars. Naturally, the event where the particular dynasty was most closely concerned finds a detailed description in its history. For example, in the battle of Talikota

Treatment of events and personalities.

in which the King of Vijayanagar was defeated, Bijapur, Golconda and Bidar had pooled their resources. But Husain Nizam Shah, the *Sultan* of Ahmadnagar played a distinguished role in the organization of the campaign against Vijayanagar and the success on Vijayanagar in the field of battle. Hence the battle of Talikota has been described in the chapter dealing with the history of the Nizamshahi Kingdom of Ahmadnagar. Similarly, the happenings in the Bahamani capital after the assassination of Mahmud Gawan find a place in the chapter dealing with the Qutbshahi Kingdom of Golconda and the Baridshahi Kingdom of Bidar as the schemer behind these was Amir Barid, the fox of the Deccan, as he has been described by Fateullah Imad Shah of Berar.

Sources.

The sources, original and secondary, for the study of the mediaeval history of Maharashtra are plentiful especially for the later period. Of these, those in the Persian language dominate. Next come the accounts in their own language of the English, the Portuguese and the Italian travellers, missionaries and others and then the sources in the language of the land *viz.*, Marathi. Though it is not necessary here to go into an evaluation of the original and secondary sources, suffice it to say that the sources available belong to both the types, original as also secondary. The Persian sources are mainly historical chronicles compiled by persons who were either court historians or travellers, scholars or poets. Their writings are verbose and exaggerated, involving chronological discrepancies and more often than not they are partial and extremely anti-Hindu in their narration of events though there are a few exceptions. The accounts of foreign travellers, and missionaries sometimes lack the authenticity of the Persian accounts due to their understandable ignorance of local conditions but they more than compensate for this by the precision of their descriptive details and their tendency to evaluate and moralise. It is said that for a proper historical perspective basic knowledge of geography is essential. Historical details lose their significance in the absence of geographical details. If the narratives of the Persian chroniclers are abstract and irrelevant, the accounts of foreign travellers as also of the European factors in the 17th century are accurate regarding the locale and physical configuration, see *e.g.*, the accounts of Barbosa, Ogilby, Mandelslo, Tavernier and others. The Marathi accounts, in so far as the period under review is concerned, mainly consist of the *Bakhar* literature, the letters and other documents, both official and non-official. Their principal merit lies in the fact that they depict the other side of the picture different from that detailed by Persian chroniclers. To a student of mediaeval history, their study becomes essential if he expects to get an ungarbled, unexaggerated and impartial version of any event or episode under consideration. It may, however, be stated that the sources of the mediaeval history for the period up to 1600 A. D. are not many and are principally confined to Persian chronicles whereas there is abundance of source material both indigenous and

foreign, in regard to the later period up to 1687. The main reliance in regard to historical narration prior to 1600 A. D. is placed upon original as well as modern works such as "*Burhan-i-Masir*" of Sayyad Ali Tabatabai, "*Gulshane Ibrahimi*" of Ferishta, "*Tazkarat-ul-muluk*", "*Tabkate Akabari*" of Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, "*Bahamanis of Deccan*" of H. K. Sherwani, "*The Mohammadan Dynasties*" of Lane Poole, "*Ain-i-Akbari*" of Abul Fazl and "*A Forgotten Empire*" by Sewell, whereas both the original and secondary sources used for the latter history include "*Akbarnama*" of Abul Fazl, "*Basatin-us-Salatin*" of Ibrahim Zubairi, "*Historic Land marks of the Deccan*" by Haig, "*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*", *Iqbal-nama*" of Mutamad Khan, "*Padshah nama*" of Abdul Hamid Lahori, "*History of Shah Jahan of Dilhi*" of B. P. Saxena, "*Dilkusha*" of Bhimsen Saxena, "*Sabhasad Bakhar*", "*Shiv Charitra Sahitya*", "*Mirat-i-Ahmadi*" of Ali Muhammad Khan, "*Muntkhabullubab*" of Khafi Khan, "*History of Aurangzib*" by Sarkar, "*House of Shivaji*" by Sarkar, "*Storia do Mogor*" of Manucci and accounts of travellers such as Bernier, Tavernier, Mandelslo, Ogilby, etc. It may also be pointed out that wherever necessary the original text of translated chronicles has been authoritatively checked. While narrating the events or episodes the version that takes shape after assessing all the data including the latest available has been given.

**Methodology.** For example, the narration of the consequences of the assassination of Mahmud Gawan, of the reasons for the bloodbaths that accompanied succession to the throne in most of the Deccan *Sultanates* as also in the Moghal empire, of the rise of *Chhatrapati* Shivaji and the causes that led to his spectacular successes and of the failure of Aurangzeb's policy is more analytical than descriptive. It may also be stated that the text of the chapters is fully annotated to serve the interest of the general reader. For example, the reader may be curious to know the origin of Hasan Gangu Bahamani, the atrocities perpetrated by Humayun, "the tyrant", the details of the assassination of Mahmud Gawan, the early exploits of Malik Ahmad Nizamshah, the origin of Yusuf Adil Shah, the battle of Talikota, the vagrant character of Murtaza Nizam Shah, the Moghal siege of Ahmadnagar and later of Daulatabad, the rebellions of Shah Jahan and Khan Jahan, Shivaji and the rise of the Maratha power, the siege of Purandar, Shivaji's escape from Agra, the architectural remains of the Bahamanis, the Deccan *Sultanates* or the Moghals and their administrative system as also the account of the description of the country given by various foreign travellers. Accordingly detailed accounts of the events and authorities concerned appear at appropriate places. Thus the volume aims at providing a entirely self contained data base. In these references only the important events and differences in interpretations over events have been given. Well-accepted versions as well as minor events have not been annotated.

B. G. KUNTE.

# CHAPTER 1 — THE DECCAN ON THE EVE OF THE MUSLIM INVASION



**The Deccan on the eve of the Muslim invasion.**

THE FIRST MUSLIM INVASION OF THE DECCAN took place in the year 1296. Alāuddin, nephew of the reigning *Sultān* of Delhi, Jalāluddin Khiljī, and the Governor of Kārā had heard about the great wealth of the Deccan. With the ostensible purpose of invading the Deccan, he left Kārā with a composite force of 6000, consisting of cavalry and infantry and arrived at Ellicpūr. Ellicpūr was then in the northern most part of the Yādava Kingdom of Devagirī. The principal dynasties which ruled in the south were the Yādavas, whose territory covered practically the whole of the present Mahārāṣṭra, the Kākatiyas whose rule roughly extended over the territory lying between the Godāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā, the Hoyasalas whose jurisdiction roughly covered the area between the Kṛṣṇā and the Pennar, the Colas whose rule extended over both sides of the Kāverī, and the Pāṇḍyas who governed the southern most area of the southern peninsula including the whole of Malabār. Alāuddin halted at Ellicpūr for a couple of days posing as a discontented noble of the Delhi court seeking service under the Rājā of Rājmahendry. Then he marched straight for Devagirī. He encountered stiff resistance at Lāsūr, about 12 miles west of Devagirī. He overcame the opposition and arrived in the environs of Devagirī. Rāmcandra, the Yādava ruler, did not have sufficient force to repulse Alāuddin. He had dispatched the main bulk of his army to escort Śaṅkardev, his son and the queen to places of pilgrimage. Rāmcandra, therefore, took shelter in the fortress of Devagirī. Alāuddin sacked the city and besieged the fortress. With no prospects of immediate help, Rāmcandra sued for peace. Alāuddin agreed to the payment of a huge indemnity in the form of gold by Rāmcandra and started on his northward march. In the meanwhile, Śaṅkardev who had received news of the Muslim attack hastened towards Devagirī and fell upon the contingent commanded by Alāuddin. Alāuddin was on the point of being routed when Nusrat Khān who had been left behind at Devagirī arrived with his army. This timely help saved Alāuddin from a total defeat. The combined forces now defeated Śaṅkardev and laid siege to the citadel of Devagirī. Left with no alternative, Rāmcandra sued for peace once again. This was granted on harsh terms by Alāuddin. After the conclusion of the peace treaty Alāuddin left for the north and reached Kārā on June 3, 1296 [1]a, [1]b.

---

[1]a It was reported to him that the *Rai* of Hind, whose capital was Deogir, had immense treasures in money and jewels, and he therefore conceived an intense desire of securing them for himself, as well as of conquering the country. He appointed spies to ascertain when the *Rai's* army was engaged in warfare, and then

**CHAPTER 1.**

**The Deccan on the eve of the Muslim invasion.**

The signal defeat of Rāmcandra and his inability to protect his capital from Muslim rapine and plunder considerably damaged his prestige in the south. His erstwhile enemies both in the south and the east again raised their heads. The Kākatiya Ruler Pratāprudra led an expedition into the Yādava empire and pushed the western borders of his Kingdom up to Medak and Rāicūr. The Yādava Kingdom was also invaded by Garigeya Sahani, a General of Hoyasala Ballāḷa III in 1303 and by Ballāḷa himself in 1305. Banavasi, Santalige and Kogali were wrested from the Yādava Kingdom by the Hoyasalas.

When the southern Kingdoms were fighting among themselves instead of uniting against the Muslim invaders from the north, events of significance were taking place in the north. Alāuddin had murdered his uncle and had ascended the throne of Delhi on July 20, 1296. It is not necessary here to detail the exploits of Alāuddin in the north, his defeat of the Mongols and the conquest of Gujarāt. By the end of the thirteenth century his power was sufficiently established and he was ready to undertake another invasion of the south. This time it was Waraṅgal which was invaded in 1303. The Muslim army, instead of taking the shorter route *via* Ellicpūr took the tortuous route *via* Bengal and Orissā. The invaders penetrated into the heart of Telaṅgaṇa and came as far as Waraṅgal. They were, however, beaten by the Telaṅgaṇa army and forced to retreat. This defeat and the preoccupation of Alāuddin with the Mongol hordes gave the south a breathing space for a few years. In 1307 on the pretext of the refusal of Śaṅkardev to pay tribute, Alāuddin decided to invade

---

*contd.*

he advanced and took the country without the means which other kings think necessary for conquest. The prudent *Rai*, in order to save his life, gave his daughter to the *Sultan*, and made over to him his treasures and jewels.

Alauddin Muhammad, having laden all the beasts he could procure with his spoils, and giving thanks to God, returned to his own province. (*Tazjiyatu-l Amsar Wa Tajriyatu-l Asar* in Elliot and Dowson Vol. III, p. 40).

[b] When he made the campaign to Bhailasan, he heard much about the wealth of Deogir. ***....He collected three or four thousand horse, and two thousand infantry, whom he fitted out from the revenues of Karra, which had been remitted for a time by the *Sultan*, and with this force he marched for Deogir. Though he had secretly resolved upon attacking Deogir, he studiously concealed the fact, and represented that he intended to attack Chanderi, Malik Alau-l-mulk, uncle of the author, and one of the favoured followers of Alau-d-din, was made deputy of Karra and Oudh in his absence.

'Alau-d-din marched to Ellichpur, and thence to Ghati-lajaura. Here all intelligence of his was lost. Accounts were sent regularly from Karra to the *Sultan* with vague statements, saying that he was engaged in chastising and plundering rebels, and that circumstantial accounts would be forwarded in a day or two. The *Sultan* never suspected him of any evil designs, and the great men and wise men of the city thought that the dissensions with his wife had driven him to seek his fortune in a distant land. This opinion soon spread. When Alau-d-din arrived at Ghati-lajaura, the army of Ram-deo, under the command of his son, had gone to a distance. The people of that country had never heard of the Musulmans ; the Mahratta land had never been punished by their armies ; no Musulman king or prince had penetrated so far. Deogir was exceedingly rich in gold and silver, jewels and pearls, and other valuables. When Ramdeo heard of the approach of the Muhammadans, he collected what forces he could, and sent them under one of his *ranas* to Ghati-lajaura. They were defeated and dispersed by Alau-d-din, who then entered Deogir. On the first day he took thirty elephants and some thousand horses. Ramdeo came in and made his submission. Alau-d-din carried off an unprecedented amount of ***

booty (*Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 149-150).

the southern Kingdom of Devagirī. He appointed *Malik Nāib* Kāfūr to lead the expedition. The governors of Māḷvā and Gujarāt were commanded to collaborate with him. *Malik Nāib* reached Devagirī without encountering any opposition. He defeated the Yādava forces, sacked the city and carried Rāmcandra and his family as prisoners to Delhi. Rāmcandra was pardoned by Alāuddin and sent back to Devagirī with the title of *Rāīrāyān* [1]a ; [1]b. This total submission by a powerful king in the south enabled the Muslims to completely subjugate the entire south. As a matter of fact Devagirī served as the base for the southward expansion of the Muslims as the future events will show. In 1309 Alāuddin again sent *Malik Nāib* on an expedition to Waraṅgaḷ to wipe out the stigma of defeat which the Muslims had suffered in 1303. By the end of December 1309, *Malik Nāib* arrived on the borders of Devagirī on the first stage of his march towards the Telaṅgaṇa country. He was reinforced by Rāmcandra with a force composed of Marāṭhā cavalry and infantry. *Malik Nāib* first invested the fort of Sirpur which capitulated after a heroic resistance by its garrison. On January 19, 1310 he arrived before Waraṅgaḷ and laid siege to it. The siege continued for a couple of months when ultimately Pratāprudra opened negotiations and offered to surrender. Peace was established on Pratāprudra agree-

---

[1]a *Conquest of Deogir.*

*Rai* Ram Deo, of Deogir, having swerved from his allegiance, an expedition of thirty-thousand horse was fitted out against him, and *Malik Naib* Barbak was appointed to the command. " He accomplished with ease a march of three hundred *parasangs* over stones and hills, without drawing rein." " and arrived there on Saturday, the 19th of *Ramzan*, A. H. 706 (March, 1307 A. D.). The son of the *Rai* fled at once, and most of the army of the Hindus was sent to hell by the spears and arrows Half of the rest fled away, and the other half received quarter."

After the victory, the general ordered that the soldiers should retain the booty they had acquired, with the exception of horses, elephants, and treasure, which were to be reserved for the king. The *Rai* was taken prisoner and sent to the king, by whom he was detained for six months, and then released with all honour, and a red umbrella was bestowed upon him.

(*Tarikh-i-Alai* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 77-78.)

[1]b Devoting his attention to political matters, he made ready his army for the destruction of the *Rais* and *zamindars* of other lands, and for the acquisition of elephants and treasure from the princes of the south. He withdrew several divisions of his army which had been employed in guarding against the advance of the Mughals, and formed them into an army, which he sent against Deogir, under the command of *Malik Naib* Kafur *Hazar-dinari*, accompanied by other *maliks* and *amirs*, and the red canopy. He also sent Khwaja Haji deputy *Ariz-i-mamalik*, to attend to the administration of the army, the collection of supplies, and the securing of elephants and the spoil. No army had marched from Dehli to Deogir since the *Sultan* himself attacked it before he ascended the throne. Ramdeo had rebelled, and for several years had not sent his tribute to Dehli. *Malik Naib* Kafur reached Deogir and laid the country waste. He made Ramdeo and his sons prisoners, and took his treasures, as well as seventeen elephants. Great spoil fell into his hands,.... and he returned with it triumphant to Dehli, carrying with him Ramdeo. The *Sultan* showed great favour to the *Rai*, gave him a canopy, and the title of *Rai-rayan* (king of kings). He also gave him a lakh of *tankas*, and sent him back in great honour, with his children, wives and dependents to Deogir, which place he confirmed in his possession. The *Rai* was ever afterwards obedient, and sent his tribute regularly as long as he lived.

(*Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 200-201).

**CHAPTER 1.**

**The Deccan on the eve of the Muslim invasion.**

ing to pay a heavy indemnity. Kāfūr then returned to Delhi. [1]a ; [1]b. It was again by the end of the year 1310 that *Malik* Kāfūr set out on another expedition of the far south and arrived at Daulatābād on 4th February 1311. After a few days rest, Kāfūr marched towards the south and reached the Hoyasala frontier where the reigning king was Ballāla III. Ballāla had gone on an expedition to the Tamil country to recover his ancestral territory. He wanted to take advantage of the quarrel between Sundara Pāṇḍya and Vīra Pāṇḍya of the royal dynasty in the Tamil country. *Malik* Kāfūr, by forced marches, arrived at Dvārasamudra, the capital of the Hoyasalas and laid siege to it. On learning of the Muslim invasion, Ballāla hurried towards the capital but submitted and,

---

*Conquest of Telingana.*

[1]a In the year 709(1309 A.D.), there was prosperity and the time was propitious,—the lofty mind of the king greatly inclined towards the conquest of the whole of Hindustan, and the subjection of the infidels. Previous to this, Malwa had been conquered ; he, therefore, despatched *Malik* Nabu, Zafar Khan, and Nanak Hindi, with an army consisting of one hundred thousand horse and foot—

' Oh thou for whom there is an army that obtains victory to conquer the province of Telingana.' When they arrived on its frontier the *Rai* of that province adopted a prudent resolution, submitted to the Muhammadans, and agreed to pay an annual tribute and receive the royal collectors, and that populous territory, replete with every kind of wealth—

' As the cheek of your friend full of excellence.'

'In which are all desires you are in search of'—containing more than 30,000 tract of country was added to the Muhammadan empire. It is related that 6,000 *kharwars* or loads, of gold were despatched to Dehli,—

' Much yellow gold was in the large sacks',—and in consequence of the abundance of diamonds obtained by plunder, they became so cheap that, one weighing a *miskal*, could be purchased for three *dinars*.

*The Conquest of Dur Sumundar*

The royal army marched from this place towards the country of Dur Samundar. *Rai* Pandya offered opposition, and begged the assistance of an army from Ma'bar. At that time enmity prevailed between the two brothers, Sundar Pandi and Tira Pandi after the murder of their father. The latter sent to his assistance an army of horse and foot. Subsequently, the *Rai*, turning to the right rank, declined a contest, and having proffered his submission, he was left in possession of his country without the necessity of fighting. He delivered up to Malik Kafur the country of ' Arikanna, as a proof of his allegiance, and treasure beyond what imagination can conceive, together with 55 large elephants, which were worthy of carrying the great and fortunate heroes of the time, so that the country was restored to him, and, instead of shell-blowing, pyrolatry, and idol-worship, the true faith and the five daily prayers were established. On account of these transactions the fame of the first holy wars which opened Hind under Mahmud Subuktigin was erased from the page of history.

At the present time the imperial army consists of 475,000 Muhammadan disciplined holy warriors, whose names are recorded by the imperial muster-master, and whose pay and rations are entered in the regulations of the deputy-victualler. They are most obedient to the orders they receive, and are prepared to sacrifice their lives for the especial sake of their religion. Four hundred war elephants*** are kept in the royal stables, and forty swift camels***are employed to convey daily reports, with the greatest expedition, from and to the distant provinces of the empire.. ***

(*Tazjiyatu-l Amsar Wa Tajriyatu-l Asar* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 49-50.)

[1]b Next year, in the year 709 H. (1309 A. D.), the *Sultan* sent *Malik Naib* Kafur with a similar force against Arangal. The *Sultan* gave him instructions to do his utmost to capture the fort of Arangal, and to overthrow *Rai* Laddar Deo. If the *Rai* consented to surrender his treasure and jewels and elephants and horses and also to send treasure and elephants in the following year, *Malik Naib* Kafur was to accept these terms and not press the *Rai* too hard. He was to come to an arrangement and retire, without pushing matters too far, lest *Rai* Laddar Deo should get

rejecting the advice of his counsel to continue the fight, sued for peace. Thus another Hindu Kingdom fell to the Muslim hordes from the north. *Malik Nāib* now headed for the Pāṇḍya Kingdom, requisitioning the services of Ballāla. The Pāṇḍyas offered heroic resistance and carried on a guerilla warfare. The capital of Vīra Pāṇḍya Birdhul fell to Muslims. *Malik Nāib* pursued the elusive *Rājā* Vīra Pāṇḍya. The latter, however, escaped into dense jungles. *Malik Nāib,* then reached Brahmartpuri or modern Cidambaram and laid waste that city, massacring its inhabitants and pillaging its golden temples. He then marched to Madurā, the capital of Sundara Pāṇḍya and thoroughly sacked the town. *Malik Nāib* was, however, defeated by Vikrama Pāṇḍya, the uncle of Sundara Pāṇḍya. He then broke his

---

*contd.*

the better of him. If he could not do this, he was, for the sake of his own name and fame, to bring the *Rai* with him to Dehli.***

*Malik Naib* Kafur and Khwaja Haji took leave of the *Sultan* and marched to Rabari, a village in the fief of the *Malik*. There the army assembled, and marched towards Deogir and Arangal. The *maliks* and *amirs* of Hindustan, with their cavalry and infantry, joined at Chanderi, where a review was held. On approaching Deogir, *Rai-rayan* Ramdeo came forth to meet the army, with respectful offering to the *Sultan* and presents to the generals. While the army was marching through the territories of Deogir, Ramdeo attended every day at headquarters. So long as it remained encamped in the suburbs of the city, he showed every mark of loyalty, and to the best of his ability supplied *Naib* Kafur and his officers with fodder, and the army with material. Every day he and his officers went out to the camp, rendering every assistance. He made the bazar people of Deogir attend the army, and gave them strict orders to supply the wants of the soldiers at cheap rates. The army remained in the suburbs of Deogir for some days, resting from its fatigues. When it marched, Ramdeo sent men forward to all the villages on the route, as far as the borders of Arangal, with orders for the collection of fodder and provisions for the army, and giving notice that if a bit of rope was lost they would have to answer for it. He was as dutiful as any *raiyat* of Dehli. He sent on all stragglers to rejoin the army, and he added to it a force of Mahrattas, both horse and foot. He himself accompanied the march several stages, and then took leave and returned. All wise and experienced men noticed and applauded his devotion and attention.

When *Malik Naib* Kafur arrived in Tilang, he found the towns and village in his way laid waste. The *mukaddim* and *rais* perceived the superiority of the arm of Islam, and so they abandoned their forts and went and took refuge in Arangal.

The fort of Arangal was of mud, and tolerably large. All the active men of the country had assembled there. The *Rai*, with the *mukaddims* and (inferior) *rais* and connections, went with their elephants and treasure into the stone fort. *Malik Naib* Kafur invested the mud fort, and there were fights every day between the besiegers and the besieged. The *Maghribis* (western *manjaniks*) were played on both sides, and on both sides many were wounded. This went on for some days, till the daring and adventurous men of the army of Islam planted their scaling ladders and fixed their ropes. Then, like birds, they escaladed the towers of the mud fort, which was stronger than the stone one, and, cutting down the defenders with their swords, spears and axes, they made themselves masters of the fort. They next invested the stone fort most closely. Laddar Deo perceived that all hope was gone, and that the fort was tottering to its fall. He therefore sent some greart *brahmans* and distinguished *basiths* with presents to *Malik* Kafur, to beg for quarter promising to give up all the treasures and elephants and horses, jewels and valuables, that he had, and to send regularly every year a certain amount of treasure and a certain number of elephants to Dehli. *Malik* Kafur agreed to these terms, and raised the siege of the fort. He took from Laddar Deo all the treasure which he had accumulated in the course of many years—a hundred elephants, seven thousand horse, and large quantities of jewels and valuables. He also took from him a writing, engaging to send annually treasure and elephants. In the early part of the year 710 he started to return, loaded with booty, and passing through Deogir, Dhar and Jhain, he at length arrived in Dehli.***

(*Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 201-203.)

**CHAPTER 1.**

**The Deccan on the eve of the Muslim invasion.**

camp and started on return march to Delhi. He reached the capital on 19 October, 1311 after a journey of five months. [1]a ; [1]b.

In 1311 Rāmcandra died and was succeeded by Śaṅkardev or Siṅghaṇa. He refused to abide by the terms of the former treaty and showed signs of defiance. *Malik Nāib,* therefore, started on his second expedition against Devagirī in 1313. He marched to Devagirī, defeated and slew Siṅghaṇa. He then took possession of the whole Kingdom. He carried expeditions to Malabār and Dvārasamudra, from his headquarters at Devagirī, and collected tributes. *Malik Nāib,* however, could not subjugate the whole of the Yādava Kingdom and his campaigns against the Kingdom of Kampili comprising the district of Bellāry, were indecisive. At the end of his two years' stay in the Deccan, *Malik Nāib* was recalled to Delhi in 1314 by *Sultān* Alāuddin. The atmosphere in Delhi was tense with political intribues. Khizr Khān, the heir apparent, Ālp Khān, the Governor of Gujarāt and the Queen had joined hands to overthrow *Malik Nāib*....But he broke the conspiracy, killed Ālp Khān and sent Khizr Khān to Gwalior as prisoner. This was a signal for rebellion all over the Kingdom of the Khiljīs. In Gujarāt the army revolted and Kamāluddin Gurg who was sent by *Malik Nāib* to quell the rebellion was killed. In Citoḍ, Hammir challenged the protege of Alāuddin,

---

[1]a *Invasion of Ma'bar.*

In the month of *Rajab* of the year 710 H. (1310 A. D.) the appointed leaders, accompanied by a select army, were dispatched to conquer Ma'bar, and some of the towns were obtained through the animosity which has lately arisen between the two brothers; when at last a large army, attended by numerous elephants of war, was sent out to oppose the Muhammadans. *Malik Naib,* who thought himself a very saturn, was obliged to retreat, and bring back his army.

(*Tazjiyatu-l Amsar Wa Tajryatu-l Asar* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 50.)

[1]b Towards the end of the year 710 H. (1310 A. D.) the *Sultan* sent an army under *Malik Naib* Kafur against Dhur-samundar and Ma'bar. The *Malik,* with Khwaja Haji, *Naib-i ariz,* took leave of the *Sultan* and proceeded to Rabari, where the army collected. They then proceeded to Deogir, where they found that Ramdeo was dead, and from Deogir to the confines of Dhur-samundar. At the first onslaught Billal *Rai* fell into the hands of the Muhammadans, and Dhur-samundar was captured. Thirty-six elephants, and all the treasures of the place, fell into the hands of the victors. A despatch of victory was then sent to Dehli, and *Malik Naib* Kafur marched on to Ma'bar which he also took. He destroyed the golden idol temple (*but-khanah-i-zarin*) of Ma'bar, and the golden idols which for ages (*Karnha*) had been worshipped by the Hindus of that country. The fragments of the golden temple, and of the broken idols of gold and gilt, became the rich spoil of the army. In Ma'bar there were two *Rais,* but all the elephants and treasure were taken from both, and the army turned homewards flushed with victory. A despatch of victory was sent to the *Sultan,* and in the early part of 711 H. (1311 A. D.) the army reached Dehli, bringing with it six hundred and twelve elephants, ninety-six thousand *mans* of gold, several boxes of jewels and pearls, and twenty thousand horses. *Malik Naib* Kafur presented the spoil to the *Sultan* in the palace at Siri on different occasions, and the *Sultan* made presents of four *mans,* or two *mans,* or one *man,* or half a *man* of gold to the *maliks* and *amirs.* The old inhabitants of Dehli remarked that so many elephants and so much gold had never before been brought into Dehli. No one could remember anything like it, nor was there anything like it recorded in history.

At the end of this same year twenty elephants arrived in Dehli from Laddar Deo *Rai* of Tilang, with a letter stating that he was ready to pay at Deogir, to any one whom the *Sultan* would commission to receive it, the treasure which he had engaged to pay, thus fulfilling the terms of the treaty made with *Malik* Kafur.

(*Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 203-204.)

Maldeva. In the Deccan, Harpāldev, the son-in-law of Rāmcandra took hold of the capital and declared his independence. To add confusion to the already deteriorating political situation at Delhi, Alāuddin died on 5 January 1316. *Malik Nāib* now assumed command, and, disinheriting Khizr Khān, seated on the throne Śiabuddin Umar, a child of five or six. He then blinded Khizr Khān and Śādī Khān and imprisoned all the other sons of Alāuddin. Mubārak Khān, the third son of Alāuddin, was, however, saved by a stroke of fortune. The foot soldiers who were sent to blind him, went over to his side and slew *Malik* Kāfūr when he was asleep in his apartment. Mubārak Khān then ascended the throne by deposing Umar, under the title of Qutubuddin Mubārak Śāh. In 1318 two years after his accession to the throne Mubārak Śāh marched towards the Deccan with a strong force under his command to subjugate Harpāldev and collect tributes from the Deccan princes. On the approach of the *Sultān's* forces, Harpāldev fled to the hills. He was pursued by Khuśrāv who defeated and killed him[1]. With this the Yādava rule came to an end. The Deccan passed completely under the Muslim rulers from the north. Mubārak Śāh then returned to Delhi after appointing *Malik* Yaklakhi as the Governor of the Deccan. An unsuccessful attempt was made on his life when he was on his way to Delhi. This made him suspicious of the entire nobility that surrounded him. He executed prominent nobles including Yaghruś Khān the chief conspirator along with all the members of his family, all sons of Alāuddin, his father-in-law *Malik* Dinār *alias* Zafar Khān, the Governor of Gujarāt, and the regent *Malik* Śahin. It was now the turn of *Malik* Yaklakhi to revolt at Devagirī. He assumed royal titles and struck coins in his own name. Mubārak Śāh sent a large force against him. Yaklakhi was defeated, taken prisoner and sent along with his associates to Delhi. His place was taken by *Ain-ul-mulk*[2].

---

[1] In the year 718 H. (1318 A. D.) the *Sultan* marched with his *maliks* and *amirs* at the head of an army against Deogir, which, upon the death of *Malik Naib* Kafur, had thrown off its subjection, and had been taken possession of by Harpal Deo and Ram Deo. In the heedlessness of youth he did not nominate a wise and experienced man to act as his vice-regent during his absence; but he selected a youthful slave, named Shahin, who had been called Barilda during the reign of Alaud-din, and whom he now entitled *Wafa-e-Mulk*. In his extreme rashness and utter disregard of appearances, he placed Dehli and the treasures of Dehli under this lad, without giving a moment's thought to disturbances or other things that might happen in his absence. On arriving at Deogir, Harpal Deo and the other Hindus who had joined him were unable to withstand the army of Islam, and they and all the *mukaddims* dispersed, so that the *Sultan* recovered the fort without fighting and spilling of blood. The *Sultan* then sent some officers in pursuit of Harpal Deo, who was the leader of the rebels, and had excited the revolt. He was captured, and the *Sultan* ordered him to be flayed, and his skin to be hung over the gate of Deogir. The rains came on and the *Sultan* remained with the army for a time at Deogir. All the Mahrattas were once more brought into subjection. The *Sultan* selected as governor of Deogir, *Malik* Yak Lakhi, an old servant (*banda*) of Alau-d-din, who for many years was *naib* of the *barids* (spies); and he appointed feudatories, rulers, and revenue-collectors over the territories of the Mahrattas.

(*Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 214-215.)

[2] *Malik* Yak Lakhi, governor of Deogir, revolted, but when the intelligence reached the *Sultan*, he sent a force against him, from Dehli, which made him and his confederates prisoners. When they were brought to the *Sultan*, he had the ears and nose of Yak Lakhi cut off, and publicly disgraced him. His confederates

**CHAPTER 1.**

**The Deccan on the eve of the Muslim invasion.**

In the meanwhile Khuśrāv Khān had led successful campaigns against Pratāprudra of Waraṅgaḷ whom he defeated. He then proceeded to Malabār where he thought of declaring his independence of the Delhi Empire. His subordinates cautioned him against such a move and informed the *Sultān* about the motivations of Khuśrāv. Khuśrāv was recalled. The *Sultān* was so much infatuated with Khuśrāv that instead of punishing him he punished the informers and showered favours on Khuśrāv Khān, the main sulprit. Khuśrāv now reigned supreme in the capital. He collected a corps consisting of 40,000 men belonging to his own tribe. He now thought of assassinating the *Sultān*. One night entering the palace with a selected contingent, Khuśrāv Khān murdered the *Sultān* in the harem on 15th April 1320.

On the next day, Khuśrāv ascended the throne in the presence of all the principal nobles of the kingdom such as *Ain-ul-mulk*, Wahiduddin Quraiśī, Fakhruddin Jaunā, Bahāuddin *Ḍabīr* and others. He took the title of Nasiruddin Khuśrāv Śāh. Incidentally, Khuśrāv Khān was a Hindu convert to Islam. After his accession he conferred titles and honours upon his supporters as also upon those whom he suspected to be hostile to him. However, the antecedents of Khuśrāv Khān gave his opponents an opportunity of raising the slogan of Islam in danger. The spokesman of the opposition was Ghāzī Tughluk, the Governor of Dipalpur. He sent appeals to the governors of various provinces to revolt against Khuśrāv Śāh and depose him. The response from the provincial governors was poor. An army of 40,000 was sent against the rebel under Khān Khānān Husāmuddin. It was defeated. Ghāzī Malik left Dipalpur and advanced towards Delhi which he reached by forced marches. Khuśrāv Śāh collected a large force and issued out of Delhi to meet the rebel. The battle was joined on 6 September 1320 and raged for the whole day. In the evening Ghāzī Malik made a determined attack on Khuśrāv Śāh and defeated him. He was made prisoner and executed. Ghāzī Malik or Ghāzī Tughluk ascended the throne of Delhi under the title of Ghiyāsuddin Tughluk Śāh on 8th September 1320.

The new *Sultān* decided first to restore his authority in the Deccan where Pratāprudra had revolted. This was perhaps the last opportunity for the remaining Hindu Kingdoms of the Deccan to unite against any attempts by the Delhi *Sultāns* to subjugate the Deccan. The Hindu Kings were quite unaware of the magnitude of the danger that threatened them from the north. The Deccan provided scenes of fratricidal wars among the Hoyasalas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Kākatiyas. An year after his accession the *Sultān* sent his son Ulugh Khān against Waraṅgaḷ. Ulugh Khān marched to Waraṅgaḷ by way of Deva-

---

*contd.*

also received punishment. *Malik Ainu-l Mulk*, *Taju-l Mulk*, and *Yamkhiru-l Mulk* were sent as governor and assistants to Deogir, and these being good men their appointments excited surprise. They soon settled the district, regulated the forces, and made arrangements for the payment of the tribute.

(*Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 218-219.)

girī and laid siege to it. Pratāprudra offered stiff resistance. There were heavy casualities among the besiegers. The siege dragged on. Now a terrible disaster befell the besiegers. Some of the nobles of Ulugh Khān deserted for causes best known to themselves. Many fell into the hands of Hindus and were put to sword and many were punished by Ulugh Khān. The prince now raised the siege and retreated to Devagirī[1]. He was, however, sent on another expedition to Waraṅgaḷ in 1323. This time he subdued Pratāprudra and captured Waraṅgaḷ. Pratāprudra was carried to Delhi, but he appears to have committed suicide on the way on the banks of the Narmadā. Ulugh Khān also carried his arms to the Pāṇḍya Kingdom of Madurā and subjugated the Pāṇḍyas. Ulugh Khān then returned to the capital.

---

[1] In the year 721 H. (1321 A. D.) the *Sultan* sent his eldest son, Ulugh Khan, with a canopy and an army against Arangal and Tilang. Several of the nobles and officers, both of the old and new dynasty, were sent with him. The prince set out with great pomp, and when he arrived in Deogir, the officers and forces of that place joined, and marched with him to Tilang. Awe of the majesty of the *Sultan*, and fear of Ulugh Khan, drove Laddar Deo and all the *rais* and *mukaddims* to seek shelter in the fortresses; they never dreamed of opposing the Khan (in the field). He arrived at Arangal, and invested the mud fort. He then sent some of his officers to spoil the land of Tilang, to collect plunder, and bring in forage. They brought in spoil and fodder in abundance, and the army pushed on the siege in full confidence. The mud fort and the stone fort of Arangal were both garrisoned with numerous Hindus, who had gathered in muniments from all quarters. *Maghribis*, *aradas* and *manjaniks* were brought into use. Sharp conflicts daily occurred. Fire was discharged from the fort, and many were killed on both sides; but the army of Islam had the advantage, the garrison was reduced to distress, and the mud fort was on the point of being taken. They resolved to surrender, and Laddar Deo the *Rai*, with *mukaddims*, sent *basiths* to Ulugh Khan to make terms. They offered treasure and elephants and jewels and valuables, and begged that the Khan would accept these with tribute, as *Malik Naib* Kafur had done in the reign of Alau-d-din and would then retire. The Khan would grant no terms, but resolutely determined to reduce the fort and capture the *Rai*. So the *basiths* returned disappointed and dejected.

When the besieged were thus reduced to extremities, and were suing for peace, very nearly a month had passed since any couriers had arrived from the *Sultan*, although the Khan had previously received two or three letters every week. This want of intelligence from the court caused some uneasiness in the minds of the Khan and his officers; they imagined that some of the posts on the road had been destroyed, and that consequently the couriers had been unable to prosecute their journeys with the news. It also caused apprehension and misgivings to spread among the troops, and stories were carried from one to another. Ubaid the poet, and *Shaikh Zada-i Dimzshki*, two evil-disposed, turbulent fellows, who by some means had been introduced to the Khan, fanned the strife, and spread false reports among the soldiers, to the effect that the *Sultan* was dead, that the government had been overthrown, that a new prince now sat upon the throne of Dehli, and that the way was quite closed against all couriers and messengers. So every man took his own course. These two malicious men trumped up another false story. They went to *Malik* Tamar, *Malik* Tigin, *Malik* Mall Afghan and *Malik* Kafur, keeper of the seal, and told these nobles that Ulugh Khan looked upon them with envy and suspicion, as generals and nobles of the reign of Alau-d-din, and as obstacles to his attaining the throne; that their names were written down in a list as men to be disposed of, and that they would be all seized at once and beheaded. These nobles were aware that these two treacherous men were constantly about Ulugh Khan and so they credited their statements. They therefore agreed to take flight, and joining together their followers, they left the camp. Through this defection a panic fell upon the army, trouble and tumult arose, and no man thought of another. This event was very opportune for the besieged Hindus, and saved them. They sallied forth and plundered the baggage of the army, and Ulugh Khan with his immediate followers retreated to Deogir. The soldiers were worn out, and fell in all directions. As they retreated, couriers arrived from the court, bringing news of the health and safety of the *Sultan*.

(*Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 231-232.)

**CHAPTER 1.**

**The Deccan on the eve of the Muslim invasion.**

The conquests of the Tughluk *Sultān* in Bengal and Bihār need not detain us. It was while returning from his conquests that the *Sultān* heard reports about his son's conduct. He hurriedly returned to Delhi. He was however accidently killed along with his other son Mahmūd in a palace which collapsed while the *Sultān* was staying there (1325). Some authors like Ibn Batutah attribute motives to Ulugh Khān for the death of the *Sultān*.

Ullgh Khān now ascended the throne under the title of Muhammad *bin* Tughluk.

सत्यमेव जयते

# CHAPTER 2 — THE BAHAMANIS OF THE DECCAN



BACKGROUND.

THE FIRST SIGNS OF THE WEAKNESSES OF THE TUGHLUK EMPIRE began to show with the shifting of the capital from Delhi to Daulatābād in 1327 by Muhammad Tughluk. There was a weakening of the central authority of Delhi with the provincial governors enjoying more powers than they did before. When in the early fifties of the fourteenth century revolt broke out in the Deccan against the overlordship of the Delhi *Sultāns* these provincial governors who were also incidentally the military commanders took a prominent part in the revolt and succeeded in weaning away the Deccan from the hegemony of the Delhi Sultanate. As a matter of fact the chain of events leading to the independence of the Deccan and the establishment of an independent dynasty under Hasan Gaṅgū Bahaman Śāh started with the rebellion of Bahāuddin Gurśāsp, who held a *Jāgīr* at Sagar in 1327. The rebellion was suppressed, Gurśāsp first taking asylum with the Hindu *Rājā* of Kampili and then with Vīra Ballāḷa III before his final arrest and execution at Delhi. This rebellion woke the emperor to the difficulties of administering the far away situated provinces. Hence the decision to have a second capital at Daulatābād. Superficial calm prevailed in the Deccan till 1333 in which year rumour broke out of the emperor's illness and death leading to the revolt of Malik Hośaṅg. When pursued by the *Sultān's* army the Malik took refuge in the territory of the Hindu *Rājā* Barbara whose state lay between Daulatābād and Ṭhāṇā. It was only when the *Sultān's* army withdrew that *Rājā* Barbara handed over Hośaṅg to Qutlugh Khān, the governor of Daulatābād. The *Sultān* retired to Delhi and with this the scheme of having Daulatābād as the permanent capital fizzled out. The *Sultān* had to face another revolt by the governor of Madurā, Sayyad Hasan, in complicity with the nobles of Daulatābād. The *Sultān* left for the Deccan but could do nothing to suppress the revolt. An epidemic raged at Waraṅgal and the emperor himself was affected by it. The unsettled and the none too happy conditions of the Deccan ultimately resulted in the rise of an independent Hindu Dynasty at Waraṅgal. Efforts at the establishment of separate Hindu Kingdom at Vijayanagar had already begun to make headway. It will be of interest to note that three Hindu Chiefs Kṛṣṇā Nāyak, at Waraṅgal, Ballāḷa Deva at Dvārasamudra and Harihar at Vijayanagar played a dominant role in this upsurge against Muslim domination. A new alignment of political forces began to take place. The Deccan was again rocked by two successive rebellions in 1337 and in 1340, respectively. In 1337 Nusrat

**CHAPTER 2.**

**The Bahamanis of the Deccan.**

BACKGROUND

Khān, the governor of Bidar, proclaimed himself king. His attempt however proved abortive. He was defeated, made prisoner and sent to Delhi by Qutlugh Khān. In 1340 it was the turn of one Ali Śāh Natthu who declared himself king at Dhārur and assumed the title of Alāuddin Malik Śāh. Malik Śāh was also defeated by the governor of Daulatābād and sent to Delhi. Even though the rebellions were put down the emperor became deeply suspicious of the old nobility of the empire. He decided to replace them by a new nobility of his own creation, little realising the power which the old nobility wielded. He had no idea of the demoralising effect, such a step would have, upon the administrative fabric of the empire. As a matter of fact this very decision of the emperor hastened the downfall of the Sultanate and resulted in the secession of the Deccan from the empire. In 1345 the emperor decided to recall his trusted governor of the Deccan, Qutlugh Khān. This was done on the advice of some malcontents at Delhi. The Region was reorganised into four *Subhās*. Accordingly, Alim-ul-mulk was appointed viceroy of the Deccan. Malik Sardawatdar, Malik Mukhlisulmulk, Yusūf Baghra and Azizuddin Khammar were appointed to the four *Subhās* of the province. There were strict orders by the emperor to spare none of the old nobility suspected of participating in the successive revolts that had taken place in the Deccan during the period 1327—1347. Though experienced, these newly appointed officers were extremely unscrupulous in matters of administration. The first act of the governor of Māḷvā, Azizuddin Khammar was to execute 89 *amirs* of the province, charged with complicity in the rebellions. This cruel act, which had no aim other than that of creating terror, had exactly an opposite effect. The Deccan nobility developed resentment and hatred against such an outrageous regime. The Māḷvā affair had its repercussions in Gujarāt where a rebellion broke out. The rebels succeeded in forcing a defeat upon its new Governor Malik Maqbul in 1346. The emperor marched in person to quell the rebellion in Gujarāt. He ruthlessly put it down. The rebels either fled to the Hindu *Rājās* of Sālher and Mulher or sought asylum at Daulatābād. The emperor then sent emissaries to Daulatābād with instructions to the acting governor of Daulatābād to send all the *amirs* implicated in the Gujarāt rebellion, and to attend on his person with a picked cavalry of 1,500. The governor accordingly dispatched messengers to the principal *amirs* of Rāicūr, Mudgal, Gulburgā, Bijāpūr, Ganjauti, Berār and other places. The *amirs*, knowing what the emperor desired of them deliberately delayed their movements. Among the assembled *amirs* at Daulatābād was Hasan Gaṅgū, the founder of the Bahamanī dynasty. On the way they killed Malik Ahmad Lachin and Qaltash, the emissaries of the emperor. They then returned to Daulatābād and took possession of the city from the now powerless Alim-ul-mulk. They then elected Ismāil Mukh from among themselves as the first independent *Sultān* of the Deccan. This event took place in September 1346. The *amirs* now redistributed the provinces of the Deccan. Hasan Gaṅgū

was made Amir-ul-Umrā and the title of Zafar Khān was bestowed upon him. Nuruddin, another *amir* was given the title of Khvājā-i-Jahān.

BACKGROUND.

Taking advantage of the confusion in the Deccan, not a few Hindu Chiefs allied themselves with the Tughluk officers and fought against the newly established kingdom. Kandhra, the Hindu chief of Gulburgā put to sword many Muslims in the city and wrote to Jalāl Dohni who was holding Kalyāṇī in the name of Sultān Muhammad to send reinforcements. Khvājā Jahān had been sent against Kandhra. He was now besieging Gulburgā. Further assistance was sent to him. Kandhra however, still remained entrenched at Gulburgā. Zafar Khān now personally marched to the town of Gulburgā and besieged the town with all his forces. This was contrary to the orders of the *Sultān* Ismāīl who wanted Daulatābād to be protected against a possible attack from the emperor. After the fall of Gulburgā, Zafar Khān repaired to Daulatābād. The emperor now decided to put to an end the pretensions of the Deccan nobility once and for all and marched to the Deccan. He was accompanied by Imād-ul-mulk Sartez and Malik Yel Afghān. Ismāīl Mukh also collected a force of 30,000 to oppose the emperor. He was reinforced by the arrival of Zafar Khān from Gulburgā. In the battle near Daulatābād the Deccan army was completely routed with heavy slaughter. The emperor occupied Daulatābād. Ismāīl Mukh having fled that city to Dharakhera and the rest of the nobles fleeing to their respective *Jāgīrs*. The triumph of the emperor was short lived. News reached of a fresh insurrection in Gujarāt when the emperor was busy celebrating his recently won victory. The emperor appointed Khudāvandāzā Malik Jauhar and Śaikh Burhān Bilagrāmī to the siege of Dharakhera. He himself marched to Gujarāt to deal with the insurrection there. In the meanwhile Zafar Khān who had moved to his *Jāgīr* at Miraj left for Arka and Sagar. He started an intensive preparation for the coming conflict. He was joined by Iskhandar Khān, the chief of Sagar and other nobles. He now turned towards Daulatābād and reached the outskirts of the city by forced marches. There he defeated a contingent of imperial troops. He then decided upon attacking the imperial troops which had collected at Sindtan under the command of Imād-ul-Mulk Sartez. Reinforced by 1,500 cavalry sent by the Raya of Telaṅgaṇa, Zafar Khān completely routed the imperial army, few of whom could escape either death or capture at the hands of the Deccan forces. Ismāīl Mukh received the victorious general at Nizāmpūr, near Daulatābād and declared his intention to abdicate in favour of Zafar Khān in the presence of the assembled *amirs*. As the *amirs* supported the declaration, Zafar Khān ascended the throne with the title of Sikandar-i-Sānī Alāuddin Hasan Bahaman Śāh-al-walī and crowned himself king on 3 August 1347 at Daulatābād in the mosque of Kutubuddin Mubārak Śāh Khiljī. A new dynasty was thus born which was to rule the Deccan for a period of well over 130 years.

**CHAPTER 2.**

**The Bahamanis of the Deccan.**

BACKGROUND

ALAUDDIN HASAN BAHAMAN SHAH

It is not necessary to go into the controversy regarding the ancestry of Bahaman Śāh. The greatness of a person does not depend upon the family from which he hails. It results from his deeds and achievements. Suffice it to say that Hasan was a nephew of Malik Hizhbaruddin who was killed in action in 1298 against the Trans Oxianian Mongol hordes and the title Alāuddin which he adopted was a repetition of Ali Śāh's title and the revival of the title of Alāuddin Khiljī, who was the patron of the family. It, therefore, becomes unnecessary to connect his name with the family of Kakuyids which ruled Isfahān and Hamadān, as is done by some historians[1].

The Kingdom of the Deccan won by Hasan Śāh which included his *Jāgīr* of Miraj, Hakeri, Belgāṅv and certain other towns, was certainly not an easy proposition. It was full of sympathisers of the now defunct rule of the Tughluks. In the establishment of a new dynasty when the conditions were more or less fluid, these sympathisers saw the opportunity of carving out principalities for themselves. Among such malcontents were a few Hindu chiefs who would have readily alligned themselves with such forces at the first sign of such an opportunity.

On his enthronement Hasan Śāh appointed Malik Saifuddin Ghori, his *Wakīl-i-Mutlaq* or prime minister, made Śamsuddin Ismāīl Mukh, *Amir-ul-umrā*, Bahāuddin *alias* Sikandar Khān, his private secretary, Misami Dawal, Deputy Minister, Rafiuddin *alias* Fathulmulk, *Hajīb-i-Khās* or Lord Chamberlain, Ali Śāh, *Sarpardādār* or master of ceremonies and Gaṅgū, Accountant General. As the *Sultān* of the Deccan, the first task of Hasan Śāh was to pacify the country and bring the recalcitrant elements to book. He decided to carry this out by sending his commanders to different parts of the Deccan.[2] All these expeditions proved

---

[1] Authors differ regarding the birth and the early life of Alla-ood-Deen Hussun Bahmuny. It would be tedious and useless to relate all that has been said on this subject, so that I shall merely state that which is most generally believed in the Deccan.

Hussun, a native of Dehly, was the servant of Gungoo, a braminical astrologer enjoying high favour with the Prince Mahomed Toghluk, and who, in consideration of the good conduct of Hussun, gave him a pair of oxen, and permitted him to till a small piece of land for his own use. While at work one day, the plough attached itself to some substance, which on examination Hussun found to be a chain fastened to a copper vessel, containing a number of antique gold coins. On making the discovery, he carried the treasure to his master, who, commending him for his honesty, acquainted the Prince Mahomed Toghluk with the circumstance, who communicated it to his father, the king. The monarch ordered Hussun to the presence, and conferred on him the command of one hundred horse.

It is further related, that the bramin assured Hussun that he perceived from his horoscope that he would rise to great distinction, and be eminently favoured of the Almighty; and made him promise if he ever should attain regal power, that he would assume the name of Gungoo, and employ him as his minister of finance, a request with which Hussun readily complied. It is said, also that his future destiny was foretold by the celebrated Shaikh Nizam-ood-deen Oulia. From these prognostications, Hussun's ambition prompted him to proceed to the Deccan, which became the seat of his future good fortune. [Briggs's *Ferishta* Vol. II pp. 284-285.]

[2] Accordingly Husain Gurshasp was sent to Kotgir and Kandhar, Raziuddin Qutub-ul-mulk to the south-west, *Malik* Maqbul *alias* Qir Khan to Kalyani, Sikandar Khan towards Telangana and Ain-uddin Khwaja Jahan commander of the army of Miraj, to Gulburga.

highly successful and the commanders reported their successes to the *Sultān*. It may be mentioned that many Hindu Chiefs such as Akraj of Kandhār, the local chiefs at Maram, Mahendri and Akkalkot, the chief of Malkheḍ, Pocha Reḍḍī, the chief of Gulbargā fought valiantly. It was in vain. They had to submit to the superior forces of Bahamanī commanders.

In 1353, rebellion broke out at Sagar headed by Muhammad-*bin-Ālam*, Ali Lachin and Fakhruddin Muhurdār. Though Khwājā-i-Jahān was ordered to put down the rebels, the *Sultān* decided to march personally to quell the rebellion. The *Sultān* left the capital and arrived at Gulbargā where he heard of the death of Muhammad-*bin*-Tughluk. Leaving Gulburgā, the *Sultān* arrived by forced marches to Sagar where the rebels surrendered without giving a fight. The *Sultān*, during his encampment at Sagar, occupied the surrounding territory. The *Sultān* then left Sagar for Mudhoḷ which was governed by a Hindu Chief Nārāyaṇ. On his way he received submissions from the chiefs of Kembhāvī and Meḷkoṭ. The territory of Mudhoḷ was devastated and the *Sultān* arrived at Jamakhiṇḍī where Nārāyaṇ had shut himself up. He besieged the place. Nārāyaṇ made a night attack upon the besiegers but the attack was beaten back. The Bahamanī army entered the place in the early hours of dawn. Narāyaṇ now fled to Mudhoḷ. This town too was besieged by the *Sultān's* troops. The siege lasted for four months. When Nārāyaṇ found all sources of succour and reinforcement closed, he surrendered. The *Sultān* restored to him his *Jāgīr*. The *Sultān* left Mudhoḷ and making halts at Miraj, Pātan, Sagar, Malkheḍ and Seram arrived at Gulburgā exactly after an years absence. The early campaigns of his commanders and the expedition he himself had led personally, had practically eliminated the opposition to Hasan Śāh from the leftovers of the Tughluk rule. But the change in the fortunes of Hasan Śāh and his phenomenal rise to power were sure to create a feeling of jealousy and a sense of insecurity among his erstwhile colleagues. They had fought shoulder to shoulder along with him to eradicate the Tughluk hegemony.

This led to an emergence of a new type of opposition to the rule of Bahaman Śāh. Malik Maqbul entitled Kīr Khān who had formerly been sent to conquer Kalyāṇī revolted under the influence of one Kāle Muhammad. The *Sultān*, though infirm, marched to Kalyāṇī and commissioned one of his principal commanders Sikandar Khān to subdue the rebel Kīr Khān. In the meanwhile Kīr Khān had occupied Kohir and on hearing of the march of Sikandar Khān to punish him, he left Kohir. He decided to oppose Sikandar Khān then already on his way from Bidar. Kīr Khān was, however, defeated, made a prisoner, and brought before the King. In spite of the intercession made in his behalf by Sikandar Khān, the *Sultān* ordered Kīr Khān to be beheaded. Marching further, the *Sultān* captured the fort of Kohir where Kāle Muhammad had shut himself up and returned to Gulburgā which he renamed Ahsanābād.

**CHAPTER 2.**

**The Bahamanis of the Deccan.**

ALAUDDIN HASAN BAHAMAN SHAH.

The *Sultān* was now in his early sixties and exhausted by the arduous task of building and reorganizing a kingdom. He was, however, not destined to spend his last days in peace and tranquillity. He undertook campaigns in the north, south, east and west. He marched as far as Goā and subjugated it. During his return, he captured Dābhoḷ, Karāḍ and Kolhāpūr. In the north he marched up to Maṇḍū in Māḷwā, levying tributes on his way. His eastern campaign was not very successful. He overran Telaṅgaṇa. During the campaigns he suffered reverses at the hands of, Kātya Vemā, an officer of Anavata of Kondāvidu, at Dharnikota and another cheif Bhaktirāja, at Peda Kondā. Hasan Śāh died at the age of 67 on 11th February 1358. Except that he consolidated his rule in the Deccan there is nothing distinguishing and particular about the reign and person of Hasan Śāh. He ruled as a King and had all the virtues and infallibilities of human nature. During his reign the Deccan suffered from heavy bloodshed when whole tracts were laid waste and desolate. The character of Hasan Śāh was particularly marred by the wanton execution of Ismāil Mukh who had abdicated in his favour, in the open court, on the charge of his alleged complicity in a plot against the *Sultān*. However, the historical poem *Futuh-us-salātin* dealing with the rise of Muslim power in the north and the Deccan, was written by Isami under the direct patronage of Hasan Śāh. It is a valuable source for a study of the history of the Deccan.

At the time of his death the Bahamanī kingdom extended as far as Maṇḍū in the north and Rāicūr in the south and from Bhongir in the east to Dābhoḷ and Goā in the west. The whole Kingdom was divided into four divisions, *viz*., Ahsanābād Gulburgā with Rāicūr and Mudgal, Daulatābād with Bīd, Junnar and Caul, Berār with Māhūr, and Indūr and Kaulās in Bahamanī Telaṅgaṇa. These divisions were placed under the charge of Malik Saifuddin Ghorī, Muhammad-*bin*-Ali Śāh, Safdar Khān Sistāni and Āzam-i-Humāyūn, respectively.[1]

SULTAN MUHAMMAD I.

Alāuddin Hasan Bahaman Śāh was succeeded by his eldest son Muhammad, under the title of Muhammad I on 11th February 1358. Muhammad I continued Malik Saifuddin Ghorī in the post of Prime Minister. Ghorī was also the father-in-law of the *Sultān* and to him goes the credit of preparing that excellent compendium on polity detailing the duties of a sovereign and such other administrative officers as *Wakīl, Wazīr, Dabīr, Sarhaddar, Qilāhdār, Bakṣi, Qāzī, Muftī, Kotwāl, Muhatasib* and others. Ghorī was himself an experienced politician on whose advice the *Sultān* reorganised the former divisions into civil rather than

[1] He divided his kingdom into four principal Governments. The district including the capital, extended from Koolburga as far west as Dabul, and south as far as Rachore and Moodkul, was placed under Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory, the tract comprehending Choul (on the sea-coast), and lying between Joonere, Dowlutabad, Beer, and Peitun (being the territory of Mahrut), the king committed to the charge of Mahomed Khan, the son of his brother Ameer Ally. On the north-east, Mahoor, Ramgir, and a portion of Berar, were entrusted to Sufdur Khan Seestany ; and the Districts in Tulingana, were assigned to the charge of Azim Hoomayoon, son of Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory. (Briggs's *Ferishta* Vol. II, pp. 295-296

military units. They were Daulatābād, Berār, Bidar and Gulburgā. Each unit was put in charge of a governor. The governors were specially designated as Musnad-i-Ali, Majlis-i-Ali Azam-i-Humayūn and Malik Nāib for the above provinces, respectively with Malik Nāib always holding the king's confidence.

The military was also similarly organised. A special post of commander-in-chief was created and was designated *Amir-ul-umrā*. Recruiting officers called *Barbardaran* were appointed to mobilise the armed personnel. A special body-guard, one in charge of kings arms, called *Yakka Jawānan* or *Silāhdārān* and the other in charge of the Kings person called *Khāskhel* were also created. It was during the reign of *Sultān* Muhammad I that gun powder began to be used as a weapon of war. It revolutionized the entire system of defensive and offensive warfare. A special artillery wing of the army was created and was placed under the command of Muqarrab Khān, the son of Safdar Khān Sistāni. It is of interest to note that *Sultān* Muhammad I put to practical use, the principles enunciated in that political compendium '*Nasaih*' by posting his secret service agents as far as Delhi. This measures gave him a clue to the alignment of the Deccan Kingdoms of Vijayanagar and Telaṅgaṇa in the event of a possible attack from Firoz Tughluk of Delhi.

The reign of Muhammad I was not a peaceful one. Muhammad I had to face the growing power of the Kingdoms of Vijayanagar and Telaṅgaṇa. The immediate cause of friction between these powers was the conflicting claims of each of them upon the territory that divided their Kingdoms. The conflict had a wider implication as well. It was the fear entertained by the Hindu chiefs of the south, who saw that an independent Muslim power was being established in the Deccan. They instinctively left that their existence was in danger. Under the forceful leadership of Kṛṣnā Nāyak and Bukka, respectively, the Kingdoms of Telaṅgaṇa and Vijayanagar had prospered immensely. They were anxious to get back territories of their former domain. Kṛṣnā Nāyak demanded Kaulās, and Bukka, the ruler of Vijayanagar, territories adjacent to Rāicūr and Mudgal as far as the river Kṛṣnā. Muhammad of course refused to entertain the demands. The forces of Telaṅgaṇa and Vijayanagar united under the command of Vināyak Dev, the son of Kṛṣnā Nāyak and marched towards the fortress of Kaulās. They were, however, defeated by the Bahamanī army commanded by *Amir-ul-umrā* Bahādur Khān, Āzam-i-Humāyūn and Safdar Khān Sistāni, near Kaulās (1362). Peace was concluded on Kṛṣnā Nāyak agreeing to pay, 1 lac of *hons* as tribute and 25 elephants as indemnity of war. The peace, however, was short lived. Shortly after, the *Sultān* sent the advance guard of his army to Pālampeṭ where Vināyak Dev was camping. The *Sultān* himself proceeded to Pālampet. In the fight that ensued at Pālampeṭ Vināyak Dev was captured, brought before the *Sultān* and executed[1]. With his vengeance

[1] He then ordered a band of veteran soldiers to disguise themselves in tattered habits, and repair to the town as horse dealers, who had been plundered by robbers, in order to amuse the attention of the guards at the gates. The soldiers, on being

**CHAPTER 2.**

**The Bahamanis of the Deccan.**

SULTAN MUHAMMAD I.

satiated, the *Sultān* started on his return march. However, the bloody execution of their prince so enraged his followers that the guerillas harassed the retreating Bahamanī army continuously. A considerable portion of the four thousand cavalry, which the *Sultān* had taken along with him was destroyed in the campaign.

The reverse suffered by the *Sultān* was a prelude to a still more vigorous and aggressive campaign in Telaṅgaṇa in 1363. News came of an open invitation extended by the Rājā of Telaṅgaṇa to Firoz Tughluk of Delhi to invade the Deccan. Muhammad ordered the provincial governors with their forces to the capital. Handing over the charge of administration to Saifuddin Ghorī he marched towards Kaulās with the armies of Bidar, Māhūr and Berār. He dispatched Safdar Khān Sistāni to Waraṅgaḷ and closely followed him. Kṛṣṇā Nāyak, unable to face the superior might of Muhammad I, and in the absence of any succour from the Rājā of Vijayanagar, sued for peace, which was agreed to. The *Rājā* of Telaṅgaṇa gave the *Sultān* 13 crores of *hons,* three hundred elephants, two hundred horses and the fort of Goḷconḍā, with its dependencies. In the political settlement that ensued the boundaries between the two Kingdoms were fixed at Goḷconḍā.

With the affairs of Telaṅgaṇa concluded to the advantage of the Bahamanīs, Muhammad I now decided to have a trial of strength with the might of Vijayanagar. He invited an attack from *Rājā* Bukka of Vijayanagar by drawing a draft upon the Vijayanagar treasury towards the payment of wages of 300 singers and musicians. These men had participated in the festivals of the marriage of Prince Mujāhid with the daughter of Bahādur Khān. This was a foolish and incomprehensible step. Bukka, the ruler of Vijayanagar was not expected to take it lying down. The *Rājā* of Vijayanagar with considerable infantry and cavalry, crossed the Bahamanī frontiers at Tuṅgabhadrā and captured Mudgal. The *Sultān,* with the army of Daulatābād, marched in person, crossed the river Kṛṣṇā and arrived before Mudgal. The Vijayanagar forces vacated the fort after a stubborn fight. After resting at Mudgal for the rainy season Muhammad I issued forth from Mudgal and after crossing the Tuṅgabhadrā entered the

---

*contd.*

questioned, replied, that they were merchants who had been plundered by a numerous banditti not far from the place, and were come to implore protection and justice from the governor. During this time Mahomed Shah advanced with a thousand horse, and the guards in attempting to shut the gates were prevented by the King's troops. The King now entering the town, commenced to slay the inhabitants without mercy, while Vinaik Dew, who little expected such an enemy, was engaged at an entertainment. On receiving the alarm, he fled with precipitation to the citadel, which the King assaulted without delay; when, after a faint opposition, Vinaik Dew tried to make his escape by a postern, but was taken prisoner in the city. In the morning he was questioned by the King, why he had dared to seize horses from merchants on their way to Koolburga? and making an insolent reply, Mahomed Shah, who had before this resolved to spare his life, commanded a pile of wood, which happened to be close to the citadel, to be lighted. He then ordered the tongue of Vinaik Dew to be cut out, and having placed him on a *munjneek* (catapult), caused him to be cast from the walls into the flames, in which he was consumed. (Briggs's *Ferishta* Vol. II, p. 303).

territory of Vijayanagar. Bukka himself came out to settle the issue with the Bahamanī *Sultān*. A sanguinary battle was fought near the village of Kantalam on 20th July 1366 in which the Vijayanagar army suffered defeat. It could not withstand the strong artillery attacks of the Bahamanīs. There was heavy slaughter on both sides, each side losing commanders of distinction. The *Sultān*, in the flush of his success marched to besiege the city of Vijayanagar. The guerilla tactics of the Vijayanagar army, however, turned their ignominious defeat into a resounding victory. Muhammad retreated in the face of mounting attacks from the guerillas, until he reached the boundaries of his own kingdom. Both the sides had now grown weary of the struggle and peace talks ensued which put an end to the warfare. The armies of Vijayanagar and the Bahamanīs retired to their respective territories.[1]

No sooner had the *Sultān* retired after establishing order on his frontier, than he had to face a rebellion from one of his officers Bahrām Khān Māzendarānī, the governor of Daulatābād. The dispatch of the Daulatābād army on an expedition against Vijayanagar gave the latter an opportunity to rise in revolt against the *Sultān*. He conspired with Kumbha Dev (Govind Dev) and other Marāṭhā chiefs in Berār and Bāglāna. The *Sultān* tried to pacify the recalcitrant governor by sending two of his envoys, Sayyad Jalāl Hamud and Śāh Malik to Daulatābād. They, however, could not succeed in persuading Bahrām Khān to lay down arms. *Sultān* Muhammad, therefore, immediately on his return from the Vijayanagar campaign, marched to suppress the rebellion. He sent Musnad-i-Ali Khān Muhammad in advance. Bahrām Khān advanced up to Paiṭhaṇ. The two forces faced each other, ready for an action, when a few detachments from the royal army defected to the rebels. Khān Muhammad had therefore to retire to Śevgāṅv. On getting news of this trouble *Sultān* Muhammad hurriedly advanced from Bīḍ where he was camping. The appearance of the *Sultān* a few

[1]If any reliance is to be placed on Moolla Dawood Bidury, the author of the *Tohfut-oos-Sulateen*, guns were used at this time by the Hindoos ; and in a subsequent passage, it is remarked that the Mahomedans used them for the first time during the next campaign. But I am disposed to doubt the validity of both these statements. From the latter passage it seems possible, indeed, that the Mahomedans might have procured guns from the West in 1368 because they are said to have been used eighteen years previously by Edward III at the battle of Cressy, though it is very Improbable; and Ferishta, in stating it to be the first time the Mahomedans employed them, also observed, that Toorks and Europeans, skilled in gunnery, worked the artillery. That guns were in common use before the arrival of the Portuguese in India, in 1498, seems certain, from the mention made of them by *Faria-e-Souza*, who represents the Moorish vessels in India, in 1502, bearing down upon the vessel of Peter de Araide, called the St. Peter, into whom she poured her shot, and then made away, and was pursued and taken off the bay of Cananor." Vol. I. chap. v. p. 59. Stevens's translation, Lond. ed. 1694. *Faria-e-Souza*, who accompanied the early Portuguese to India, writes, in Chap. ix. p. 99. *ibid.* "The Moors of Sumatra, Ma' lacca, and the Moluccoes, (by which last appellation he means "those princes bearing the title of Moolk, that is, the several Kings of the Deccan"), were well disciplined, and much better "stored with artillery than we that attacked them, A. D. 1506." All these circumstances, however, do not lead to the conclusion that the Hindoos had guns before they were introduced from the West by the Mahomedans, who adopted their use from Europe. [Briggs's *Ferishta* Vol. II, p. 312].

CHAPTER 2.

The Bahamanis of the Deccan.

SULTAN MUHAMMAD I.

miles away unnerved the *Rājā* of Bāglāṇa who withdrew to his country. This move forced Bahrām Khān to take shelter in the fort of Daulatābād where he was besieged by *Sultān* Muhammad. Bahrām Khān and Kumbha Dev could not stand the siege. On the advice of Śaikh Zainuddin, they fled to Gujarāt. The rebellion put down, *Sultān* Muhammad returned to Gulburgā. He appointed Masnad-i-Ali in charge of the province of Daulatābād.

The rest of the reign of *Sultān* Muhammad I was uneventful and quiet prevailed both within and without the kingdom. The peace of the land enabled the *Sultān* to entertain the company of learned men such as Śaikh Maśaikh Zainuddin Daultābādī, Ainuddin Bijāpurī, Maulānā Nizāmuddin Barani and Hakim Zahiruddin Tāhiri. The Deccan became a meeting ground of the learned, and the envy of all parts of India. The reign of *Sultān* Muhammad is marked by some of the finest architectural constructions in the Deccan such as the Jāmī Masjīd in the Gulbargā fort, the Śāh Bazār Mosque in Gulburgā town, and the tomb of Hazrat Śamsuddin at Osmanābād. The monuments which are still intact, are pleasing to the eye and are remarkable in appearance. Muhammad I died on 21st April 1375. He lies buried at a short distance from his father's mausoleum at the south gate of the Gulbargā fort.

ALAUDDIN MUJAHID SHAH.

Muhammad I was succeeded by his son Alāuddin Mujāhid on 21 March 1375. He reappointed his maternal grandfather Malik Saifuddin Ghorī to the post of the prime minister and replaced Musnad-i-Alī Khān Muhammad by Āzam-i-Humāyūn as *Tarafdār* of Daulatābād. It may be recalled that the truce established during the reign of Muhammad I between the Vijayanagar Kingdom and the Bahamanīs was only a temporary one. Hostilities were sure to erupt with the slightest provocation by either side. The reason for such an eruption was not far to seek and hostilities started when the two kings wrote to each other about the settlement of the boundary dispute. Each side refused to give up its stand. *Sultān* Mujāhid decided to strike the first blow. He marched with the armies of Daulatābād, Bidar and Berār. He crossed the Tuṅgabhadrā, arrived at Adoni and ordered Safdar Khān Sistāni to lay siege to the fort. He then proceeded to the capital but found that the Rāyā had taken to the jungles. In vain Mujāhid pursued the Rāyā for six months. The Rāyā however returned to the capital when he fell sick. Mujāhid advanced on the capital. Fighting his way to the capital he camped near a hillock where he desecrated a temple of Raṅgāswāmy. The opposing forces were deployed in battle array and a fierce battle ensued between the two armies. Muqarrab Khān who was in charge of the artillery attacked the Vijayanagar army effectively. The Rāyā issued forth from the fort, with heavy reinforcement and turned the scales in his favour. There were heavy losses on both sides. *Sultān* Mujāhid thought it fit to retreat and arrived at Adoni where his forces were in siege of the fort for a considerable time. The armies of Vijayanagar under Chenappa

Odeyar boldly attacked the Bahamanīs and captured Malik Saifuddin Ghorī and prince Fath Khān who were subsequently released when the Bahamanīs raised the siege and retreated towards their own territory. On the way back Sultān Mujāhīd went on a fishing expedition where he was murdered as the result of a conspiracy by Masud Khān[1] and Dāūd Khān (the *Sultān's* uncle) on 16 April 1378[2].

ALAUDDIN MUJAHID SHAH.

In the confusion that prevailed on the murder of Mujāhid Śāh, Dāūd, the cousin of the deceased *Sultān*, ascended the throne on 16 April 1378. His succession did not prove to be a happy one because there developed another faction in the court which favoured Bahaman Śāh's son Mahmūd (Dāūd's brother) as the right claimant to the throne. The sympathies of Safdar Khān Sistāni and Āzam-i-Humāyūn clearly lay with Mahmūd. They proceeded directly to their respective provinces without paying homage to the newly crowned *Sultān*. Saifuddin Ghorī played safe by supporting Dāūd Śāh. However, Dāūd was not destined to rule for long. Soon after his accession he was stabbed by a slave, Bakah, on Friday, 21st May 1378 when he was attending prayers in the great mosque of Gulburgā. He died soon afterwards. The master-mind behind this plot was Ruh Parwar, *Sultān* Mujāhid's sister, who with her object achieved, placed Mahmūd Śāh on the throne.

SULTAN MAHMUD.

Mahmūd, on accession, reappointed Malik Saifuddin Ghorī to the post of prime minister in spite of the latter having taken

[1] Masud Khan was the son of King's Betel-leaf bearer Mubarak whose collar bone had been broken by Mujahid when the latter was a prince.

[2] When the royal army had crossed the Toongbudra, and arrived near the fortress of Moodkul, the King, with some favourites, the companions of his pleasures, went to take the diversion of hunting, attended only by four hundred cavalry. Among the number were Dawood Khan, Sufdur Khan Seestany, and Azim Hoomayoon. It was the King's habit, after hunting all day, to pass the night where ever he was overtaken by darkness.

Dawood Khan, who could not brook the reprimand given him at Beejanuggur or quitting his post, and having also a design on the throne, secretly plotted the King's assassination. In this plot Khan Mahomed and Musaood Khan were also engaged, the former of whom had not forgotten the circumstance of his removal from the government of Dowlutabad, and the preference shown to his rival Azim Hoomayoon, and Musaood sought revenge for the death of his father Moobarik, spice-bearer to the late king. These conspirators watched impatiently for an opportunity to execute their design; although such was the vigilance of Sufdur Khan and Azim Hoomayoon, that as yet none had offered. But as the pen of Providence had signed the decree, Mujahid Shah one day dismissed his two faithful officers, against their own wishes, to their governments, and moved with his remaining attendants towards his capital. Arriving on the banks of a river, he halted to amuse himself with fishing; but being suddenly seized with a pain in his eyes, which proved to be ophthalmy, he retired to repose in a tent guarded by the conspirators.

About midnight Dawood Khan, leaving Khan Mahomed and his followers to watch without, entered the tent with Musaood Khan and two other persons. The king was fast asleep, and an Abyssinian slave only was present, employed in rubbing his feet. The slave, startled, shouted aloud on seeing Dawood Khan with a naked dagger in his hand. The King arose, but could not open his eyes, it being the nature of the disorder to close them together. Dawood Khan rushed upon him and plunged the dagger into his body. The king, in agony, seized the hand in which the assassin held the fatal instrument, and struggled with him; the slave, though unarmed, seized Musaood Khan, who struck him dead with one blow of his sabre; and inflicted another on the king with such effect, that he expired immediately.

(Briggs's *Ferishta* Vol. II, pp. 339-341).

**CHAPTER 2.**

**The Bahamanis of the Deccan.**

SULTAN MAHMUD.

sides with Dāūd Śāh, the murdered *Sultān*. At this time the Vijayanagar forces, after their rout of the Bahamanī army at Adoni, were battering the fort of Rāicūr which they had besieged. Mahmūd tried to put an end to these hostilities but without success. Desultory warfare continued between the two kingdoms throughout the reign of Mahmūd Śāh with fortune fluctuating from one side to the other. The Bahamanīs were expelled from Goā by the *Rājā* of Vijayanagar, Harihara II. A crushing defeat was inflicted on the Bahamanī forces at Adoni in 1380 by Chenappa, the nephew of Harihara II. Rāñjaṇī was captured from them in 1395 by Baichappa, a Vijayanagar general. The setbacks suffered by the Bahamanīs on the battle-field were due to the disorganised state of affairs that prevailed in the kingdom consequent upon the chain of princely murders following the death of Muhammad. The weakness of the *Sultān* in dealing firmly with the problem of external aggression incited a few officers of the kingdom to revolt. One such incident occurred at Sagar. Muhammad and Khvājā, the two sons of the Ṭhāṇedār of Sagar, Bahāuddin, rose in insurrection. They had been charged with the offence of embezzlement. They offered stiff resistance to Yusūf Azhdār who had been sent to suppress the rebels. Bahāuddin also joined hands with his sons. The rebellion was, however, suppressed when Bahāuddin was treacherously murdered by one of his own man.

The reign of Mahmūd Śāh was otherwise peaceful. Considerable progress was registered in the field of learning. A marked feature of Mahmūd Śāh's reign was the complete disappearance of the influence of the North and the creation of a new political barrier in the form of emergent states of Māḷvā, Gujarāt and Khāndeś between the South and the North. A new factor was also emerging in the politics of the Deccan. It was the continuous influx of foreigners from Iran, Iraq and Arabia. They held considerable sway over the politics of the Deccan during the three hundred years rule of the Bahamanīs and the five Sultanates. Mahmūd himself was a learned person. Gulburgā, Bidar, Kandhār, Ellicpūr, Daulatābād, Junnar, Caul and Dābhol developed as centres of learning. The region of Mahmūd came to a close with his death on 20 April 1397. Malik Saifuddin Ghorī who had seen five successive reigns as the prime minister also died the following day. Mahmūd had nominated his elder son Ghiyāsuddin as his heir and successor.

Ghiyāsuddin ascended the throne under the title of Ghiyasuddin Tahamatan on 20 April 1397. When Mahmūd nominated Ghiyāsuddin to the throne, he had directed Firoz Khān and Ahmad Khān, sons of his predecessor Dāud Śāh to pay homage to his son. Incidentally both the brothers were married to the daughters of *Sultān* Muhammad I and were thus the brothers-in-law of the new *Sultān*. The enthronement of Ghiyāsuddin was not destined to last long. The Deccan witnessed two quick depositions on the throne just as it had witnessed two gruesome murders before the late *Sultān* Mahmūd came to the throne in

GHIYASUDDIN.

1378. On coming to power Ghiyāsuddiñ appointed Salābat Khān as Governor of Berār in place of his father Safdar Khān Sistāni who had died. Azam-i-Humāyūn Khān Muhammad was made *Sarnaubat*. Ahmad Beg Qazvini was appointed as the *Peśvā*. These appointments of persons of Persian origin irked the old nobility of Turkish descent. Taghalacīn had aspired to be the prime minister. The *Sultān*, in his vanity, dismissed the claims of Taghalcīn as coming from a low born and underserving person. Disappointed in his aspiration and fearing the very security of his person, he decided to take a revenge upon the *Sultān*. Taghalacīn had a beautiful daughter. He arranged matters in such a way that the *Sultān* became enamoured of her beauty. Taghalacīn then threw a big party to which he invited the *Sultān*. The *Sultān* intoxicated by passion for the daughter of Taghalacīn accepted the invitation. At the party he indulged in heavy drinks and became intoxicated. On the request of Taghalacīn he dismissed his attendants. While his eyes were anxious to see the enchanting beauty of the beloved of his dreams Taghalacīn blinded Ghiyāsuddin with the sharpened points of his dagger. Taghalacīn, now master of the situation, sent Ghiyāsuddin in confinement at Sagar and raised his step-brother Śamsuddin Dāūd to the throne under the title of Śamsuddin Dāūd II on 14 June 1397, exactly 7 weeks after the enthronement of Ghiyāsuddin. On the advice of his mother who was raised to the rank of Makhdumā-i-Jahān, Śamsuddin Dāūd appointed Taghalacīn to the post of *Malik Nāib* and *Mir Jumlā* of the Kingdom. This turn of events was not to the liking of Firoz Khān and Ahmad Khān and they decided to intervene. When Taghalacīn got scent of the plot he obtained orders from the *Sultān* for the imprisonment of Firoz and Ahmad. They made good their escape to Sagar. From Sagar they wrote to the *Sultān* protesting their loyalty. They, however, demanded the dismissal of Taghalacīn. The *Sultān* who was completely under the thumb of Taghalacīn flatly refused to comply with this demand. The brothers, thereupon marched with an army of three thousand on Gulburgā, hoping that the bulk of the royal army would join them. When they arrived on the banks of Bhīmā, Firoz declared himself king. They were now within 8 miles of the capital. The royal troops sent by Taghalacīn defeated Firoz and Ahmad and forced them to flee to Sagar.

SHAMSUDDIN DAUD SHAH.

When Firoz and Ahmad found that they could not succeed by recourse to arms they decided to achieve what they wanted by political treachery. They sent Mir Ghiyāsuddin and Sayyad Kamāluddin to the court offering their apologies for their past behaviour. They themselves proceeded to the capital with a contingent of armed personnel. Having arrived at the capital, they allied themselves with the court faction opposed to Taghalacīn and headed by such nobles as Azhdār Khān, Malik Śitab, Sayyad Tājuddin Jakajali Qutb-ul-mulk and others. They made a forced entry into the *Darbār* and killed Taghalacīn's sons. In

CHAPTER 2.
The Bahamanis of the Deccan.
SHAMSUDDIN DAUD SHAH.

the melee that ensued, Taghalacīn was killed by Mir Ghiyāsuddin. Śamsuddin was blinded. Firoz Khān now ascended the throne as Tājuddin Firoz on 16 November 1397. Śamsuddin, an innocent victim of political outrages died 17 years later in Medinā.

FIROZ SHAH.

On his accession to the throne, Firoz Śāh created his brother Khān-i-Khānān. He appointed Mir Fazlullāh Iñjū as *Malik Nāib* and *Wakil* or prime minister. It was not long after the accession of Firoz Śāh that the peace and tranquillity of the Bahamanī Kingdom was broken with, rebellions breaking out from within, and aggressions taking place from without. The Bahamanī contingent at Sagar was thrown out by the local chief who revolted. Rājā Narsiṅg Dev of Kherlā, seeking assistance from the Chiefs of Maṇḍū and Asir, crossed the Bahamanī frontiers and advanced as far as Māhur. Vijayanagar was also not slow to take advantage of the turmoil and confusion that prevailed at the Bahamanī court. Bukka entered the Bahamanī territory with a well equipped army. He crossed the Tuṅgabhadrā and sent forces against Mudgal, Rāicūr and Telaṅgaṇa. Bukka was assisted by Kātya Vemā of Rājamahendri. Their combined forces defeated the Bahamanī army in Telaṅgaṇa. In the north the position of Firoz Śāh became precarious with the advance of the Kherlā chief. He was forced to send the contingents of Berār and Daulatābād to the north as reinforcements. The opposing forces of the Bahamanī and Vijayanagar were now entrenched on the either banks of Kṛṣṇā which was in floods due to the rainy season. This stalemate continued. One dark night Firoz Śāh sent a few of his trusted soldiers in the guise of dancers and musicions who murdered the Vijaynagar prince at an entertainment. On getting a signal from the opposite bank, the Bahamanī army crossed the river and broke up the Vijayanagar camp. The Vijayanagar army was pursued right up to the gates of Vijayanagar. A force was sent under Malik Nāib to devastate, the southern districts of the Vijayanagar kingdom. On Harihara's request peace was concluded. Harihara agreed to pay 10 lacs of hons as present. Firoz Śāh agreed to release all prisoners of war. Firoz Śāh then withdrew from the Vijayanagar territory.

When Firoz Śāh was engaged in conflict with Vijayanagar, the rebellion at Sagar was quelled with the help of the Hindu chiefs Annadeva Velama and Siddhu (Ghorpaḍe). In the engagements Siddhu lost his life and his son Bhairav Siṅgh was granted the *Jāgīr* of Mudhoḷ in the Rāibāg district. Firoz Śāh now personally visited the town of Sagar which he renamed Nuśratābād. On his return march he halted on the banks of Bhīmā and there founded the town of Firozābād.

The *Sultān* was now free to deal with Narsiṅgh Dev of Kherlā. After staying at the capital for a few months he began his northward march and came to Māhūr. The commandant of Māhūr

who had sided with the Kherlā chief now submitted and paid tribute. After staying for 35 days at Māhūr the *Sultān* proceeded towards Kherlā. Undeterred by the strength of the Bahamanīs, Narsiṅgh Dev refused to submit. He advanced to meet the Bahamanī forces. A fierce action ensued in which four Bahamanī generals Śujāt Khān, Bahādūr Khān, Dilāvar Khān and Rustam Khān were killed. A rout of the Bahamanīs seemed imminent. But the forces regrouped under Khān-i-Khānān and Malik Fazlullāh Iñjū and launched a counter-attack in which Khuśpāl Siṅgh, Narsiṅgh Dev's son was captured. The Rājā then withdrew from the field of battle and locked himself up in the fortress of Kherlā. The fort was besieged. The siege continued for a couple of months when Narsiṅgh Dev submitted. He waited on the *Sultān* who was away at Ellicpūr and paid tribute. Narsiṅgh Dev was enrolled among the nobility and the fortress of Kherlā was restored to him.

The *Sultān* now marched to Telaṅgaṇa where the Velamās, the vassals of the Bahamanīs and the Vemās, the feudatories of Vijayanagar had been fighting. He was accompanied by Annadeva and other Velamā chiefs. He is said to have captured many forts and occupied Rājmahendri. He however suffered a reverse at the hands of Dodday Alla, the Commander-in-Chief of Kātya Vemā and had to retrace his steps without being able to subjugate the territory. Firoz Śāh never succeeded in fully annexing the territory of the turbulent chiefs of Āndhra. His role was that of siding with one chief against another.

The conflict with Vijayanagar started again. Bukka II was dead and his brother Deva Rāyā I had ascended the throne of Vijayanagar. The incident that led to the flaring up of hostilities between the two kingdoms involved a beautiful girl, Parthal, from Mudgal whose beauty enamoured Deva Rāyā. Deva Rāyā sent a messenger to Mudgal to the parents of Parthal demanding the hand of their daughter in marriage. Parthal refused. Deva Rāyā decided to secure by force what he could not gain by persuasion and marched towards Mudgal. In the meanwhile Parthal and her parents fled to the jungle and Deva Rāyā disappointed in his design, retreated with plunder and loot. On his way he was defeated by Faulād Khān, the governor of the Rāicūr doāb. Faulād Khān informed the *Sultān* of the happenings at his camp at Firozabad[1].

---

[1] Following are the details about the episode of Parthal as given by Ferishta.

It happened that in the town of Modkul lived a goldsmith, who had a daughter named Nehal, of such exquisite beauty, that nature seemed to have exerted all her art to render her perfect. Agreeably to the custom of Hindoostan, her parents wished to betroth her in childhood to a youth of her own caste; but she requested that the ceremony might be delayed, with such earnestness, that it was put off. Some time after, an old *bramin*, who had been on a pilgrimage to Benares, stopping on his return at her father's house, was struck with the beauty of his daughter, adopted her as his child and resolved to render her skilful in music and dancing, of which he was perfect master. The *bramin* continued nearly eighteen months with her family; at the end of which period, finding her fully accomplished, he took his leave, with promise shortly to return, with proposals calculated for the honour of his pupil, and the advantage of her family. The *bramin*, who had from the first designed

CHAPTER 2.

The Bahamanis of the Deccan.

FIROZ SHAH.

In 1407 *Sultān* Firoz decided to march against Vijayanagar and with Khān Khānān and Iñjū advanced as far as the city of Vijayanagar. The city was so strongly guarded that the *Sultān* thought it futile to attack and sent his generals to lay waste the territories of the Vijayanagar Kingdom. The generals returned with huge booty and prisoners. The *Sultān* left the command of the army to Khān Khānān and marched towards Adoni when the Rāyā sued for peace. There was nothing exciting about the peace terms except perhaps the clause regarding the marriage of the king's daughter with *Sultān* Firoz Śāh. The marriage was celebrated and the *Sultān* returned to his Capital. The new friendship resulting from this matrimonial alliance did not last long because the marriage was only a marriage of convenience and political expediency. After a few years the Bahamanīs once again aspired to extend their dominions on the eastern coast. They penetrated as far as Rājamahendri and Orissā. The Rājā of Vijayanagar lost no time in invading Telaṅgaṇa and subjugat-

---

*contd.*

to exalt his adopted daughter to the station of a princess, proceeded to Beejanuggur; and being introduced to the Ray, spoke in such praise of the maid, that he resolved to possess her, and entreated the *bramin* to solicit her in marriage. The request had been anticipated by the *bramin*, and he accordingly agreed to assist him in the attainment of his wishes; on which, the Ray despatched him with rich gifts to the parents, and offered to bestow the title of *Rany*, or Princess, on their beautiful daughter. The *bramin* lost no time in his journey; and on his arrival at the goldsmith's house delivered to him and his wife the Ray's orders that they should repair with their child to Beejanuggur. They were overjoyed at such unexpected good fortune; and calling the maid, laid before her the rich gifts of the Ray, congratulated her on being so soon to be united to a great prince, and attempted to throw upon her neck a golden necklace set with jewels as the token of betrothal, and which, if done, the engagement could not have been broken off. The daughter, to the astonishment of her parents, refused to receive the necklace; observing, that whoever entered the harem of Beejanuggur was never afterwards permitted to see even her nearest relatives; and though they might be willing to sacrifice her for the wealth of the court, yet she was too fond of her parents to submit to an eternal separation from them, even for the splendour of the palace of Beejanuggur. This affectionate declaration, accompanied with tears, reconciled her parents to their disappointed hopes, who, rather than use force, dismissed the *bramin* with all his gifts, and he returned to Beejanuggur without success. The maiden, subsequently, revealed to her parents, that she had long had an inward conviction that she should one day become the wife of a prince of the faith of Islam, and recommended them to await patiently the will of providence.

When the *bramin* arrived at Beejanuggur, and related to the Ray the failure of his mission, the Prince became outrageous; and he resolved to gratify his passion even by force, though the object resided in the midst of Feroze Shah's dominions. For this purpose, quitting Beejanuggur with his army, on pretence of making the tour of his territories, he halted on the banks of the river Toongbudra; where having selected five thousand of his best horse, he commanded them, in spite of the remonstrances of his officers, to march night and day with all expedition to Moodkul, and surrounding the village where the goldsmith lived, to bring his daughter prisoner, with her whole family but without doing them any injury.

As the Ray had, in the excess of his ardour, lost his judgment, he neglected to send the *bramin* to prevent the parents of the female from being alarmed at the approach of his troops, and to induce them to remain in the palace, should there be time sufficient to allow the other inhabitants to escape. It so happened, that the country around Moodkul being apprised of the approach of the Beejanuggur troops, the inhabitants among whom was Nehal's family, fled to distant parts. The troops of Dew Ray accordingly failed in obtaining their expected prize, and returned with expedition, laying waste on their route several towns and villages, before the local troops could be collected to oppose them. At length Folad Khan, governor of the province, marched against them, and the plunderers, seeing themselves greatly superior to him in numbers stopped to engage, and obliged him to retire. Being, however quickly reinforced, he pursued them a second time; and the

FIROZ SHAH.

ing the fortress of Pangal. This forced the *Sultān* to retrace his steps. He marched southward to lay siege to Pangal. The Bahamanīs failed to dislodge the garrison. The siege dragged on for two years. The tide was now turning against the Bahamanis. Deva Rāyā seduced the Velamās to his side and marched with a huge army to the relief of the fort. The Bahamanī army was completely routed and pursued with heavy losses. Firoz Śāh, disappointed, returned to the capital where he was faced with the hostile attitude of Khān Khānān Ahmad Khān, his brother, who now aspired for the throne. Firoz Śāh had appointed his son Hasan Khān as heir apparent. This was not to the liking of Ahmad Khān who was backed by the celebrated Muslim Saint Sayyad Gesū Darāz of Gulburgā. He is supposed to have exercised a considerable influence over the people of Deccan. Firoz Śāh who was now past 70 had handed over the reins of Government to two slaves Hośiyār and Bedār, whom he gave the titles of Ain-ūl-mulk and Nizām-ul-mulk. These two incited the *Sultān* and secured orders from him to imprison and blind Ahmad Khān. Ahmad Khān, getting suspicious, fled to Khānāpūr with his son Zafar Khān and friend Khalaf Hasan, who in future was to play a decisive role in the political history of the Deccan. Ahmad Khān was soon overtaken by the two slaves with an army of well over twenty thousand and thirty elephants. Ahmad Khān, however, succeeded in defeating the royal army and was proclaimed king on the battle field.[1] Firoz Śāh advanced a few miles from the capital to engage his brother with seven thousand

---

*contd.*

invaders, not dreaming of being followed by a beaten enemy, had become so careless in their retreat, that they were surprised and completely defeated, with the loss of two thousand men, before they were able to recross the Tongbhudra. Feroze Shah, on hearing of this unprovoked invasion, immediately issued orders for assembling his army near Ferozabad. In the beginning of the year 809, he moved in great force, and arrived near Beejanuggur without opposition; in which place Dew Ray had shut himself up. An assault was made upon the city, and the King got possession of some of the streets, but was opposed with great resolution, and eventually repulsed by the Carnatic infantry. Dew Ray, encouraged by this success, ventured to encamp his army outside the town, under protection of the walls, and to attack the besiegers' camp with light troops. As the Moslems could not make use of their cavalry, owing to the unevenness of the ground around Beejanuggur, they suffered severely from the garrison, and became dispirited. On one occasion Feroze Shah was wounded by an arrow in the hand; but refusing to dismount from his charger, he drew out the weapon, and bound up the wound with a cloth. The enemy was at last driven off, owing to the good conduct of the King's brother, Ahmud Khan, Khan Khanan; and the King moved his camp further from the city to a convenient plain where he halted till his wounded men were recovered. Here, laying aside the design of taking the city, he detached a body of ten thousand horse under his brother, Khan Khanan, and Meean Suddon (Meer-Nobut), to lay waste the country on the south of Beejanuggur, and detached Meer Fuzl Oolla Anjoo, with the Berar division, to besiege Bunkapoor, the most important fortress in the Carnatic. The King, with the remainder of his army, continued in the environs of Beejanuggur, in order to amuse Dew Ray, and fortified his camp with a circle of gun carriages. Dew Ray more than once attacked him, but was always repulsed with great slaughter. The Ray now desisted from his attacks, but despatched ambassadors to solicit aid from the kings of Malwa, Kandeish and Guzerat.

(Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. II, pp. 380-84).

[1] Following are the details given by Ferishta:

Hooshyar and Bedar, on learning the fight of Khan Khanan, went with anxious impatience to the King, and having obtained permission to go in pursuit, marched with expedition, attended by four thousand horse, and some war elephants. Khan

**CHAPTER 2.**

**The Bahamanis of the Deccan.**

FIROZ SHAH.

cavalry. His forces went over to Ahmad Khān. Firoz Śāh succumbed to the inevitable, abdicated the throne in favour of his brother and to the great relief of Ahmad Śāh died a week afterwards on 28th September 1422.

Firoz Śāh was one of the most learned kings of the Bahamanī dynasty. He was a great scholar of jurisprudence, scholastic philosophy, Euclidian geometry, dialectics and mathematics. Besides, he was an excellent poet and a linguist too. Like his predecessors he was obsessed by his antagonism towards the Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagar. This led to unwanted destruction and mutual antagonism between the two kingdoms. During his reign trade and commerce prospered and Bahamanī ships sailed over the seas from their ports of Dābhoḷ and Goā[1]. But how different the Bahamanī ruler was at heart could be seen from the dispatch of an embassy to Timur when the rumour of his

---

*contd.*

Khanan proposed concealing himself till he could prevail on some of the nobility to support his cause; but his companion Khulf Hussun dissuading him, sent to Koolburga, Bidur, and Kulliany, from whence he procured a number of malcontents to join his standard. Some days passed in moving from place to place to avoid fighting, when, at last, the King's ministers being reinforced, all hope of escape seemed cut off, the royalists being eight thousand strong, and the whole force of Khan Khanan not exceeding one thousand cavalry. In this crisis, a band of grain merchants, called in Hindoostan Bunjaras, who were on their way from Berar with two thousand head of oxen, encamped in the neighbourhood of Kulliany, as also three hundred horses, which some dealers had brought from Lahore for sale. Khulf Hussun, taking advantage of this incident, purchased them all, and making red and green banners, after the custom of the Deccan, mounted a man with a flag on each ox. He placed a few cavalry in front of this mock force, with orders to appear at a distance, when the engagement should commence, and to give out, that some chiefs had arrived from their estates to assist Khan Khanan. Khan Khanan at first regarded the scheme as childish, but at last consented to adopt it. In the morning, he moved slowly towards the King's troops, encouraging his own men, by declaring that certain noblemen were hastening to join him, and were then only a few miles distant. Hooshyar and Bedar, also dreading the event of his being reinforced, eagerly accepted the offer of battle, hoping by this means to prevent the junction of reinforcements. When the action had begun Khulf Hussun advancing his horse in front of the oxen, and waving his banners, appeared marching from behind a wood at some distance, which made the enemy conclude that the expected chiefs were arrived to Khan Khanan's assistance; and a vigorous charge being made at the same instant, the right wing of the royalists broke in confusion. Hooshyar and Bedar, who were in the centre, seeing their men fly, and terrified at the approach of the supposed succour, were routed and driven from the field, after offering a slight opposition. Khan Khanan, thus unexpectedly victorious, pursued the fugitives and after taking many elephants and horses, was shortly after joined by numbers of the royal troops from all quarters.

(Briggs's *Ferishta* Vol. II, pp. 393-94).

[1] Feroze Shah, every year, despatched vessels from the ports of Goa and Choul to procure the manufactures and curious productions of all quarters of the world, but particularly to invite to his court persons celebrated for their talents; who, he would frequently observe, should be regarded as the choicest productions of all countries. He used to say that kings should draw around them the most learned and meritorious persons of all nations, so that from their society they might obtain information, and thus reap some of the advantages acquired by travelling into distant regions of the globe. The King had so excellent a memory that he could converse in many languages; a practice he exercised, as far as practicable, towards foreigners. It was sufficient to hear a circumstance once related to enable him to retain it in mind ever after. He was a good poet, and often made extempore verses. He was well acquainted with several sciences, and particularly fond of natural philosophy. On Saturdays, Mondays, and Thursdays, he heard lectures on botany, geometry, and logic, generally in the day, but if business interfered, at night. It is said, that he even excelled Mahomed Toghluk in literary attainments.

(Briggs's *Ferishta* Vol. II, pp. 368-69).

reported invasion of India gained ground. It was surprising that such a powerful ruler of the Deccan as Firoz Śāh should inform Timur of his allegiance to him and accept from Timur his confirmation as the ruler of the Deccan[1].

FIROZ SHAH.

AHMAD SHAH.

The accession of Śāhabuddin Ahmad Śāh I took place on 22 September 1422. Soon after his accession to the throne he decided to shift his capital from Gulburgā to Bidar. Perhaps the immediate cause that led Ahmad to take such a decision was the death of his supporter and religious preceptor Khvājā Sayyad Muhammad Gesū Darāz. One reason was the existence of a faction riddled nobility which could at any time bring his own position into danger by declaring him an usurpur. Gulburgā had a bad history of royal personages who ascended the throne. The atmosphere stunk of regicide and perhaps Ahmad thought himself to be a possible victim of the Bahamanī tradition of regicides. The proximity of Gulbargā to the borders of the Vijayanagar Empire across the Kṛṣṇā seems to have influenced Ahmad Śāh to shift his capital to Bidar at a safer distance from Vijayanagar. Bidar was renamed Muhammadābād after Prince Muhammad. He was entrusted with the task of preparing a layout for the new capital and supervising its construction. Ahmad Śāh moved to the new capital in June 1424, about 21 months after his accession to the Bahamanī throne.

Ahmad Śāh was quite aware of the danger from the factions which were opposed to him. He appointed Khalaf Hasan Basrī as his prime minister, creating him *Malik-ut-Tujjār*. His nephew, Hasan Khān, the son of the late King, was given a *mansab* of 500 and a *Jāgir*. His staunchest enemies Hośiyār Ain-ul-mulk and Bedar Nizām-ul-mulk were appeased by being made *Amir-ul-Umrā* and *Sarlaśkar* of Daulatābād respectively. Ahmad Śāh reorganised the *Mansabdārī* system by fixing the *mansab* of each office holder of the Kingdom such as *Sarlaskar* 2000, *Amir-ul-Umrā* 1500, *Wakil* 1200. To each of the amirs of the kingdoms, were given *mansabs* ranging from 100 to 1000 depending upon the rank the incumbent held in the court. It was perhaps for the first time during the Bahamanī rule of about 70 years in the Deccan that the Sultanate had fights with the Kingdoms of Gujarāt, Māḷvā and Khāndeś. The reign of Ahmad Śāh, thus was filled with these events.

---

[1] In the year 804, repeated accounts coming from the court of Amear Teimoor of that conqueror having conferred the throne of Dehly on one of his sons, with orders to subdue all the kingdoms of Hindoostan, and that he had resolved to march in person, to support his designs, if necessary, Feroze Shah sent ambassadors to the Tartar chief with rich present, and a letter expressive of his respect. Teimoor received the ambassadors graciously, and accepted the presents. The ambassadors also represented, that Feroze Shah Bahamuny was desirous to be numbered among his dependants, and would, whenever Teimoor should either march in person, or send one of the princes to conquer Hindoostan, hasten from the Deccan to cooperate with his troops. Teimoor, pleased at these gratuitous offers of aid, was prevailed on, through the agency of some of his courtiers, to confer the sovereignty of Malwa and Guzerat on Feroze Shah, with permission to use the canopy, and all other insignia of royalty; and at the end of six months, Teimoor delivered to the ambassadors a *firman*, containing the formal cession of the countries in question,

**CHAPTER 2.**

**The Bahamanis of the Deccan.**

AHMAD SHAH.

Soon after his accession, Ahmad Śāh took up his quarrel with the Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagar which had in the reign of his brother Firoz Śāh left the Bahamanī army reeling under the shock of defeat. He marched with a well equipped army of 40,000 into Vijayanagar territory. Bukka III, the Rājā of Vijayanagar sent messages to Anapota Velamā of Telangaṇa for help. The Velamā sent his general Liṅga to the assistance of Bukka. Liṅga defeated the Bahamanī army at Badāmī and Etgir. The opposing forces now came face to face with each other on either banks of Tuṅgabhadrā. Ahmad Śāh ordered his artillery to cross the river. The Vijayanagar forces, however, dispersed and employed guerilla tactics to harass the Bahamanī army and inflicted heavy losses upon them. Ahmad now decided to cross the river in full force and catch up with the main Vijayanagar army. Bukka Rāyā was away from his main contingent. The Bahamanī generals Ālam Khān, Lodī Khān and Dilāvar Khān Afghāṇ succeeded in their objec- Lodī Khān and Dilāvar Khān Afghāṇ succeeded in their objective and defeated the Vijayanagar forces. Severe atrocities were desecrated. Bukka on hearing of the defeat of his army, retired to Vijayanagar, his capital.

As always happens in war the defeated army of Vijayanagar regrouped and it was now the turn of the Bahamanī *Sultān* to be caught unaware. Ahmad Śāh strayed away from the camp on a hunting expedition and was surrounded by a body of Vijayanagar troops who put to sword most of the retainers of Ahmad Śāh. It was only due to the timely help sent by Abdul Qādir that Ahmad Śāh could be extricated from the predicament he had found himself in[1]. The officers who distinguished themselves

*contd.*

together with a sword set with jewels, from his own side, a royal robe, a Toork slave, and four Syrian horses, superior in beauty to any before seen in the Deccan.

(Briggs's *Ferishta* Vol. II, pp. 378-79).

[1] Following are the details of the Vijayanagar campaign given by Ferishta.

Ahmud Shah, without waiting to besiege the Hindoo capital, overran the open country ; and wherever he went put to death men, women and children, without mercy, contrary to the compact made between his uncle and predecessor, Mahomed Shah, and the *rays* of Beejanuggur. Whenever the number of slain amounted to twenty thousand. he halted three days, and made a festival in celebration of the bloody event. He broke down, also, the idolatrous temples, and destroyed the colleges of the *bramins*. During these operations, a body of five thousand Hindoos, urged by desperation at the destruction of their religious buildings, and at the insults offered to their deities, united in taking an oath to sacrifice their lives in an attempt to kill the King, as the author of all their sufferings. For this purpose, they employed spies to observe his motions, that they might seize the first opportunity of accomplishing their end. It happened that Ahmud Shah while one day hunting in the eagerness of the chase separated from his attendants, and advanced nearly twelve miles from his camp. The devoted infidels, informed of the circumstances, immediately hastened to intercept him; and arrived in sight of him when even his personal attendants, about two hundred Moguls, were at some distance. The King, perceiving his enemies, galloped on in hopes of gaining a small mud enclosure, used as a fold for cattle, which stood on the plain ; but he was so hotly pursued that some broken ground intervening, he was unable to cross it before his pursuers came up. Luckily for the King, some of his archers arriving at this instant, the enemy were checked, and the King had time to reach the enclosure. The infidels attempted to enter, and a sharp conflict ensued ; the faithful repeated the creed of Islam, and swore to die rather than submit. On this occasion, Syud Hussun Budukhshy, Meer Ally Seestany, Meer Ally Kaboully, and Abdoolla Koord, distinguished themselves greatly, and became entitled to the king's lasting gratitude. The little band

in this action with the Vijayanagar forces were Sayyad Husain Badakhṣī, Mīr Farrukh Badakhṣī, Mīr Alī Sistāni, Mīr Alī Kurd, Ubaidullāh Kābuli, Khurśū Uzbek, Khvājā Hasan Ardistāni and Qāsim Beg Safśikan. Most of these officers were the new comers (as they were styled) to the Bahamanī Kingdom. The *Sultān* bestowed upon them numerous positions of honour and responsibility in addition to granting them *mansabs*. Abdul Qādir was made *Khānkhanān* and the *Sarlaṣkar* of Berār with a *mansab* of 2000. His brother Abdul Latif was created *Khān-i-Āzam* and *Sarlaṣkar* of Telaṅgaṇa. The other appointments made were as under.

| | |
|---|---|
| Khvājā Beg made Qalandar Khan and *darogha* of Gulburga. | |
| Sayyad Hasan Badakhsh and Mir Ali Sistani | Made *mansabdars* of 300 |
| Qāsim Beg Safhikan .. .. .. .. | Made *mansabdars* of 500 and *Jagirdar* of Karad. |
| Mir Ali Kurd .. .. .. .. .. | Made a *Hajari* |
| Khvājā Hasan Ardistāni and Khusru Beg Uzbek. | Bowmen and Archers to prince Alāuddin Ahmad. |

The *Sultān* now marched upon Vijayanagar and informed the *Rājā* through messengers that peace could be settled if the *Rājā* agreed to pay the arrears of tribute. The *Rājā* accepted the terms and the *Sultān* marched back to his territory. The hostilities ceased temporarily with neither side gaining a decisive victory. However, both sides waited for the earliest opportunity to strike the first blow.

The *Sultān* now decided to re-establish his hold over Telaṅgaṇa where the Velamās had sided with Vijayanagar in the recently concluded war with the Vijayanagar Kingdom. Bukka III was now dead (1423) and Deva Rāyā II had ascended the throne. Ahmad saw no chance now of any decisive intervention by Vijayanagar. He sent his general Khān-i-Āzam against Anapota II of Waraṅgaḷ. In the action between the two forces near Waraṅgaḷ, Anapota was killed. Shortly after, the *Sultān* himself

---

*contd.*

being mostly killed or wounded, the assailants advanced close to the wall, which they began to break down with pick-axes and crowbars, so that the King was reduced to the last extremity of distress. At this critical juncture Abdool Kadur, the King's armour-bearer, made his appearance, with a body of troops, with whom he had left the camp in search of his master. The infidels by this time had effected a wide breach, and were fighting hand to hand, when they found their rear suddenly attacked. The King now sallied from his position with his retainers, and after a severe conflict defeated the enemy, with the loss of a thousand men. Of the Mahomedans about five hundred were slain. Thus Ahmud Shah, by the providential aid afforded by Abdool Kadur, was raised, as it were, anew from the abyss of annihilation to the enjoyment of sovereignty. It is a remarkable coincidence, and worthy of observation, that both the Hindoo and Mahomedan sovereigns at the head of armies opposed to each other, should fall into such danger during the same campaign, and that both should escape uninjured. Ahmud Shah, on his return to camp, raised Abdool Kadur to the rank of an officer of two thousand, and gave him the title of Khan Jahan ; to which he added the appellations of life bestowing brother, and faithful friend. Abdool Luteef, his brother, was also raised to the same rank, with the title of Azim Khan. All those persons who had any share in the King's deliverance were amply rewarded with titles and gifts. As the Mogul archers had been of great use on this occasion, he gave orders to Mullik-ott-Toojar to form a body of three thousand, composed of the natives of Irak, Khorassan, Mawur-ool-Nehr, Toorkistan, and Arabia, and command all his officers to exercise themselves, their children, and dependents, in archery.

(Briggs's *Ferishta* Vol. II, pp. 402-04).

**CHAPTER 2.**
**The Bahamanis of the Deccan.**
AHMAD SHAH.

arrived at Waraṅgaḷ. Khān-i-Āzam was now ordered to subjugate the whole of Telaṅgaṇa which he did after a campaigning of a few months. His objective thus fulfilled, the *Sultān* now returned to Bidar after putting Khān-i-Āzam in charge, as the governor of Telaṅgaṇa.

The power of the Bahamanīs in the northern expanse of its Kingdom was never steady. Numerous uprisings took place in the Berār and Māhūr provinces. The *Sultān* now decided to settle these northern provinces. He was, however, forced to undertake numerous campaigns before he could realise his objective. Māhūr was the greatest trouble spot where the local chiefs used to take advantage of the absence of the provincial army in the far away campaigns of the *Sultān* and assert their own authority. The *Sultān* undertook his first campaign against Māhūr in 1426. On the approach of the *Sultān's* army, the chief resorted to guerilla warefare. The *Sultān* overran the whole territory but finding no trace of the Māhūr Chief he retired to Ellicpūr. From Ellicpūr he directed his general to capture Gāvilgaḍ. Then, resting for a while in Ellicpūr, in the year 1427, the *Sultān* again marched to Māhūr from where news had been received of a fresh revolt. However, the *Sultān* was not able to subdue the rebel chief and returned to the capital. It was only the third campaign against Māhūr which put an end to the rebellious chief's existence. The *Sultān* then advanced to Kallam and reduced the fortress. To strike terror severe atrocities were perpetrated by the Bahamanī army in the region.

It may be recalled here that Firoz Śāh had sent his emissaries to Timur on hearing of his reported invasion of India and acknowledged his suzerainty. At that time Timur had unwillingly confirmed Firoz Śāh not only to the royallty of the Deccan but to the independent kingdoms of Gujarāt, Māḷvā and Khāndeś. The *Sultāns* of these three kingdoms regarded themselves in no way inferior to the Bahamanī *Sultān* and would have under no circumstances tolerated any encroachment on their territory by the latter. The uneasy balance of power between the Bahamanīs and their Northern neighbours was taken advantage of by Narsiṅgh Dev, chief of Kherlā. Though he had declared himself to be under the Bahamanī protectorate, he now aligned himself with Hośaṅg Śāh, the *Sultān* of Māḷvā and refused to pay tribute to the Bahamanī governor of Berār, Khān-i-Jahān Abdul Qādir. To punish the rebel chief, *Sultān* Ahmad marched with a force of 6000 first to Ellicpūr and thence to Kherlā. On hearing of the advance of the Bahamanī army, the *Sultān* of Māḷvā, with a view to thwart the Bahamanīs, and help Narsiṅgh Dev, advanced with an army of 30,000 and arrived in the environs of Kherlā. Ahmad Śāh perceived the precarious position he would find himself in, in the event of a frontal attack by the numerically superior force of Māḷvā. He decided to retreat within the frontiers of his own Kingdom. Contrary to the wishes of his nobility who advised action against the Māḷvā army immediately, he suddenly gave orders for a general retreat. There is no substance in the argument that *Sultān* Ahmad

retreated because he did not want bloodshed where two Muslim kings were involved. It is probable that the strategy of *Sultān* Ahmad was to take the Māḷvā army deep into Bahamanī territory where its lines of communication could be easily cut off and its complete rout rendered possible. The strategy of *Sultān* Ahmad bore fruit as could be seen from events that followed the withdrawal of Bahamanī army within its own territory. The Māḷvā army followed closely on the heels of the retreating Bahamanī forces. It was well within the Bahamanī territory that the opposing armies now faced each other. Considerable reinforcements had arrived in the meanwhile to raise the strength and morale of *Sultān* Ahmad's forces. It was then that Ahmad decided to attack the Māḷvā army. He put Khān-i-Jahān Abdul Qādir in charge of the right wing and Abdullāh in charge of the left. He entrusted prince Alāuddin with the command of the centre. With this formation a general action ensued between the two forces and continued for the whole day. Both sides suffered heavy casualties. Ahmad had kept in reserve a well equipped force of 10,000 cavalry which he had decided to use in the thick of the battle. He now took the opportunity to rush in and attack the worn out Māḷvā army with this reserve. So complete was the rout of the Māḷvā forces that Hośaṅg Śāh taking advantage of the night that had descended upon the battle field left the field and fled to his country. With his main support gone, Narsiṅgh Dev, the chief of Kherlā, submitted and accepted the position of a Bahamanī feudatory. Ahmad Śāh now retired to the capital. Narsiṅgh Dev accompanied him as far as Māhūr. Prince Mahmūd was appointed as governor of the province.

After the conclusion of the Māḷvā campaign in about 1429, the Bahamanī and the Fāruqī families were brought together by matrimonial alliance. The reigning *Sultān* of Khāndeś was Nasir Khān. *Sultān* Ahmad requested the hand of Nasir Khān's daughter, Āghā Zaināb, in marriage for Prince Alāuddin, the heir apparent and successor to the Bahamanī throne. The marriage was more or less the creation of a political front by these two kingdoms against their more powerful neighbours of Gujarāt and Māḷvā. The marriage took place in the capital of Bidar with all the eclat and pomp befitting a royal occasion.

The anticipated confrontation of the Bahamanīs with the Kingdom of Gujarāt was not slow in coming. The circumstances that led to this confrontation were as under:—

In the year 1430, one of the vassals of the Gujarāt *Sultān*, the *Rājā* of Jhālāvār revolted and took refuge with Hośaṅg Śāh, the *Sultān* of Māḷvā. Ahmad I, the *Sultān* of Gujarāt decided to attack Māḷvā and bring the recalcitrant *Rājā* to books. In the meanwhile the *Rājā* wrote to Ahmad Śāh to help him against the *Sultān* of Gujarāt. Ahmad Śāh sent a force up to the borders of Gujarāt frontier. The army approached Nandurbār and Sultānpūr. On receipt of the news of the advance of Bahamanī forces, Ahmad I sent a force under prince Muhammad,

**CHAPTER 2.**

**The Bahamanis of the Deccan.**

AHMAD SHAH.

commanded by Muqarrab-ul-Mulk, Iftikhār-ul-mulk, Sayyad Abul Qāsim and Sayyad Ālam. This force inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Bahamanī army which fled to Daulatābād. Ahmad Śāh now called in Nasir Khān Fāruqī to help him in the war against Gujarāt. Nasir Khān, with the *Rājā* of Jhālāvār, and the Khāndeś army, came to Daulatābād where Ahmad Śāh had sent a fresh force under the command of his son prince Alāuddin. The opposing forces advanced, and came face to face at Māṇikpuñj ghāṭ. In the engagement that ensued the combined forces suffered another reverse at the hands of the Gujarāt army and were forced to flee the field of battle.

It may be recalled here that when Ahmad Śāh was fighting against his brother *Sultān* Firoz in the last years of the latter's reign on the issue of succession, Khalaf Hasan, a dealer in horses from Basrāh, had done him a good turn. Ahmad had appointed him his *Wakīlussaltanat* or prime minister after ascending the throne and created him *Malik-ut-tujjār* or Prince of Merchants. He was appointed to the governorship of Daulatābād with a *mansab* of 2000. He was ordered to clear the Koṅkaṇ coast which task he carried out successfully. When the war with Gujarāt was in progress, *Sultān* Ahmad received the news of the death of the Gujarāt governor of Māhīm, Rāi Quth. *Sultān* Ahmad, in order to relieve the pressure of the Gujarāt forces on his northern frontiers, instructed *Malik-ut-tujjār* to march against Mahim and take possession of the island. When Ahmad I heard of this move, he immediately sent his son Zafar Khān to oppose *Malik-ut-tujjār*. At the same time he ordered the governor of Dīv to reinforce the Gujarāt garrison at Māhīm. In the meanwhile the Gujarāt forces laid siege to Ṭhāṇā then in possession of the Bahamanīs and captured it. In the flush of this victory Zafar Khān advanced against Māhīm to engage *Malik-ut-tujjār*. The battle raged for the whole day resulting in the defeat of the Bahamanī army by the Gujarāt forces operating from both land and sea. *Malik-ut-tujjār* retreated to Bombay and sent messages to Ahmad Śāh for immediate reinforcement. Ahmad Śāh sent 60000 troops and 60 elephants under the command of his sons Alāuddin and Muhammad to assist *Malik-ut-tujjār*. They attacked Ṭhāṇā but were defeated after a pitched battle. The defeat of the Bahamanīs was the result of the jealousy between the old-comers and the new-comers in the Bahamanī kingdom. The old-comers were particularly jealous of the rise in power and influence of the new-comers and did not lend whole hearted support to *Malik-ut-tujjār* in his attack upon the Gujarāt forces. The rout of the Bahamanīs was complete and the Gujarāt army returned to their territory with heavy spoils of war left by the defeated Bahamanī army on the battle field[1]

1. Following is an account of the battle of Mahim as given by Ferishta :—

In the latter end of the year 833, the King ordered *Mullik-oot-Toojar* to march into the country of Concan, extending along the coast of the Indian ocean, in order to clear it of rebels and disturbers of the peace ; where, in a short time he executed, his instructions so fully, that he brought that country under subjection, and sent several elephants and camels loaded with gold and silver, the ruits of his conquests

The news of this disaster which fell upon the Bahamanī army reached *Sultān* Ahmad Śāh. Ahmad Śāh collected a huge army and advanced towards the Gujarāt frontier camping a Besol or Beul, a place close to the frontiers of Gujarāt. Beul had a Hindu chief who wrote to *Sultān* Ahmad I of Gujarāt seeking his protection. *Sultān* Ahmad I responded to this appeal and collecting a large force, marched towards Beul where *Sultān* Ahmad Śāh had pitched his camp. On the approach of the Gujarāt army *Sultān* Ahmad Śāh retreated and halted on the banks of the river Tāpī. *Sultān* Ahmad I closely followed the retreating Bahamanī army and pitched his tents on the opposite bank of the river Tāpī. The two forces now faced each other without a general engagement. The stalemate continued for a long time with each side refraining from taking the risk of attacking first. Finally good offices prevailed and both the *Sultāns* agreed to come to terms. The treaty entered into by both the *Sultāns* is known as the treaty of Beul. Under the terms of the treaty Beul was returned to Gujarāt. Both the *Sultāns* agreed to the principle of non-interference in each others affairs and the maintenance of the *status quo*. After this treaty there was no direct confrontation again between the two Sultanates.

Taking advantage of the confrontation between Gujarāt and the Bahamanīs, the *Sultān* of Māḷvā attacked Kherlā in 1434. He killed Narsiṅgh Dev, the Chief of Kherlā who was the vassal of the Bahamanī *Sultān*. Hośaṅg Sāh was encouraged in his adventure by the recent defeats suffered by the Bahamanī army at the hands of Gujarāt and the weakness shown by Ahmad Śāh Bahamanī in retreating before the advance of Gujarāt army at Beul. On receipt of the news of Hośaṅg Śāh's march into Bahamanī territory, Ahmad Śāh collected troops and proceeded towards his northern frontiers. A general action between the Māḷvā and Bahamanī armies was avoided due to the intervention of the *Sultān* of Khāndeś. The treaty of friendship signed between the two *Sultāns* did not do credit to Ahmad Śāh because

---

*contd.*

to court. Ahmud Shah, in reward of his services, conferred on him a suit of his own robes, a sword set with jewels, and other gifts, such as no servant of the house of Bahmuny had before ever been honoured with.

*Mullik-oot-Toojar*, from his excess of zeal for the King's service, also occupied the island of Mahim belonging to the king of Guzerat; upon which Ahmud Shah Guzeratty sent his son, Zuffur Khan with an army to retake it. The king of the Deccan, conceiving it necessary to defend the new conquest, also despatched his son, Alla-ood-Deen, to reinforce *Mullik-oot-Toojar*. Both armies remained some time encamped in sight of each other, on opposite banks of an inlet of the sea, without either having the boldness to attack. At length the health of the Prince, Alla-ood-Deen, being affected by the unwholesome air and water of the country, he removed some days' journey for a change of air. Zuffur Khan, the Guzerat Prince, during his absence, attacked *Mullik-oot-Toojar*, and after a desperate battle, the brother of the Deccan general was taken prisoner, two officers of high rank were killed, and the army received a total defeat; while the whole of the camp equipments, including tents, elephants, and horses, fell into the hands of the Guzeratties. In the *Towareekh Mahmood Shahy* it is stated, that the Prince Alla-ood-Deen was present in this action, and displayed proofs of great bravery; but as victory depends not solely on human exertions, both he and *Mullik-oot-Toojar* were obliged to fly with precipitation.

(Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. II, pp. 412—14).

**CHAPTER 2.**

**The Bahamanis of the Deccan.**

though Hośaṅg Śāh agreed to the claims of Bahamanīs on the province of Berār he insisted upon the transfer of Kherlā to Māḷvā. Ahmad Śāh agreed to these terms.

AHMAD SHAH.

While he was busy dealing with Gujarāt and Māḷvā, Ahmad Śāh got reports about rebellion in Telaṅgaṇa and other parts of the kingdom. The rebellion in Telaṅgaṇa had assumed serious proportions. Doddya Alla, the local chief of Rājmahendry had revolted and declared his independence. The Velamās also revolted and succeeded in forcing Āzam Khān, the governor of Telaṅgaṇa to retreat. Waraṅgaḷ also showed signs of unrest. Ahmad now marched with a force to quell the rebellions. The campaign, however, did not succeed. His victories on the battle-field and the conquest of forts did not in any way stabilise the Bahamanī rule in the region. The local chiefs raised their heads again and again. Ahmad had to rest content with the acceptance of a small tribute from these chiefs. He allowed them to retain their control over the territories and forts in their possession. He appointed Ibrāhīm Sañjar Khān as *sarlaṣkar* of Telaṅgaṇa and frustrated, returned to the capital.

*Sultān* Ahmad Śāh was now getting old and infirm. He entrusted the charge of administration to Miyān Mahmūd Nizām-ul-mulk. He himself retired from public affairs. He nominated his elder son Alāuddin his heir apparent and successor and short of abdication handed over all sovereign powers to him. With a view to avoid any struggle for power after his death he made his other son *Sultān* Muhammad, the co-worker of prince Alāuddin and appointed his other sons prince Mahmūd and prince Dāūd to the governorships of Māhūr, Kelava and Rāmgīr with a part of Berār and of Telaṅgaṇa respectively. *Malik-ut-tujjār* who had served him faithfully was sent to take charge of Dābhoḷ and other places on the western coast. After these arrangements were completed, the *Sultān* died on 14th July 1436 after a brief illness.

One of the notable features of the reign of *Sultān* Ahmad Śāh was the steady influx of the foreigners. They were styled new-comers. The rivalry between them and old-comers shook the very foundations of the Bahamanī kingdom, thus leading to its downfall. Among the notable new-comers were Khalaf Hasan Basrī *alias Malik-ut-tujjār* and Śāh Nurullāh, grandson of Śah Nimatullāh Kirmāni. The *Sultān* held the saint in such a great esteem that he created Śāh Nurullāh, *Malik-ul-Maśaïk* and gave his daughter in marriage to him. *Sultān* Ahmad was a man of learning and culture and encouraged the arrival of learned men, poets, statesmen, soldiers and others. Little however did he realise that by his partiality towards the new-comers he was endangering the very unity of the kingdom which he himself and his brother *Sultān* Firoz Śāh tried so hard to build up.

ALAUDDIN AHMAD SHAH II.

On the death of his father, Alāuddin ascended the throne on 17th April 1436 under the title of Alāuddin Ahmad II. The political atmosphere in the Deccan in general and in the Bahamanī court in particular necessitated a ruler who could, with the

resources at his command, thwart any external aggression and at the same time infuse a sense of unity at home. Considered in this background the comparatively long reign of Alāuddin Ahmad could not be regarded as successful. He did not possess that courage of conviction that would have enabled him to take a bold stand in the confrontation between the factious nobles at his court; nor did he possess the qualities of a leader that would have enabled him to lead his men successfully in the battle-field against external aggression. Ahmad's reign, and his successes and failures as a monarch will therefore have to be studied on this background.

On ascending the throne Ahmad II appointed Dilāvar Khān Afghāṇ as his prime minister, Khvājā-i-Jahān Astrābādī as his *Vazīr* and Imād-ul-mulk Ghorī as his *Amir-ul-umrā*. In deference to the wishes of his dead father he gave extensive *Jāgīrs* to his brother Muhammad. The entire reign of Ahmad is full of wars with Vijayanagar, Telaṅgaṇa, Gujarāt, Khāndeś and Māḷvā. The first war with Vijayanagar was on the question of payment of tribute by the Vijayanagar king, Deva Rāyā, which was in arrears for five years. On the refusal of Deva Rāyā to pay the stipulated amount Ahmad sent his brother Muhammad and Imād-ul-mulk Ghorī against Deva Rāyā. The advance of the Bahamanī army was enough to force Deva Rāyā to change his mind and agree to the payment of arrears. The good tidings which this news brought to Ahmad Śāh were short-lived because they were followed by the report of rebellion by his brother Muhammad on his return from the campaign. As a matter of fact Ahmad's weakness in dealing with his brothers was responsible for this sudden outbreak of revolt by Muhammad. On his return from the Vijayanagar campaign in 1436 Muhammad halted at Mudgal. In the camp, some of the officers approached and told him that it was the wish of his dead father that he should govern the country as a co-partner of Alāuddin. What the present ruler had done was to give him a subordinate position. He therefore should demand of the king that the whole kingdom should be partitioned between the two or else another throne should be placed side by side with *Takht-i-Firozā* for him so that he would be an equal partner in all the decisions taken by the court. Prince Muhammad was easily swayed by this emotional approach and the glamour of the status of a would be king. He agreed to the proposal and raised the standard of revolt. The *Amir-ul-umrā* Imād-ul-mulk was put to death. Prince Muhammad also requested the Rājā of Vijayanagar to send him assistance. The Rājā immediately agreed and preferred his hand of assistance to prince Muhammad. Emboldened, prince Muhammad advanced from Mudgal and carried by assault Rāicūr, Śolāpūr, Naḷdurg and a number of other places. On the banks of the Kṛṣṇā he crowned himself king. The news of this revolt reached Ahmad Śāh who immediately ordered troops to get ready and advanced from the capital against his brother. In the engagement that ensued Muhammad was completely defeated and fled to jungles pursued by the *Sultān's* army.

CHAPTER 2.

The Bahamanis of the Deccan.

ALAUDDIN AHMAD SHAH II.

Finding any escape impossible, Muhammad surrendered and begged for mercy. Ahmad took pity upon his recalcitrant brother, pardoned him and granted him the *Jāgīr* of Rajachal in addition to the one that was bequeathed on him by the late *Sultān*. The victory of the *Sultān* over his brother Muhammad also synchronised with his victory over the Rājās of Saṅgameśvar and Ranel who submitted to Dilāvar Khān in 1436. The *Sultān* married the daughter of the Rājā and gave her the title of *Paricharā,* on account of her moonlike face. This marriage was later to involve the *Sultān* in hostilities with the *Sultān* of Khāndeś. The *Sultān* now removed Dilāvar Khān the prime minister, from his post as he was suspected of having accepted bribes in his Koṅkaṇ campaign. In his place Dastur-ul-Mamālik, an Abyssinian was appointed. He was murdered shortly afterwards at the instance of prince Humāyūn. The mantle of prime ministership ultimately fell upon Miyān Minnallāh Dakhni who was regarded as one of the wisest of the epoch.

Two years had now elapsed since the revolt of prince Muhammad and the marriage of Alāuddin with *Paricharā,* the daughter of the Rājā of Saṅgmeśvar. Alāuddin became so enamoured with his new Queen that he neglected the elder Āghā Zaināb, the daughter of Nasir Khān, the *Sultān* of Khāndeś. Āghā Zaināb naturally complained to her father, charging her husband, with negligence and maltreatment. This brought the two Kingdoms in conflict with each other. Nasir Khān, though independent looked to the *Sultān* of Gujarāt as his protector. He sought the backing of the *Sultān* of Gujarāt and the active assistance of the Rājā of Goṇḍavana, and invaded the province of Berār. Berār had always been a trouble spot for the Bahamanīs and a hot bed for political intrigues by the neighbouring kingdoms against the Bahamanī Sultans. The invasion of Nasir Khān encouraged the discontented elements in Berār to rise against the Bahamanī rule and join hands with Nasir Khān. The governor of Berār, Khān-ī-Jahān Abdul Qādir could not cope with the situation and fled to the fort of Narnāḷā. Nasir Khān, emboldened by the success that had crowned his invasion, declared himself the sovereign of Berār and ordered the *Khutbā* to be read in his name in all the principal mosques of the province. The news of this disaster was conveyed by Khān-i-Jahān to *Sultān* Alāuddin Ahmad II.

*Sultān* Alāuddin immediately called his principal officers to Bidar to consult them for devising ways and means to repulse the attack from Khāndeś. The rift between the old-comers led by Miyān Minnallāh and Khān-i-Zamān and the new-comers led by Khalaf Hasan *Malik-ut-tujjār* now came into the open. The old-comers pleaded the impracticability of facing the combined forces of Khāndeś, Gujarāt and Goṇḍavana and advised some sort of compromise. In support of their stand, they drew the attention of the *Sultān* to the debacle of the Bahamanī forces led by *Malik-ut-tujjār* against Gujarāt in the battle of Māhīm. Upon this *Malik-ut-tujjār* pointed out that the defeat suffered by

him was not due to any weakness or tactical blunder as commander-in-chief on his part. It was entirely due to the suicidal withdrawal of the old-comers in the thick of the battle. He challenged that if the new-comers were given the opportunity and necessary equipment they would effectively deal with the menacing posture of the Sultān of Khāndeś. The need of the hour was for concerted action to face the aggression with all the resources which could be mustered. Instead Alāuddin allowed the flare up of this emotional outburst and gave the specific command of the campaign to new-comers such as Qāsim Beg Safśikan, Qara Khān Kurd, Alī Khān Sistāni, Iftikhar-ul-mulk Hamdāni, Rustam Khān Māzendarāni, Husain Khān Badakhṣī, Khuśrū Khān Uzbek, Majnum Sultān Cañgejī and Śāh Quli Sultān Cañgejī. This further antagonised the opposing factions to each other. Khalaf Hasan made elaborate preparations for the campaign and proceeded to Daulatābād. He sent reinforcements to strengthen the frontier forces bordering Gujarāt. He then moved towards the province of Berār with a select force of 7000 Arabs. On receipt of the news of the arrival of *Malik-ut-tujjār* from the Deccan, Khān-i-Jahān issued out from the fort of Narnāḷā and joined hands with the forces of *Malik-ut-tujjār* at Mehkar. *Malik-ut-tujjār* divided the forces under his command. He put one division in charge of Khān-i-Jahān and sent him to Ellicpūr and Bāḷāpūr to prevent any further conjunction between the army of the Gondavana and that of Nasir Khān who was camping at Rohankheḍ. He commanded the other division and marched towards Rohankheḍ. An engagement took place between the two forces resulting in the complete rout of Nasir Khān. Nasir Khān left the field of battle and was pursued by *Malik-ut-tujjār* to the very gates of Burhāṇpūr, his capital. In the meanwhile news was received of the concerted move by the *Sultāns* of Māḷvā and Gujarāt to help Nasir Khān and the approach of their combined armies at Nandurbār and Sultānpūr. *Malik-ut-tujjār* immediately decided to retreat towards Lāliṅg which was garrisoned by Khāndeś troops and intervene before any reinforcement could reach Lāliṅg from the *Sultāns* of Māḷvā and Gujarāt. By forced marches *Malik-ut-tujjār* arrived before Lāliṅg where Nasir Khān had assembled a sizeable force. In the action that followed Nasir Khān was totally defeated and a large booty fell into the hands of the Bahamanīs. *Malik-ut-tujjār* then retired to Muhammadābād-Bidar where a right royal reception awaited his arrival. The *Sultān* himself went to welcome the victorious general and bestowed numerous honours upon him and the new-comers who had proved their mettle on the battle field. The new-comers had now proved their worth and it would have been extremely sensible on the part of Alāuddin to let the embers of enmity between the old-comers and the new-comers to subside. The *Sultān*, however, acted in a manner repugnant to the old-comers. The *Sultān* had already married three of his sisters to Jalāl Khān, Śāh Nurullāh and Śāh Habibullāh, respectively. Now he gave his daughter in marriage to Śāh Qulī Sultān Cañgejī. Further, the *Sultān* added insult to

**CHAPTER 2.**

**The Bahamanis of the Deccan.**

ALAUDDIN AHMAD SHAH II.

the injury he had already inflicted upon the old-comers by decreeing that in future the old-comers were to occupy places to his left while the new-comers were to occupy places to his right in the *darbār*. This brought about a permanent estrangement between the two factions of nobility. It led to the horrible affair of Cākaṇ which would be detailed later.

*Sultān* Alāuddin had hardly heaved a sigh of relief at the outcome of his war with Khāndeś when reports were received of trouble on the southern borders of the kingdom. This time it was Vijayanagar again. It may be recalled here that in the beginning of his reign Alāuddin had sent his brother Muhammad against Deva Rāyā of Vijayanagar. Muhammad forced Deva Rāyā to submit. But on his return march he had revolted and sought the assistance of his erstwhile enemy, Deva Rāyā. Deva Rāyā readily agreed. However, the dream of Muhammad to ascend the throne of Bidar came to naught when he was defeated by *Sultān* Alāuddin. Quite a few years had elapsed since then. Deva Rāyā had not however forgotten his defeat at the hands of Muhammad. When the Bahamanīs were busily engaged in war with their northern neighbours, Deva Rāyā was making frantic efforts to prepare himself for a full scale war against the Bahamanīs, the traditional enemies of Vijayanagar. He could not tolerate with equanimity the payment of tribute to the Bahamanīs who were in no way his superior in respect of the extent of territory, population and revenues of the State[1]. He, therefore, raised a huge army, consisting of 62,000 archers, 80,000 cavalry and 2,00,000 infantry. *Sultān* Alāuddin who had received the news of the war efforts undertaken by his southern neighbour was also considering a plan for an immediate attack

---

1. Ferishta gives the following details about the preparations made by Deva Raya :—

About this time, Dew Ray of Beejanuggur summoned a council of his nobility and principal bramins; observing to them, that as his country (the Carnatic), in extent, population, and revenue, far exceeded that of the house of Bahmuny, and also as his army was more numerous, he requested them to point out the cause of the successes of the Mahomedans, and of his being reduced to pay them tribute. Some said, that the Almighty had decreed to them a superiority over the Hindoos for thirty thousand years, a circumstance which was foretold in their own writings that it was on this account, therefore, the Hindoos were generally subdued by them. Others said, that the superiority of the Moslems arose out of two circumstances first, that their horses were stronger, and able to endure more fatigue than the weak animals of the Carnatic; secondly, that a great body of excellent archers was always maintained in pay by the kings of the house of Bahmuny, of whom the Ray had but few in his army.

Dew Ray, upon this, gave orders to enlist Musulmans in his service, allotting to them estates, and erecting a mosque for their use in the city of Beejanuggur. He also commanded that no one should molest them in the exercise of their religion and, moreover, he ordered a *Koran* to be placed before his throne on a rich desk, so that the faithful might perform the ceremony of obeisance in his presence without sinning against their laws. He also made all the Hindoo soldiers learn the art of archery; to which both he and his officers so applied themselves, that he could soon master two thousand Mahomedans and sixty thousand Hindoos well skilled in archery, besides eighty thousand cavalry, and two hundred thousand infantry, armed in the usual manner with pikes and lances.

(Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. II, pp. 430—32.)

upon Vijayanagar. A temporary confusion that prevailed in Vijayanagar due to an assassination attempt upon Deva Rāyā in 1442-1443 gave Alāuddin the necessary opportunity. He demanded from Deva Rāyā the payment of the arrears of the outstanding tribute amounting to seven lacs of *tankas*. Deva Rāyā was in no mood to listen. He flatly refused the payment and assumed aggressive postures. With the vast army under his command he crossed the Tuṅgabhadrā in 1443 and captured Mudgal. Halting there for a short while he sent his son in the direction of Rāicūr and Baṅkāpūr. Another force was sent towards Nuśratābād Sagar and Bijāpūr. He himself then moved his camp and marched from the doāb beyond the river Kṛṣṇā.

In order to contain the advance of Deva Rāyā, *Sultān* Alāuddin first ordered the provincial governors to repair with all haste to the capital, with all the troops they could muster. The provincial governors and officers to arrive were *Malik-ut-tujjār*, Khān-i-Zamān, Khān-i-Āzam and Fakhr-ul-Mulk Dehlavi. The *Sultān*, then left his capital and advanced by forced marches, On hearing of the approach of the Bahamanī army, Deva Rāyā withdrew his forces and retired to the fortress of Mudgal after re-crossing the river Kṛṣṇā. The Bahamanī army closely followed the army of Vijayanagar and pitched its tents about 9 miles from Mudgal. The *Sultān* divided his forces into two, one under the command of *Malik-ut-tujjār* along with the army of Daulatābād, and the second under the command of Khān-i-Zamān, the *Sarlaṣkar* of Berār. He, however, retained the overall command of the second to himself. Dev Rāyā's son had already besieged Rāicūr and Baṅkāpūr. Khalaf Hasan was sent against him. Khalaf Hasan forced the Rāyā's son to retreat and raise the sieges of both the places which were reoccupied by the Bahamanīs. The *Sultān* himself marched against the Rāyā and pitched battles were fought between the two forces. There was heavy slaughter on both the sides but victory eluded both. In the thick of the battle, the Rāyā's son was killed. Deva Rāyā therefore withdrew from the field of battle and retired to the fortress. The retreating Vijayanagar army, however, took two of the *Sultān's* officers, Fakhr-ul-mulk Dehlavi and his brother as prisoners of war. The *Sultān* demanded their return and threatened dire consequences if any harm fell upon them. However, no steps were taken by the *Sultān* to move forward and besiege the fortress. The Rāyā who had no heart now left in fighting agreed to return the prisoners and expressed his willingness to enter into a treaty if certain of his conditions were fulfilled. *Sultān* Alāuddin realised the futility of prolonging the conflict. He responded favourably. Both the sides thereafter entered into an agreement under the terms of which the Rāyā of Vijayanagar agreed to pay the arrears of tribute, whereas *Sultān* Alāuddin agreed to retire to his own kingdom and to never again violate the Vijayanagar frontier. The terms of the treaty indicate the hollowness of the claim of the superiority of the Bahamanīs over its neighbours. It also brings forth the potent fact

**CHAPTER 2.**

**The Bahamanis of the Deccan.**

ALAUDDIN AHMAD SHAH II.

that the Bahamanīs were just one of the many kingdoms into which the whole south was divided. Though they paid tribute by the force of circumstances to the Bahamanīs, the Vijayanagar rulers never accepted them as their suzerains. Ironically enough if the Bahamanīs could not succeed in enforcing the terms of this treaty, the Vijayanagar rulers succeeded fairly enough in enforcing them in so far as it pertained to themselves. They never paid the tribute but gave a shattering blow to the Bahamanī power when *Sultān* Alāuddin tried to violate the frontiers of Vijayanagar kingdom. The circumstances that led to this episode were as under. A couple of years after the confrontation between Vijayanagar and Bahamanīs, Deva Rāyā II died. His son Mallikārjuna succeeded him to the throne. Taking advantage of Vijayanagar's occupation with the Bahamanīs and the death of Deva Rāyā, Kapilendra Deva or Kapileśvar, the founder of the Gajapati line of rulers in Orissā had occupied a large chunk of Vijayanagar territory on the eastern coast. Kapilendra had usurped the throne by deposing Bhānudeva IV. He had also subjugated the principality of Rājmahendry and captured the fortress of Kondavidu. Kapilendra found a ready ally in *Sultān* Alāuddin Ahmad. They entered into a treaty of aggression against Vijayanagar. Immediately after the death of Deva Rāyā, they invaded the Vijayanagar territory. They advanced up to the capital itself. Mallikārjuna who had sufficient experience of warfare and who had an excellent militia under his command heroically resisted this wanton aggression. He inflicted crushing defeats upon the allies and forced them to raise the siege of Vijayanagar. The allies started their ignominious retreat and were hotly pursued by Mallikārjuna. Mallikārjuna did not halt till he had driven the enemies out of the Vijayanagar territory. Thus closed the inglorious Vijayanagar chapter in the reign of Alāuddin Ahmad, shortly after his alleged victory over Deva Rāyā II in 1444[1].

It may be pointed out that the Bahamanī rule was never stable on the western coast inspite of repeated expeditions undertaken by the Bahamanīs against the local chiefs, especially the Rājā of Saṅgameśvar. They no doubt paid tribute and submitted, in face of an invasion by a huge force under a Bahamanī general. But no sooner did the Bahamanī army retire, than the local chiefs would again raise their heads and administer the country as independent chiefs. No Bahamanī general proved equal to the task of putting down the chiefs permanently, partly because no Bahamanī general wholeheartedly undertook such an invasion and partly because the topography of the region made it difficult to effect its permanent subjugation. In 1447 the *Sultān*, therefore, ordered *Malik-ut-tujjār*, the governor of Daulatābād to undertake the campaign of the south Koṅkaṇ region and establish Bahamanī authority over the region. Khalaf Hasan was

1. Ferishta and Sayyad Ali do not mention this defeat of the Bahamanis. Perhaps they deliberately avoid any mention of it. The entire account is based on the Sanskrit drama *Gangadasapratapavilasam.*

especially instructed to punish *Rājā* Śaṅkar Rāv Śirke, the chief of a fortified place, surrounded by thick and dense jungles. Khalaf Hasan made elaborate preparations for the arduous campaign and arrived at Cākaṇ with 10,000 cavalry and made it his base of operations. The cavalry consisted of 7,000 Deccanis and 3,000 Arabs. Khalaf Hasan fortified Cākaṇ and started on his Koṅkaṇ expedition. With the help of the well-trained and well-equipped army under his command Khalaf Hasan succeeded in subjugating most of the chiefs and capturing their fortresses. The *Rājā* Śaṅkar Rāv Śirke offered stiff resistance. He was, however, defeated and captured by *Malik-ut-tujjār*. The *Rājā* agreed to pay the tribute, embrace Islam and lead the Bahamanī army to the principality of Saṅgameśvar. However, the *Rājā* was thinking entirely in different terms and his submission was only a pretext to free himself from his present predicament. When the Bahamanī army started on its forward march, little did it know that it was entering a death trap. The *Rājā* deliberately took a tortuous route, running through dense jungles and surrounded by mountainous regions. A few of the Bahamanī cavalry refused to go along, being terrified at the prospects of a long march and retired to Cākaṇ. A few days journey brought the advancing army at the mouth of a Bay, where they halted, completely fatigued and thirsty. From here *Rājā* Śaṅkar Rāv secretly sent a message to the chief of Saṅgameśvar and informed him of the excellent opportunity of wiping out the entire Bahamanī contingent while it lay asleep in thick jungles. The *Rājā* understood the message and sent an army of 30,000 consisting of lancers, archers and matchlockmen. The army approached and took positions surrounding the entire camp. When night descended and when the Bahamanī soldiers were fast asleep in the camp the army of Saṅgameśvar suddenly attacked the camp. There was confusion all over. Practically the entire Bahamanī contingent was put to sword. *Malik-ut-tujjār* with five hundred Sayyads from Medinā, Najaf and Karbalā who formed part of the Bahamanī contingent was killed. The entire Bahamanī camp was turned into a battle-field with the bodies of the dead soldiers strewn all over and the atmosphere filled with the wailings and cries of the dying and wounded. The soldiers who were fortunate to escape the ambush managed to reach Cākaṇ to carry news of the grim tragedy that had befallen the Bahamanī army. The disaster destroyed whatever vestiges of Bahamanī rule had remained in the Koṅkaṇ region. It was only during the ascendency of Mahmūd Gāvān that the Bahamanīs again succeeded in subjugating the region as will be related later.[1]

---

1. Ferishta's account of the campaign is as under :—

At this time Meamun-Oolla Deccany formed a plan for reducing to subjection all the fortresses along the sea coast. To effect this, the King deputed Mullik-oot-Toojar, with seven thousand Deccany infantry, and three thousand Arabian cavalry, besides his own division, to the westward. *Mullik-oot-Toojar*, fixing upon Chakun as his seat of government, secured the fort near the city of Joonere, from whence he sent detachments, at different times, into Concan, and reduced several *Rajas*

**CHAPTER 2.**

**The Bahamanis of the Deccan.**

ALAUDDIN AHMAD SHAH II.

The massacre of the Bahamanīs gave rise to a new controversy between the new-comers and old-comers. The former charged the latter with deliberate negligence of responsibility and alleged that the unfortunate occurrence in the Koṅkaṇ campaign could have been avoided if the old-comers had not backed out at the eleventh hour. The new-comers even threatened that they would inform the *Sultān* of the cowardly and treacherous act of the old-comers. But before the report could reach the *Sultān* the old-comers sent two of their trusted lieutenants Sālār Hamzā Muśir-ul-mulk and *Rājā* Rustam Nizām-ul-mulk to the *Sultān* making an entirely false representation of the events that led to the tragedy at Saṅgameśvar. They informed the *Sultān* that the old-comers had warned the new-comers of the dangers involved in the campaign. Without heeding the warning the new-comers had persisted and marched to the Koṅkaṇ region. When the great disaster befell the Bahamanī forces, and only a few escaped to Cākaṇ the old-comers advised the new-comers to send the news of the disaster to the *Sultān* and ask for immediate reinforcement. Even this advice went unheeded. The representation further said that the new-comers had shut themselves up in the fort of Cākaṇ. It was rumoured that they proposed to hand over the fort to the enemies of the *Sultān*. The representation was made by Muśir-ul-mulk and Nizām-ul-mulk at a time, when *Sultān* Alāuddin was drunk. The *Sultān* ordered the immediate

---

*contd.*

to subjection. At length he moved to that country in person, and laid siege to a fort the *Raja* of which was named Sirka, whom he speedily obliged to surrender, and to deliver himself and family into his hands.

*Mullik-oot-Toojar* insisted that Sirka should embrace the faith of Islam, or be put to death ; upon which the subtle infidel, with much assumed humility, represented that there existed between him and Shunkur *Ray*, who owned the country around the fortress of Khelna, a family jealousy, and that should he enter into the pale of Islam, and his rival remain secure in the full possession of power, he would, on the general's retreat, taunt him with ignominy on account of his change of religion, and excite his own family and subjects to revolt ; so that he should lose the countries his ancestors had held for ages.

*Raja* Sirka added, however, that if *Mullik-oot-Toojar* would reduce his rival, Shunkur *Ray* of Khelna, and give his country either to himself or to one of his officers, which might be effected with little difficulty, he would then pronounce the creed of the true faith, become enrolled among the servants of the King, and remit annually a tribute to his treasury, as well as assist in reducing those Rajas who might hereafter fail in their duty and allegiance.

*Mullik-oot-Toojar* replied, that he heard the road to the *Ray*'s country was woody, and full of difficult passes. To which Sirka answered, that while there was a guide with the army so faithful and capable as himself, not a single soul should receive injury. Accordingly, *Mullik-oot-Toojar*, relying on the promises of the *Raja*, in the year 858 began his expedition against Khelna, but was deserted in the outset by most of the Deccany and Abyssinian officers and troops, who declined entering the woods. *Raja* Sirka, agreeably to his promise, during the two first days conducted the army along a broad road, so that the general praised his zeal and fidelity ; but on the third day he led them by paths so intricate, that the male tiger, from apprehension, might change his sex, and through passes more tortuous than the curly locks of the fair, and more difficult to escape from than the mazes of love. Demons even might start at the precipices and caverns in those wilds and ghosts might be panic-struck at the lawful view of the mountains. Here the Sun never enlivened with its splendour the vallies ; nor has providence designed that it should penetrate their depths.

The very grass was tough and sharp as the fangs of serpents, and the air fetid as the breath of dragons. Death dwelt in the waters, and poison impregnated the breeze. After winding, weary and alarmed, through these dreadful labyrinths, the army entered a darker forest, a passage through which was difficult even to the

seizure and execution of the alleged rebels. With this order Muśir-ul-mulk returned to Cākaṇ and laid siege to Cākaṇ where the helpless new-comers were huddled like sheep. The unscrupulous old-comers at the court took sufficient precaution to intercept any correspondence between Cākaṇ and the Court so that the real state of affairs should not reach the *Sultān*. The mind of the *Sultān* was further poisoned by the old-comers who spread lies about the abuses the new-comers heaped upon the *Sultān* and their alleged plot to cross over into the kingdom of Gujarat.

The plight of the besieged was getting worse every day. Food and water were becoming scarce. There was no way left for them to convey to the *Sultān* the calamity that had befallen them. They now decided to attack the besiegers and make good their escape to Bidar. If this had succeeded, the plan of the old-comers to destroy the newcomers by starving them would have been upset. They therefore sent messages in the fort informing the newcomers that they did not desire any harm to them as all of them belonged to a common faith. To remove any suspicion in the mind of the newcomers a few of the oldcomers even went to the fort and resided there for the whole night. On the next day the cunning oldcomers invited the newcomers to a party, an invitation which the unsuspecting newcomers gratefully accepted. What followed was a brutal massacre of innocents including men, women and children. The oldcomers did not spare any, not even the old and invalid. Only a handful headed by Qāsim Beg Safśikan who suspected treachery succeeded in escaping along with their women and children. As if the innocent killings had not been sufficient a posse of 2,000 men was dispatched in pursuit of Qāsim Beg Safśikan before the party could reach Bidar. The party reached Bīḍ and found shelter in the town commanded by Hasan Khān. The oldcomers argued in vain with Hasan Khān to hand over the newcomers. Hasan Khān refused to submit. The oldcomers then retired to Cākaṇ and the newcomers were safely escorted to the capital.

---

*contd.*

winds of heaven. It was bounded on three sides by mountains, whose heads towered above the clouds, and on the other side was an inlet of the ocean, so that there was no path by which to advance, nor road for retreat, but that by which they had entered.

*Mullik-oot-Toojar* at this crisis fell ill of a bloody flux, so that he could not attend to the regularity of the line of march, or give orders for the disposition of his troops, who being excessively fatigued, about night-fall flung themselves down to rest wherever they could find room, for there was no spot which admitted of two tents being pitched near each other. While the troops were thus scattered in disorder, Sirka, their treacherous guide, left them, and communicated to Shunkur *Ray* that he had lured the game into his toils. The *Ray*, with a great force conducted by Sirka, about midnight attacked the Mussulmans from all quarters, who, unsuspicious of surprise, were buried in the sleep produced by excessive exertions. In this helpless state, nearly seven thousand soldiers of the faithful were put to death, like sheep, with knives and daggers ; the wind blowing violently, the rustling of the trees prevented the troops from hearing the cries of their fellow-sufferers. Among, these was *Mullik-oot-Toojar*, who fell with five hundred noble Syuds of Medina, Kurbulla, and Nujuf ; as also some few Deccany and Abyssinian officers together with about two thousand of their adherents, who had remained with their general. Before daylight the *Ray*, having completed his bloody work, retired with his people from the forest.

(Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. II, pp. 436—40).

Qāsim Beg Safśikan and the members of the family of Śāh Nimatullāh Kirmāni appeared before the *Sultān* and unfolded the story of the dastardly plot of the oldcomers. They informed the *Sultān* of the numerous petitions they had sent to the Court and wondered how they were not received. The *Sultān* realised that he was duped in signing the false order of arrest and execution of the newcomers and the duplicity and treachery of Mustafā Khān who was in charge of receiving petitions. Under the orders of the *Sultān*, Mustafā Khān was arrested and executed and the properties of prominent oldcomers including those of Muśir-ul-mulk and Nizām-ul-mulk were confiscated. The *Sultān* also decreed that all the oldcomers now camping at Cākaṇ should be arrested forth with and brought in chains to Bidar for further inquiry. As a recompense for the agonies suffered by the newcomers, the *Sultān* conferred numerous titles and honours upon the newcomers and raised many of them to positions of status and responsibility. He created Qāsim Beg, *Malik-ut-tujjār* and appointed him *Sarlaṣkar* of Daulatābād. He deposed the prime minister Miyān Minnallāh, the foremost representative of the oldcomers. A few years later the *Sultān* received a lengthy communication from Śaikh Azari who was then in Khurāsān reprimanding the *Sultān* for the wanton massacre of the newcomers at Cākan. He then ordered the execution of all the oldcomers who were in custody since the affairs of Cākaṇ. The controversy appeared to have subsided for the time being but the hatred between the oldcomers and newcomers could not be extinguished. It raised its ugly head with greater force and brought about the disintegration of the Bahamanī kingdom as the subsequent events would show.

In the year 1455, the Bahamanī Kingdom was rocked by a rebellion in Telaṅgaṇa, headed by the brother-in-law of the *Sultān*, Jalāl Khān, the grandson of Sayyad Jalāl Bukhāri. After his marriage with the *Sultān's* sister, Jalāl Khān was given a *Jāgīr* in Nalgoṇḍā. A rumour now circulated that the *Sultān* was dead. Perhaps it was deliberately spread by Jalāl Khān with a view to profit by the confusion that would result from such a rumour. Jalāl Khān crowned himself King at Nalgondā. When the news of the revolt was received by *Sultān* Alāuddin he hurriedly marched to suppress the revolt. When Jalāl Khān got the news of the approach of the *Sultān* he took shelter in the citadel and sent his son Sikandar Khān to Mahmūd Khiljī, the *Sultān* of Māḷvā. Sikandar informed Mahmūd that *Sultān* Ahmad was dead and that there was anarchy and unrest in the whole kingdom. It was therefore necessary to restore peace and order in the state and it could be done only if Mahmūd Khiljī agreed to help his father Jalāl Khān, who had now assumed the titles of royalty. Mahmūd Khiljī, who was an ambitious ruler, did not try to find out the truth about the actual state of affairs. He was eager to fish in troubled waters. He readily consented to the proposal and invited Mubārak Khān Fāruqī of Khāndeś to join him. He quickly marched to the south, and joined hands

with Mubārak Khān. Together they crossed the frontiers of the Bahamanī Kingdom in 1456. They met Sikandar Khān at Māhūr. Ahmad now ordered the armies of Bijāpūr, Berār and Daulatābād to collect at Nalgondā. When the troops arrived, Ahmad had a force of 1,80,000 under him. He marched towards Māhūr. On approaching Māhūr he divided his army in three contingents. He sent one to oppose the Māḷvā forces, another to oppose the Khāndeś army. The third was placed under his command. He waited at a distance of eight miles from the scene of confrontation in battle readiness. When the opposing armies were deployed in battle array, Mahmūd Khiljī suddenly withdrew from the field of battle. He was faced with a force three times his own strength. Now that the rumours of Ahmad's death had been proved to be baseless, he decided to withdraw his support to Jalāl Khān. He retired to Māḷvā leaving a token force of 1,000 men behind him. Sikandar Khān, disheartened at the withdrawal of support from Mahmūd Khiljī did not offer any battle.

At this time the *Sultān* conferred upon Mahmūd Gāvān, one of the newcomers from Qawan near Resht in Northern Iran a *mansab* of 1,000 with orders to suppress the insurrection of Jalāl Khān. Mahmūd Gāvān who was to play a prominent role in the Bahamanī politics for the next three decades proceeded to Nalgondā and besieged the citadel where Jalāl Khān had shut himself up. In the meanwhile Sikandar Khān left Māhūr and approached Nalgondā. Here he met Mahmūd Gāvān and on obtaining a promise of pardon hastened to the fort of Nalgondā to persuade his father to lay down the arms. With no chance of any succour from any quarters, Jalāl Khān sent his submission. He handed over the fort to Mahmūd Gāvān. The *Sultān* pardoned both the father and the son and restored to them their old *Jāgīr* of Nalgondā. Even though the insurrection of Jalāl Khān was suppressed, all was not well in Telaṅgaṇa. Trouble was brewing on the eastern frontier of the Bahamanī Kingdom. Kapileśvar was the ruler of Orissā. He possessed a force of well over two thousand elephants. The Bahamanī forces were evicted from the fort of Bhongir by the local chief. Sañjār Khān who was appointed as the *Sarlaṣkar* of Telaṅgaṇa had to make a show of force before he could take possession of the fort. The Gajapati ruler Kapileśvar who was alleged to have received help from the Bahamanī *Sultān* in deposing Bhandeva IV had increased his strength. He was in possession of the region of Bejvada and Kondapalli He had also extended his territorial possessions in the south. He posed a threat to the eastern frontiers of the Bahamanī Kingdom. To forestall any attack from Kapileśvar Sañjār Khān the *Sarlaṣkar* of the Telaṅgaṇa *Subhā*, marched against him. No general engagement took place between the two forces because the *Sultān* immediately ordered Sañjār Khān to withdraw. However, there is enough evidence to show that skirmishes did take place between the Bahamanī contingents and

CHAPTER 2. The Bahamanis of the Deccan

the troops commanded by Rahutanaya, the Oriyan commander. In these skirmishes the Bahamanīs seem to have suffered heavily[1]

ALAUDDIN AHMAD ŚHAH II.

The *Sultān* did not survive for long after the Telaṅgaṇa campaign. He died shortly afterwards on 3rd April 1458 from the malignant wound in his skin from which he had been suffering for a long time. Alāuddin did not possess any great qualities. The whole of his reign was full of external aggressions and internal conflicts. And nowhere did Alāuddin emerge with marked success. It is doubtful whether he could be attributed with the possession of any humane qualities because he had the blood of newcomers and oldcomers on his hand. Under the influence of wine he ordered the massacre of the innocent newcomers at Cākaṇ. When he realised his great folly he ordered the execution of the oldcomers. His humane treatment of prince Muhammad and for that matter of Jalāl Khān, cannot wipe away the stigma of recklessness, cruelty and political immaturity on his part which were mainly responsible for the execution of thousands of oldcomers and newcomers.

The reign of Alāuddin Ahmad II was followed by two short reigns of Alāuddin Humāyūn and Nizāmuddin Ahmad III at the end of which the Bahamanīs settled down to a period of prosperity under the able and competent guidance of Khvājā Jahān Mahmūd Gāvān. A short description of the important events of the reigns of Alāuddin Humāyūn and Nizāmuddin Ahmad III is given in what follows.

ALAUDDIN HUMAYUN SHAH

*Sultān* Alāuddin Ahmad II was succeeded by his eldest son Humāyūn under the title of Alāuddin Humāyūn. The accession of Humāyūn to the throne was not, however, without an incident. Humāyūn was extremely hot headed. He had antagonised a few of his father's courtiers when he was a prince. Among them were *Rājā* Rustam Nizām-ul-mulk, his son *Malik-ut-tujjār,* Śāh Habibullāh, Mallu Khān and other amirs of the kingdom. Of these the officers headed by *Rājā* Rustam Nizām-ul-mulk being mortally afraid of their lives fled to Gujarāt. The party headed by Śāh Habibullāh took a bolder stand and put on the throne Hasan, the younger brother of Humāyūn. As this news spread, commotion broke out in the capital. Humāyūn got the support of Śāh Muhib-ullāh, the younger brother of Śāh Habibullāh to whom his sister was married. Though hot tempered Humāyūn possessed daring and courage. He collected a faithful band of followers and backed by Muhib-ullāh, sword in hand, fought his way through the crowd and reached the palace. He went to the room where the throne was situated, dragged Hasan from the throne and himself ascended the throne. He then ordered the imprisonment of all the supporters of Hasan including Habibullāh. This episode took place on 3 April 1458, the same day on which Alāuddin Ahmad breathed his last. On accession to the throne Humāyūn appointed

1. *Sewell and Aiyangar,* 122 ; *Banerji,* 291-292.

Khvājā Najmuddin Mahmūd Gilāni *alias* Khvājā Jahān Mahmūd Gāvān as *Vakīl-i-Saltanat* or prime minister. He conferred upon him the title of *Malik-ut-tujjār* and entrusted to him the administration of the *Sūbhā* of Bijāpūr. At the same time he conferred the title of Khvājā-i-Jahān upon Malik Śāh, appointing him to the *Subhā* of Telaṅgaṇa and made Sikandar Khān, the erstwhile rebel, the *Sipāh Sālār* of the same province.

Sikandar Khān assumed the new charge and once more thought of rising in revolt against the new *Sultān* who was his cousin. He went to Nalgondā, the place of his father's *Jāgīr* and persuaded his father Jalāl Khān to join him. Sikandar Khān was not alone in this adventure this time. He had the support of the Velamās who promised him their wholehearted co-operation. When the *Sultān* received the news of the revolt by Sikandar Khān, the rebels were already advancing on Golconḍā. The *Sultān* immediately dispatched Malik Śāh Khvājā-i-Jahān. However he could not prove equal to the task. Defeated by Sikandar Khān, he had to retire. The *Sultān* now decided to march against the rebels in person. Before attacking the rebels the *Sultān* offered them terms of compromise and promised them pardon if they surrendered. Sikandar refused to come to terms. Instead, he attacked the *Sultān's* camp with all the forces at his command. The *Sultān* still talked of peace and offered Sikandar complete pardon and claim to any territory that he desired to have as his *Jāgīr* in the *Subhā* of Daulatābād. The softness on the part of the *Sultān* encouraged Sikandar Khān to adopt a more insulting attitude towards the *Sultān*. He challenged the claims of the *Sultān* to the throne. He offered as his terms of compromise the partition of the Kingdom into two, with one half going to Humāyūn and the other half going to himself as he claimed to be the grandson of *Sultān* Ahmad Śāh Wali from his mother's side. Nothing further was now needed by *Sultān* Humāyūn to put down the rebel and assert his supremacy. The battle was declared. Fighting went on for the whole day and it seemed as if fortune would favour Sikandar. When all hopes had been lost by Humāyūn, *Malik-ut-tujjār* Mahmūd Gāvān and Khvājā-i-Jahān Turk rushed with reinforcement and attacked the army of Sikandar from both the flanks. The tired army of Sikandar was routed on the battle field. Sikandar was mortally wounded and fell dead on the battle field, trampled by the horses which had run amock in the confusion. With his son dead, Jalāl Khān retreated from the battle field and took shelter in the fort of Nalgondā. The Bahamanī army now laid siege to the fort. With the best part of his army vanquished and no hopes of succour from any quarters Jalāl Khān approached Mahmūd Gāvān to intercede in his behalf with the king and begged for pardon. *Sultān* Humāyūn, did not further press the matter. He pardoned Jalāl Khān but imprisoned him for life.

The suppression of Sikandar's rebellion did not put an end to the unrest in Telaṅgaṇa. On the contrary it brought in its wake the confrontation of the Bahamanīs with the Gajapatis of Orissā.

**CHAPTER 2.**

**The Bahamanis of the Deccan.**

ALAUDDIN HUMAYUN SHAH.

In the rebellion of Sikandar, the Velamās had sided with the rebels. It may be recalled here that Liṅga VII, the Velamā ruler, had rendered help to Alāuddin Ahmad when Jalāl Khān, the father of Sikandar Khān had rebelled in the reign of that *Sultān*. Humāyūn now decided to punish the Velamās for the active support they had rendered to Sikandar. He marched against their stronghold of Devarkondā. The fortress was besieged by Khvājā-i-Jahān Turk and Nizām-ul-mulk with 20,000 horse and 40 elephants. Liṅga now found himself in dire straits. He appealed to the various chiefs of Telaṅgaṇa. He also approached Kapileśvar, the *Rājā* of Orissā, promising him considerable tribute. Kapileśvar, who had earlier fought against the Bahamanīs, eagerly seized the opportunity that would enable him to extend his sway further south over the Bahamanī Telaṅgaṇa. He sent his general Hamvira with a huge force. The Bahamanī generals wrangled over the tactical deployment of their forces. Khvājā-i-Jahān insisted upon the continuance of the siege whereas Nizām-ul-mulk advised the raising of the siege, to draw out the enemy and defeat him. In the meanwhile Hamvira had arrived and the besiegers were themselves besieged. The confident Liṅga now issued out of the fort and attacked the Bahamanī army which was surrounded on all sides by the forces of Hamvira. There was a complete rout of the Bahamanīs who lost heavily in dead and wounded. Nizām-ul-mulk and Khvājā-i-Jahān managed to flee the battle field. The triumphant Hamvira and Liṅga marched towards Waraṅgal and Rajachal respectively and captured the places by inflicting heavy defeats upon the Bahamanī defenders. Unaware of the happenings, *Sultān* Humāyūn was marching towards Devarconḍā when on his way Khvājā-i-Jahān met him and related the tragic events that led to the complete rout of the Bahamanīs. He however put the blame squarely upon Nizām-ul-mulk for slackening the siege operations. The hot tempered *Sultān* got extremely wild at Nizām-ul-mulk for the mismanagement of the entire expedition. Nizām-ul-mulk thought his life to be in danger, fled the camp and took asylum with the *Sultān* of Māḷvā.

It may be recalled here that after the death of Alāuddin Ahmad an attempt was made to put on the throne, Hasan, one of the younger sons of the dead *Sultān*. The attempt failed and Humāyūn imprisoned Hasan and others including Habibullāh who had participated in the plot. They were kept in a prison at Bidar. Also in the prison were Jalāl Khān, the old rebel and Yāhyā Khān, the *Sultān's* brother. All these persons were released from the prison by Yusūf Turk who treacherously entered the prison on a forged pass and killed the *Kotvāl* of the prison. *Sultān* Humāyūn received the news of these happenings while in Telaṅgaṇa. He, therefore, put Mahmūd Gāvān in charge of the Telaṅgaṇa affairs and himself hurriedly marched towards the capital, where he arrived in March 1460. In the meanwhile the entry of Yusūf Turk in the prison had alerted the guarding establishment. They moved together in force and attacked the

ALAUDDIN HUMAYUN SHAH.

party led by Hasan and Habibullāh. A general action ensued in which Jalāl Khān and Yāhyā Khān were killed. Hasan and Habibullāh made good their escape to the *jāgīrs* of Habibullāh located in the district of Bīḍ. At Bīḍ Hasan crowned himself king and appointed Yusūf Turk and Habibullāh, to the posts of *Amir-ul-Umrā* and *Wakīl-i-Saltanat*, respectively. The kingship of Hasan was short lived as he was defeated by the Bahamanī forces sent against him. He fled to Bijāpūr, accompanied by Habibullāh, on his way to Vijayanagar. At Bijāpūr he was intercepted by the vice-governor Sirāj Khān Junaidi. In the scuffle that followed Habibullāh was killed while Hasan was made prisoner. Sirāj Khān sent Hasan in chains to Bidar along with all his supporters. It was now that the ferocious nature of Humāyūn came to the fore. No doubt three attempts to dethrone him had disturbed the even tenor of his character and he now decided to take complete revenge upon all, even on those distantly associated in the plots against him. He made Hasan a prey to the tigers. His supporters were trampled by elephants. He invented new methods of physical tortures and made his antagonists suffer physically in the same manner as they had made him suffer the mental agonies of possible dethronement. The indescribable cruelties inflicted by Humāyūn upon his opponents gave him a nickname of "The Tyrant". Suspecting complicity of the newcomers Humāyūn distributed honours and titles upon a number of oldcomers among whom was Malik Hasan Bahrī, the father of Malik Ahmad, the founder of the Nizām Śāhī dynasty of Ahmadnagar. He was given the title of Sārang Khān. But the days of the tyrant were numbered too. He himself was murdered while in sleep by a maid servant on 1 September 1461.[1]

1. The following account given by Ferishta throws light on the character of Humayun:—

The King's first act was to punish the neglect of the city guard, all of whom, to the number of two thousand, he put to death with cruel torture. He also caused the *kotwal* to be confined in an iron cage, every day cutting off some member of his body, which he obliged him to eat, so that he very shortly died. Meanwhile he detached an army of eight thousand horse and foot against the Prince, who at first was successful. On hearing this, the King's fury knew no bounds. He reinforced his army with more troops; but seizing on the women and children of the officers, threatened to put these hostages to death if the army should be defeated, or the officers desert to the Prince, Hussun Khan.

In the next battle the Prince suffered a total defeat; and Hussun Khan, after a desperate resistance, quitted the field with his adherents, hoping to find an asylum at Beejanuggur. Upon his arrival near the fort of Beejapoor, with about eight hundred horse, the governor, Siraj Khan Jooneidy, sent out a message to invite him in, declaring that he would give up the fort and all its dependencies into his hands. Hussun Khan, by the advice of Shah Habeeb Oolla and Yoosoof Toork, entered the fort of Beejapoor. This fort was then only built of mud. Siraj Khan received the party with apparent respect and attention. At night-fall, however, coming with his attendants to the Prince's apartment, under pretence of paying his respects, he surrounded it, and on the next day attempted to secure the persons of his guests. Shah Hubeeb Oolla suffered martyrdom in making resistance. At length the Prince Hussun Khan, Yoosoof Toork, and his other followers, even to his tent pitchers, watermen, and sweepers, were seized and sent prisoners by Siraj Khan, under a strong escort, to Ahmudabad Bidur.

Hoomayoon Shah, now abandoning himself to the full indulgence of his cruel propensities, and mad with rage, directed stakes to be set up on both sides of the King's *chowk*, or market-place, and caused vicious elephants and wild beasts to

**CHAPTER 2.**

**The Bahamanis of the Deccan.**

ALAUDDIN HUMAYUN SHAH.

There is nothing distinguishing about the short reign of Humāyūn which lasted for three and a half years. No doubt he ascended the throne on an auspicious note when he said "Nobles of my kingdom! I am confident that it is impossible to carry on the government of Kingdom efficiently without the appointment of a minister who should be well known the world over and who should excel in wisdom among the Arabs as well as the Ajmis. We are on the threshold of a new epoch in the history of this country and I cannot do better than follow the advice of one who should be clothed with the outward attributes of truth and good faith and who should inwardly be free from vices and vanity. I have therefore made up my mind to appoint Khvājā Najmuddin Mahmūd Gilāni, one of the best known in the State for his sense of justice as well as for his deep thought, to be my chief minister". However, there was no fulfilment of the aims he had chalked out at the beginning of his reign. He did not possess a firm grip over the State affairs. This resulted in the recurrence of rebellions throughout his reign. Like his predecessors he was haunted by the spectre of the cleavage between the oldcomers and the newcomers. The way he ordered the rebels who were mostly newcomers to be flayed or burned alive brings to the fore the grim happenings of Cākaṇ not long ago. There is no exaggeration in his description by Ferishta and no attempt to placate his evil deeds by Mahmūd Gāvān could exonerate Humāyūn from the stigma of wanton cruelty[1].

NIZAMUDDIN AHMAD III.

On the death of Humāyūn his minor son Ahmad succeeded to the throne under the title of Nizāmuddin Ahmad III on 4 September 1461. Before his death Humāyūn appointed a Council of Regency consisting of Khvājā-i-Jahān Turk, *Malik-ut-tujjār* Mahmūd Gāvān and the dowager Queen Makhdumā-i-Jahān Nargis Begum to look after the administration of the Kingdom till Ahmad assumed the reins of royalty. Khvājā-i-Jahān who was appointed *Wakil* and *Tarafdār* of Telaṅgaṇa and Mahmūd Gāvān who was created *Jumlat-ul-mulk, Wazīr-i-Kul* and appointed *Tarafdār* of Bijāpūr advised the young king in matters

*contd.*

be placed in different parts of the square, in other places cauldrons of scalding oil and boiling water were also prepared as instruments of torture. The King, ascending a balcony in order to glut his eyes on the spectacle, first cast his brother, Hussun Khan, before a ferocious tiger, who soon tore the wretched Prince to pieces, and devoured him on the spot. Yoosoof Toork, and his seven associates, were then beheaded in the King's presence, and the females of their innocent and helpless families, being dragged from their houses, were violated and ill treated in the palace-square, by ruffians, in a manner too indecent to relate. Tortures were now invented by the King, who inflicted on both young and old of both sexes torments more cruel than ever entered the imagination of Zohak and the tyrant Hijjaj. About seven thousand persons, including females and servants, none of whom had the most distant concern in this rebellion, besides the menials, such as cooks, scullions, and others were put to death ; some being stabbed with daggers, other hewn in pieces with hatchets, and the rest flayed by scalding oil or boiling water. This tragedy happened in the month of *Shaban*, in the same year as the rebellion.

(Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. II, pp. 461—63).

1. " Every one present or absent knows that the neck of the courage of this friend has no mark of obligation except those of the kindness and goodness of his late Majesty *Sultan* Humayun Shah of the equipage of Jamshid and kindness as plain as the sun itself. May God keep his grave cool."

of administration in consultation with Nargis Begum. The Queen mother held a special prerogative in the Council of Regency and her words commanded respect and attention.

NIZAMUDDIN AHMAD III.

The political atmosphere in the capital was far from quiet and there was every danger of frontier eruptions taking place. Though the Council of Regency was all powerful yet its successful continuance was likely to depend upon the deftness and adroitness with which it would deal with internal affairs and handle the frontier situation. The council started with a hopeful and sober note by releasing all the persons imprisoned during the late king's regime. The council also adopted a policy of appeasement towards both the newcomers and oldcomers without favouring or disfavouring an individual or a section belonging to either groups. But in the very nature of things the composition of the council was such and the internal policy it adopted was so hesitating that it could not bring that fusion of altitudes which it aimed at doing. The oldcomers doubted the intentions of the council and looked upon its actions as some sort of a trap. Barring the Queen, the council was composed entirely of newcomers. The newcomers on the other hand were not very happy about the policies of the council because they saw in them a gradual waning of their influence.

The relations of the Bahamanīs were far from happy with their Hindu as well as Muslim neighbours. *Sultān* Humāyūn had suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of Gajapati Kapileśvar. The latter now decided to take the advantage of the death of Humāyūn and the accession of a minor king. He collected a huge force, allied himself with the Velamās in Telaṅgaṇa and marched into the Bahamanī territory. He occupied Kaulās and came within 10 miles of the capital itself. The council ordered Khvājā-ī-Jahān Turk to assemble a force and march against Kapileśvar. As the account goes the young king accompanied the Bahamanī army. The opposing forces drew into battle array and a general action ensued. There were pitched battles and hand to hand fighting between the Bahamanīs and the army of Orissā with both sides suffering heavily. With his supply lines extending over a long distance, Kapileśvar regarded the chances of defeating the Bahamanī army not very bright. He decided to retreat from the battle-field. As the account goes, Khvājā-i-Jahān Turk pursued him up to the very frontiers of his kingdom and retired only when Kapileśvar agreed to pay an indemnity of five lakhs of silver *tankas*.

With the settlement of affairs on the eastern frontiers of the kingdom, the new regime had to face a renewal of hostilities by the *Sultān* of Māḷvā. The various states which had come into existence after the disappearance of the Tughluk rule were all expansionist in nature. The Bahamanīs, the *Sultāns* of Māḷvā, Gujarāt and the kings of Vijayanagar were no exception. The difficulties of the Bahamanīs were now regarded as an excellent

CHAPTER 2.

The Bahamanis of the Deccan.

opportunity by *Sultān* Mahmūd Khiljī of Māḷvā. He posed a threat from the northern frontiers of the Bahamanī kingdom and brought the three States of Māḷvā, Gujarāt and the Bahamanīs at war with each other.

NIZAMUDDIN AHMAD III.

It will be remembered that during the reign of Humāyūn some of the nobles had fled to the neighbouring kingdom, being mortally afraid for their lives. Of these, *Rājā* Rustam Nizām-ul-mulk was now at the Māḷvā court. He incited the *Sultān* of Māḷvā to invade the Bahamanī Kingdom. Perhaps the dispatch of an envoy by the *Sultān* of Khāndeś to the Bahamanī capital after the accession of Ahmad was not a mere formality. It must have aimed at a study of Bahamanī politics at close quarters. In 1462 the *Sultān* of Māḷvā formed an alliance with the Gajapati Kapileśvar of Orissā and the *Sultān* of Khāndeś. The combined armies entered the Bahamanī territory from Khāndeś and came within 32 miles of the Bahamanī capital of Bidar. The resemblance between the invasion of Kapileśvar in the previous year and the one undertaken now by the *Sultāns* of Māḷvā and Khāndeś and the king of Orissā is very striking. The Orissā king had advanced to within 8 miles of the capital and now the combined forces had come within 32 miles of the capital. It speaks of a state of loose military preparedness and lack of centralised control by the Bahamanīs over the discontented provincial officers of the Kingdom. However, instructions were conveyed to the officers commanding the armies at Bijāpūr, Daulatābād and Berār to assemble with their troops at Bidar. When the armies had assembled at the capital an order was given to them to march against the combined forces. The Bahamanī army along with the young *Sultān,* and commanded by *Malik-ut-tujjār,* Mahmūd Gāvān, Khvājā-i-Jahān Turk, and Sikandar Khān Turk then marched out of the capital and came face to face with the combined forces at Kandhār. The centre of the Bahamanī army was commanded by the *Sultān* himself with Khvājā-i-Jahān Turk and Sikandar Khān to support him. They had a force of 11,000 cavalry and 140 elephants under them. The centre of the opposing army was under the command of the *Sultān* of Māḷvā, Mahmūd Khiljī. He had a strong cavalry force under him. One flank of the Bahamanī army was under the command of Nizām-ul-mulk Turk. It consisted of 10,000 lancers and 100 elephants. His opponents were *Rājā* Rustam Nizām-ul-mulk Ghorī and Prince Giyāsuddin of Māḷvā. The other flank of the Bahamanī army which was commanded by Mahmūd Gāvān consisted of 10,000 cavalry and 40 elephants. He was opposed by Mahābat Khān of Canderī and Zahir-ul-mulk. The first round of the battle went in favour of the Bahamanīs. Mahmūd Gāvān scored a victory and killed both his opponents, Mahābat Khān, and Zahir-ul-mulk. Nizām-ul-mulk defeated his opponents. Prince Giyāsuddin was wounded in the encounter. All seemed lost and Mahmūd Khiljī thought of retreating from the field of battle. However, an insignificant occurrence saved the day for him and turned his defeat into a

glorious victory. The Bahamanī forces were now busy plundering the bag and baggage of the defeated forces, when a mad elephant from the centre of the Bahamanī army was struck by a stray arrow. The elephant turned back and ran helter skelter stampeding all that came its way. Sikandar Khān who commanded the centre viewed the situation and perceived a danger to the life of *Sultān* Ahmad. He thought of removing the *Sultān* away from the battle field to a safe place. Without consulting any other responsible officer and without considering the consequences of such retreat upon the morale of the men under him, he selected a picked guard and took the *Sultān* directly to Bidar. The absence of the *Sultān* from the mounted elephant was soon detected by the Bahamanī forces. They suddenly lost nerve and left the battle field precipitately, in utter confusion and disorder. Mahmūd Gāvān, Khvājā-i-Jahān Turk, Nizām-ul-mulk Turk also fled the battle field and arrived in the capital. Mahmūd Khiljī who observed this spectacle of the victorious army suddenly taking to heels took it to be a grand scheme of the Bahamanī generals to draw him in and destroy him completely. He, therefore, did not pursue the retreating forces but started regrouping his army to face a possible attack from the Bahamanīs. The attack did not materialise because the Bahamanī generals were too confused to arrive at an agreement as to who was responsible for their defeat. On reaching Bidar, Mahmūd Gāvān complained to the Queen about the hasty action of Sikandar Khān in removing the *Sultān* from the battle field and reasoned that Sikandar Khān was solely responsible for the disaster that befell the Bahamanī army. Sikandar Khān was, therefore, put under arrest.

He vainly remonstrated that when the Bahamanī armies led by Muhmūd Gāvān and Khvājā-i-Jahān were busy looting the Malwese equipage, there was no one to protect the *Sultān*. He had, therefore, out of extreme loyalty to the *Sultān* and in order to save the *Sultān's* life, brought him safely back to Bidar. He represented to the Queen that it was Khvājā-i-Jahān who should be punished. The Queen, however, was powerless at the moment to take any action against the Khvājā-i-Jahān.

With no trace of the Bahamanī army on, or near the battle field, Mahmūd Khiljī was convinced that God had gifted him with a victory. He straightway made for the capital of the Bahamanīs. In the meanwhile, thinking that it would be difficult to hold the town of Bidar against the combined forces, Mahmūd Gāvān decided to withdraw from the capital. Accordingly, the town of Bidar was put in charge of Mallu Khān Deccani and the *Sultān* was removed to Firozābād. No sooner had the Bahamanīs evacuated their capital than Mahmūd Khiljī occupied it. Only the citadel of Bidar was held by Mallu Khān. Mahmūd Khiljī now occupied the districts and provinces of Berār, Bid and Daulatābād. Mahmūd Khiljī's occupation of such a vast portion of Bahamanī territory brought the once mighty power of the Bahamanīs to its knees. With danger

**CHAPTER 2.**

**The Bahamanis of the Deccan.**

NIZAMUDDIN AHMAD III.

threatening it from all sides, and faced by the bleak prospects of total extinction, the Council of Regency wrote to the *Sultān* of Gujarāt, Mahmūd Śāh begging for his assistance. Mahmūd Śāh eagerly seized the opportunity to interfere in the affairs of the Deccan. He, therefore, marched with a force of 8,000 troops, and halting only at Sultānpūr on his way he crossed into Bahamanī territory. The author of *Burhan-i-Masir* quotes a letter supposedly written by Ahmad Śāh to Mahmūd Śāh on receiving the report of *Sultān* Mahmūd's arrival to help him in his fight against *Sultān* Mahmūd Khiljī. The letter reproduced below does no credit to the Bahamanī *Sultān*. It places the Bahamanī ruler in the unenviable position of inviting an outsider to assist him. It was not a war which the Bahamanīs were fighting against the Hindu Kingdoms of Vijayanagar or Orissā. It was a defensive war which the Bahamanīs were fighting against one of the Muslim states, a spectacle not uncommon throughout the period of Muslim domination in the Deccan in the mediaeval period. The letter runs as follows: "The Almighty be praised for strengthening the foundation of our countries by the mutual help of God-fearing and strong kings and for having made the hearts and the innermost recesses of man lighted by the brilliance of the sword of princely unity. It has been found from the petition of Musnad-i-Ali Nizām-ul-mulk and Malik Ushsharq Muhammad, Parviz Sultān, Ṭhāṇādār of Fathabād that your Majesty has arrived on the frontiers of my kingdom for strengthening the bonds of Islamic brotherhood. I am now happy to make known to your Majesty that our infantry as well as our cavalry is ready to meet any eventuality."

The letter was followed by the march of Mahmūd Gāvān with 6,000 cavalry through the district of Bīḍ. He was joined by a force of 20,000 Gujarāt troops near the frontier. Mahmūd Gāvān levied additional troops on his way and when he marched back he had a force of 40,000 troops under his command. From Firozābād, Khvājā-i-Jahān was sent with a force to relieve the city garrison of Bidar defended by Mallu Khān. When Mahmūd Khiljī heard of the combination of the Gujarāti and the Bahamanī forces he decided to withdraw from a trial of strength with the ruler of Gujarāt. He withdrew from the city of Bidar and turned towards Kalyāṇī. Khvājā-i-Jahān started in hot pursuit of the retreating army. A detachment of the Gujarāt forces being reported to be moving towards Kalyāṇī, Mahmūd Khiljī changed directions and retreated towards Burhāṇpūr and Asīr in Khāndeś. To his discomfiture he found his line of retreat completely cut off by Mahmūd Gāvān. In desperation Mahmūd Khiljī destroyed his heavy baggage and turned in the direction of Goṇḍvana, Ellicpūr and Akolā. He was reduced to miserable straits from the attacks of Goṇḍs. Thousands of his men died on their return march to Māḷvā. It was with great difficulty that Mahmūd reached Māḷvā. It was, however, not an end to the conflict between the Bahamanīs and the Māḷvā rulers. No sooner had *Sultān* Mahmūd Śāh of Gujarāt retired to his country, than, in 1463 Mahmūd Khiljī of Māḷvā again collected a huge

force of 90,000 and entered the Bahamanī territory. He advanced as far as Fathabād defeating the Bahamanī forces on his way. It appeared as if the same story was going to repeat itself. So it did. The powerless Bahamanīs again sent urgent messages to Mahmūd Śāh of Gujarāt informing him of the invasion of Mahmūd Khiljī and begging him to help counter this invasion. Mahmūd readily agreed and marched to Sultānpūr on his way to the south. When Mahmūd Khiljī received the news of the arrival of Mahmūd Śāh, he withdrew from the Bahamanī territory without risking an encounter with Mahmūd Śāh and retired to Māḷvā. Shortly after, *Sultān* Ahmad III died on 30 July 1463 after a short reign of about two years. The Bahamanī power was now in shambles after a succession of wars with Māḷvā and Orissā. It presented a pathetic spectacle of a semi-independent state looking upon the *Sultān* of Gujarāt as its protector. If it was to recover from the miserable state to which it had been reduced, it required a leader of ability, foresight and intelligence. It found such a person in Mahmūd Gāvān who in the next reign, by his deft and adroit handling of the political situation restored the Bahamanī State to its original strength. It was Mahmūd Gāvān who dominated the Baḥamanī politics during the next two decades. It would be in the fitness of things to describe this period as the age of Mahmūd Gāvān.

NIZAMUDDIN AHMAD III.

On the death of Nizāmuddin Ahmad III, his younger brother Muhammad Khān, who was barely nine or ten years of age, ascended the throne under the title of Śamsuddin Muhammad III on 30 July 1463. The beginning of the reign was marked by the cruel assassination of Khvājā-i-Jahān Turk in 1466 by Nizām-ul-mulk in the presence of the *Sultān* under the explicit commands of the Queen-mother Nargis Begum. As the account goes Khvājā-i-Jahān upset the balance of power in the Council of Regency. He dismissed the old nobility from the various posts of honour and responsibility held by them and appointed to the posts persons who were in his favour. He even caused *Malik-ut-tujjār* Mahmūd Gāvān to be despatched on a mission away from the capital. The old nobility was thus irked by the impudent behaviour of Khvājā-i-Jahān. The Turkish guards headed by Sikandar Khān wanted to take revenge upon him for the deliberate imprisonment of Sikandar Khān at his instance after the disastrous battle of Kandhār in the previous reign. He was unaware of the plot that was being hatched against him at the instance of the Queen mother. One day as usual when he was proceeding to pay his respects to the *Sultān,* Nizām-ul-mulk seized him at the entrance to the *Sultān's* chamber and murdered him in cold blood. Thus was dissolved the Council of Regency consisting of Mahmūd Gāvān, Khvājā-i-Jahān and the Queen mother created by the late *Sultān* Humāyūn. There was nothing spectacular in the achievements of the Council of Regency during the period of its existence of five years from 1461 till its end on 1466. As a matter of fact during this period the Bahamanīs suffered greatly in their wars with their neighbours. They were

SHAMSUDDIN MUHAMMAD. III.

CHAPTER 2.

The Bahamanis of the Deccan.

SHAMSUDDIN. MUHAMMAD III.

practically reduced to the position of vassals of their powerful neighbour, the *Sultān* of Gujarāt. At home also the conditions were far from happy. The weak centre had lost its control over the powerful provincial governors who rarely respected the commands issuing from the centre, or, even if they did, did so in a half hearted manner. No attempt to settle the dispute amicably between the oldcomers and newcomers was made. The jealousy between them raised its ugly head time and again. It ultimately led to the cruel assassination of Khvājā-i-Jahān.

With the murder of Khvājā-i-Jahān there was now no one left in the kingdom except Mahmūd Gāvān who could reorganize the affairs of the kingdom and put them on a sound footing. The young *Sultān* and the Queen mother soon realised this and accepted the inevitable. The *Sultān* made a declaration some time in 1466 appointing *Malik-ut-tujjār* Mahmūd Gāvān as the Prime Minister and the sole administrator of the kingdom. He was created Khvājā-i-Jahān with a special bodyguard of 2,000 Moghal troops. He was henceforward addressed as the Lord of the habitants of the globe, Secretary of the Royal Mansion, Deputy of the Realm in all the official documents. Such enormous power in unscrupulous hands could easily have been misused. It goes to the credit of Mahmūd Gāvān, the new Bahamanī Prime Minister, that he made use of his powers not for personal aggrandisement, but for the benefit of the country.

We shall first discuss the extensive military expeditions undertaken by Khvājā-i-Jahān Mahmūd Gāvān and then the efforts made by him to consolidate the gains by introducing various reforms in the administrative machinery of the kingdom. Mahmūd Gāvān had to face considerable opposition in the execution of his schemes. He succeeded in temporarily bridging the gulf between the oldcomers and the newcomers. He also softened the hostility of the Hindu Kingdoms of Vijayanagar and Orissā by adopting a conciliatory attitude towards them. On assumption of power, Mahmūd Gāvān was faced with a threat of invasion from Mahmūd Khiljī, the *Sultān* of Māḷvā. Mahmūd Khiljī was still smarting under the defeat he had suffered at the hands of the combined forces of Gujarāt and Bahamanīs. The accession of Muhammad III and the murder of Khvājā-i-Jahān gave Mahmūd Khiljī an opportunity to renew hostilities against the Bahamanīs. He made extensive preparations for the invasion of the Bahamanī territory. As a pretext for an attack he demanded the cession of Māhūr and Ellicpūr to Māḷvā. The demand was rejected outright by the Bahamanīs. *Sultān* Muhammad Śāh appointed Musnād-i-Ali Malik Yusūf Turk *alias* Nizām-ul-mulk commander of the army of Berār and ordered him to counter any move by Mahmūd Khiljī to invade the northern frontiers of the Bahamanī kingdom. The *Sultān* also dispatched a communication to Mahmūd Śāh of Gujarāt requesting him to help him. Mahmūd Gāvān himself proceeded with a force to Fathabād to distract the attention of the Māḷvā army.

Malik Yusūf Turk who was appointed commander of the Berār army proceeded to Kherlā to forestall any attack by the Māḷvā Ruler. Kherlā was besieged. The chief of Kherlā sent urgent messages to *Sultān* Mahmūd Khiljī to send reinforcements. When the siege was going on, Sirāj-ul-mulk, the Māḷvā commander arrived with a considerable force to the relief of the besieged. In the engagement which took place, the Māḷvā forces were routed. The Māḷvā general was made a prisoner. Malik Yusūf Turk, however, allowed the Māḷvā army to march out of the fort of Kherlā after the fort was occupied by the Berār army. The triumph of Malik Yusūf Turk was, however, short lived. He was murdered by two Rajput soldiers of the Māḷvā army who approached him under the pretext of submitting to him. The body of the dead commander was carried to Bidar by two of his lieutenants Abdullāh Yaghrach Khān and Fathullāh Wafā Khān. *Sultān* Muhammad made them the *mansabdārs* of one thousand and honoured them with the titles of Ādil Khān and Daryā Khān, respectively.

On hearing of the murder of Malik Yusūf Turk and, in spite of the losses suffered by his army in the battle of Kherlā, Mahmūd Khiljī decided to march personally to attack Kherlā. However, Mahmūd Gāvān quickly moved from Fathabād. The move of Gāvān would have cut off the way of retreat of Mahmūd Khiljī if he had advanced. Mahmūd Khiljī realised the futility of proceeding further. He withdrew to his own territory. Both the parties had now grown weary of war. The confrontation did not benefit either. It resulted in wanton destruction of life and property. When Mahmūd Gāvān became aware of the desire of the other party to cease hostilities and come to terms he sent Khān-e-Āzam Sadr Khān as a special envoy to Śadiābād Maṇḍū, the capital of Māḷvā. The embassy from the Bahamanīs was reciprocated by *Sultān* Mahmūd Khiljī who sent two eminent persons of his court śaraf-ul-mulk and Khalaful Maśaikh Śaikh Dāūd-i-Mandavi. In a letter addressed to *Sultān* Muhammad, he recalled the attention of Bahamanī *Sultān* to the treaty of friendship entered into between *Sultān* Hośaṅg Śāh and *Sultān* Ahmad Śāh Walī. He pointed out that both the *Sultāns* had then agreed that Berār should go to the Bahamanīs and Kherlā to Māḷvā. *Sultān* Mahmūd Khiljī reasoned that there should not be any obstacle in the observance of that treaty. *Sultān* Mahmūd Khiljī, however, offered very caustic comments on Mahmūd Gāvān who, he pointed out, did not seem to have been very sanguine about the intentions of the King of Māḷvā. Mahmūd Gāvān knew that the *Sultān* of Māḷvā had broken his plighted word often and had carried out wanton attacks. He would have put an end to the Bahamanī Kingdom itself if help had not been forthcoming from Gujarāt in the reign of Nizām-uddin Ahmad III. Mahmūd Gāvān himself did not spare the Māḷvā *Sultān* when the letter was discussed with the Māḷvā ambassadors. He said in one of his letters to Śaikh Dāūd that on his part the Khiljī *Sultān* had shown his opposition and antagonism instead of love and alliance. He had not desisted from

**CHAPTER 2.**

**The Bahamanis of the Deccan.**

SHAMSUDDIN MUHAMMAD III.

the wrong path. He pointed out that the promises made by the Khiljīs were as slender as a spider's web. Nothing further could be done unless the outward purity of action was brought in line with the inward purity of intention. This embassy was followed by another which brought a fresh message of goodwill and peace from *Sultān* Mahmūd Khiljī. Finally a treaty of friendship was signed between the two kingdoms under the terms of which Berār was retained by the Bahamanīs while Kherlā went to Māḷvā. The hatchet of enmity between the two kingdoms which had brought them to the brink of destruction was finally buried. The credit for this achievement goes to Mahmūd Gāvān.

When these events were taking place in the Bahamanī kingdom, great political changes were taking place in Vijayanagar. There Virupākṣa was on the throne. However, most of the power was concentrated in the hands of his minister Sāluva Narasimha. The Bahamanis and the Vijayanagar rulers combined in a war against Kapileśvar of Orissā in 1470 and defeated him. Shortly after this, Kapileśvar died. His death was followed by the usurpation of power by one Maṅgal Rāi who deposed the legal heir to the throne, Hamvira. The prince petitioned to the Bahamanī *Sultān* to help him in the acquisition of the throne. The *Sultān* agreed and it was decided to send Malik Hasan Bahrī on the campaign. The Bahamanī army met with success in the Orissā campaign. Maṅgal Rāi was defeated and Hamvira was placed on the throne. The Bahamanī army then marched further south and subjugated Rājmahendry and Kondavidu. On his return from the campaign Malik Hasan Bahrī was greatly honoured and made *Sarlaṣkar* of Telaṅgaṇa with the title of Nizām-ul-mulk.

By thus following a conciliatory policy towards the Hindu and Muslim neighbours of the Bahamanī kingdom, Mahmūd Gāvān succeeded in pacifying the northern and eastern frontiers of the Kingdom. The western coast, however, had been restive since the disaster which had fallen upon *Malik-ut-tujjār* Khalaf Hasan Basrī in his illfated Koṅkaṇ campaign in the reign of Alāuddin Ahmad II. The local chiefs had disowned their allegiance to the Bahamanīs. A report was received that the *Rājā*s of Kheḷṇā and Saṅgameśvar were practically in command of the Koṅkaṇ coast and were pillaging the country engaged in commerce. The achievements of those two chiefs deserve attention. The *Rājā* of Saṅgameśvar had collected a naval force of 130 battle crafts and was daringly attacking the ships carrying Muslim pilgrims to Mecca. Mahmūd Gāvān now decided to settle the western coast. He collected a considerable army consisting of both infantry and cavalry. He proceeded to the western coast in the beginning of 1467 and marched to Kolhāpūr which he made his headquarters. On a reconnaissance of the country he found that the terrain was unsuitable for cavalry movements. He, therefore, sent back the cavalry and ordered infantry reinforcements from his own province of Bijāpūr. Contingents began to arrive from Dābhoḷ, Karāḍ, Junnar, Cākaṇ, Caul, Wāī and Māṇ, accompanied by

such officers as Khuṣ Qadam, Asad Khān and others. The news of the advance of the Bahamanī forces was received by the *Rājās* of Kheḷṇā[1] and Saṅgameśvar. They made preparations to meet the Bahamanī forces. The thick and dense jungles which brought about the doom of Khalaf Hasan were ordered to be cut down by Mahmūd Gāvān. Mahmūd Gāvān advanced cautiously feeling his way and testing the strength and preparations of his opponents. The *Rājās* with their small resources were no match to the superior strength of the Bahamanīs and resorted to guerilla tactics of warfare. Scores of skirmishes were fought between the opposing forces. The rainy season then started. The continuous downpour of rain made operations difficult. Mahmūd Gāvān retired to his camp at Kolhāpūr. After the rainy season had ended Mahmūd Gāvān left his camp to besiege Rāṅgaṇā, a hill fort, extremely steep and difficult to capture. Its subjugation would have been possible only with great difficulty. Mahmūd Gāvān decided to capture the fort by other means, possibly by bribing. He succeeded in his intentions by offering to the commandant of the fort frankish cloth, belts studded with jewels, palanquins, Arab steed and arms of the most exquisite pattern. The commandant surrendered the fort after the payment of an indemnity of twelve lakhs in cash and kind, on 19 July 1470. Mahmūd Gāvān then marched towards the fort of Machal and besieged it with all the resources at his command. The fort was taken by escalade and the garrison made prisoners. After this the surrender of the fort of Kheḷṇā or Viśāḷgaḍ did not take long. The *Rāj*ā of Kheḷṇā sent his son to hand over the charge of the fort to Mahmūd Gāvān. The fort capitulated on 14 January 1471. It was now an year since Mahmūd Gāvān had started upon his campaign for the subjugation of the Koṅkaṇ region. The difficult terrain and the unceasing hostility of the local chiefs had taken a heavy toll of men and material. The difficult phase of the campaign still lay ahead with a certain and determined opposition from Jakhurāi, the Rājā of Saṅgameśvar. Mahmūd Gāvān, therefore, thought it necessary to recoup the losses he had suffered. He wrote to Bidar to send immediate reinforcement. But all was not well in the capital. The continued absence of the Khvājā had given an opportunity to his enemies to plot against him. This state of affairs has been graphically described by Mahmūd Gāvān himself in his communications. In one of his letters he says, "I am very much grieved at the wanton acts of the iniquitous and the

1. A brief description of the fort is given below :—

Vishalgad Fort (Shahuwadi T. ; 16° 50′ N; 73° 45′ E), also known as Khelna crowns the Gajapur hill about forty-five miles north-west of Kolhapur. It is 3,200 feet long and 1,040 feet broad. The walls, gateways and towers are almost entirely ruined. Besides the old mansion of the Kolhapur Pratinidhi the chief building is a mosque with a tomb to Hajrat Malik Rehanzir seventeen feet long by fifteen broad and eight high. The fort is watered by the Bhopal and Ardhachandra (half-moon) reservoirs and by a cistern. The Bhopal reservoir which is said to have been built by Bhopal Raja, is 6,400 feet square. The Ardhachandra reservoir is seventeen feet long, fifteen broad and eight deep and is said to have been built by Ramchandra Pant Amatya who held the fort after its capture by Shivaji in 1659. The cistern, which also is said to have been built by Ramchandra, is 324 feet square and ten feet deep.

**CHAPTER 2.**

**The Bahamanis of the Deccan.**

SHAMSUDDIN MUHAMMAD III.

envious and am grateful for the regard of the small number of my helpers. The delay in the arrival of the army of Asad Khān and the refusal to commission troops in the name of his Majesty are all matters of deepest concern". At another place he says, "If any one believes in the help of the nobles, Khāns and Maliks of this Kingdom, he can only reap a harvest of utter failures and hopelessness. The Koṅkaṇ country is full of jungles and mountains. It is impossible for the army to pass through without cutting down the trees and levelling the ground." When Mahmūd Gāvān became aware of the plots of his enemies to delay the dispatch of reinforcements and their attempts to poison the mind of the *Sultān* against him he wrote, "At this hour the arrows of affliction and calumny are being shot against my heart from the bow of the enmity of the envious. Untruths are being made to hide the faint sparks of truth and these are sent up as the food to the Royal throne."

Mahmūd Gāvān remained undaunted by the obstacles that beset him. After the capitulation of Viśalgaḍ he proceeded further. He captured Bulwara, Miriad and Nagar. The rainy season set in soon after. He retired to his base camp of Kolhāpūr during the monsoon. After the rainy season had ended, he marched from Kolhāpūr towards Saṅgameśvar, the capital of *Rājā* Jakhurāī. The fort was besieged and the *Rājā* was reduced to dire straits. None of his efforts succeeded in forcing the Bahamanīs to loosen their grip on the fort. Ultimately the *Rājā* sent his son to Mahmūd Gāvān to negotiate terms for peace. Mahmūd Gāvān accepted the offer. Saṅgameśvar capitulated on 13 December 1471. With the submission of the Koṅkaṇ region, Mahmūd Gāvān appointed officers to stabilise the Bahamanī rule in the country of Koṅkaṇ. The conquest of the western coast of Mahārāṣṭra was thus practically completed. There remained only one stronghold on the western coast *viz.*, Goā. Mahmūd Gāvān decided to take advantage of the unsettled political situation in the Vijayanagar kingdom and conquer Goā. He made a two pronged attack on Goā from sea as well as from land accompanied by a deep penetration in the Vijayanagar territory to prevent any succour reaching Goā. This strategy helped the easy capture of Goā which was annexed to the Bahamanī Kingdom on 1 February 1472. Putting a strong garrison to command the fort of Goā, Mahmūd Gāvān marched back to the capital which he reached on 19 May 1472. The huge booty and the spoils of war which Mahmūd Gāvān presented to the *Sultān*, extremely pleased him and he was honoured by the honorific titles of Lord of the Benign council, great leader and Lord, Wielder of the Pen and the Sword. Kolhāpūr, Goā and Loṇḍhā were added by the *Sultān* to Gāvān's *Jāgīr* territories.[1]

1. Following are the details of this campaign given by Ferishta:—

In the beginning of the year 874, Mahmood Gawan, the minister, marched with a powerful army against Shunkur *Ray* of Khelna, and other refractory *rajas* in the Concan. The troops of Joonere, Chakun, Kolhar, Dabul, Choul, Waee, and Man, and other parts, were ordered to join him on this service. Shunkur *Ray* of Khelna constantly maintained a fleet of three hundred vessels, and interrupted the traffic

The Koṅkaṇ campaign was followed by the subjugation of Vīrakheḍā and Antur in the north western part of the kingdom where the Marāṭhā chief had risen in rebellion. Yusūf Ādil Khān, the governor of the Mahārāṣṭra provinces and the protege of Mahmūd Gāvān was sent on this expedition and he defeated Jānsiṅg Rāy, the Marāṭhā chief of Vīrakheḍā. The new subjugated territory was granted in *Jāgīr* to Yusūf Ādil Khān.

In the meanwhile news of unrest was received from the territory surrounding the fort of Goā. It was reported that Parketa, the chief of Belgāṅv, and the *Sipāhdār* of Baṅkāpūr had risen in rebellion at the instigation of the *Rājā* of Vijayanagar. The *Sultān* decided to lead the campaign himself. The *Sultān* left the capital on 15 March 1473. He ordered Mahmūd Gāvān to accompany him. The *Sultān* reached Belgāṅv shortly afterwards. The fort was too strong to be taken by a surprise attack. The *Sultān* therefore ordered the siege of the fortress. Parketa on his part tried to seduce the Bahamanī generals. In his attempts he succeeded to some extent. The generals approached the *Sultān* informing him of the alleged willingness of Parketa to submit. The *Sultān* realised the real state of affairs. He instructed his gunners to build a redoubt opposite to the fortress, to concentrate their fire on the fort and capture it within a fortnight's time. Mahmūd Gāvān was told to deploy his contingent to fill in the ditches which surrounded the fort.

The efforts of Mahmūd Gāvān did not meet with success as Parketa undid during the night time what Mahmūd Gāvān achieved during the day. However, the concentrated bombardment of the fort and the mining of the fort walls by Mahmūd Gāvān, Yusūf Ādil and Fathullāh Imād-ul-mulk caused a breach in the fort walls. Seeing that further resistance was useless, the *Rājā* offered to submit. The fort capitulated and was added to

---

*contd.*

of the Mahomedans. Upon the report of Khwaja Mahmood Gawan's approach the infidels contracted defensive alliances with each other, and assembled in great numbers at the head of the passes, but Mahmood Gawan, by degrees, forced all their positions. Finding his cavalry useless in the mountainous country, he sent back the horse he had brought from the capital, and contented himself with the troops under Asud Khan Geelany, with the Joonere division, and his own dependents under Khoosh Kuddum, with the troops from Kolhar and Dabul. With this army he made his way by means of fire and the axe through the woods. He lay five months before the fort of Kuelna without reducing it, and the rains setting in, compelled him to relinquish the siege; when, committing the passes to the protection of ten thousand infantry inured to the climate, and on whom he could depend, he ascended the mountains, and constructed thatched huts to pass the wet season in the district of Kolapoor, where he conquered the fort of Ramgur. After the rainy season he again descended the passes, and, by stratagem and gifts of money, obtained possession of the fortress of Khelna, which had never, till then, been in the hands of the Mussulmans. On the approach of the monsoon of the following year, he took the same measures as he had done in the former season; and at the expiration of the four wet months, marched into the country of *Ray* Shunkur, which he reduced, taking ample revenge for the slaughter of the former *Mullik-oot-Toojar* and his army. Khwaja Mahmood Gawan then moved against the port and island of Goa, belonging to the *Ray* of Beejanuggur; sending an hundred and twenty vessels to attack it by sea, while he marched with his army against it by land and before the *Ray* of Beejanuggur could oppose his design, he made himself master of the place. Mahomed Shah, on receiving information of this important conquest, ordered the *nobut* to beat the march of triumph for seven days, and made other rejoicings.

(Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. II, pp. 483—85).

**CHAPTER 2.**

**The Bahamanis of the Deccan.**

SHAMSUDDIN MUHAMMAD III.

the *Jāgīrs* of Mahmūd Gāvān. Parketa was made an *amir* of the Bahamanī Court. It was after the conclusion of this campaign that *Sultān* Muhammad Śāh assumed the title of *Laṣkarī* by which name he is known in history.

The Bahamanī conquest in the west and its accommodation with the neighbouring kingdoms of Gujarāt, Mālvā, Vijayanagar, Orissā and Khāndeś clearly defined its borders. The Bahamanī territory included the whole of the Koṅkaṇ coast from Caul. Goā was its southernmost possession on the west. In the east its jurisdiction extended over the whole of Telaṅgaṇa. The coastal districts of Āndhra were still outside its authority. In the south its sway was limited by the Tuṅgabhadrā. To the north its possessions included Berār and its frontiers touched those of Khāndeś and Māḷvā. The Bahamanī Kingdom had been formerly divided into the four administrative divisions of Berār, Daulatābād, Gulburgā and Telaṅgaṇa by *Sultān* Muhammad I well over a century ago. Mahmūd Gāvān now thought of redistributing the old provinces and the new acquisitions added to them. The reform in the administrative divisions had become necessary not only because the old divisions had grown into unwieldy administrative units, but because the governors of the provinces were tending to grow powerful. The object of the reform was to curb their powers and bring them within the orbit of central authority. Mahmūd Gāvān divided the Bahamanī possessions into eight smaller compact units as under: Berār into Gāvīl and Māhur; Daulatābād into Daulatābād and Junnar, the latter comprising the whole territory between Damaṇ, Bassein, Goā and Belgāṅv; Gulburgā into Bijāpūr (up to the river Hora and including Rāicūr and Mudgal) and Ahsanābād Gulburgā (from Sagar to Naldurg along with Śolāpūr), Telaṅgaṇa into Rājmehendry (including Nalgundā, Masulipaṭam and the Oriyā territory) and Waraṅgaḷ. To put a further check upon the powers of the provincial governors a certain portion of the territory in each provincial division was brought under the direct control of the royal authority. In the past the *Sultāns* had found to their chagrin that the provincial governors never fulfilled their military commitments even though they had complete control over the military affairs of the province. They maintained their own militia which was not in accordance with the standards prescribed by their *mansab*. In times of emergency the *Sultān* was invariably let down by the provincial governors. Mahmūd Gāvān decreed that in future the provincial governors would have only one fort under their control. The rest of the fortified places in the province would be manned by officers appointed by the Central Government. To put the administrative and military machine of the State in order and to root out lethargy and corruption, Mahmūd Gāvān introduced the system of cash payment to a *mansabdār* in proportion to the *mānsab* held by him. He made it incumbent upon the *mansabdār* to surrender his cash grant if the stipulated militia was not maintained by him. The irresponsible manner in which *jāgīrs* were

distributed by the former regimes irrespective of the attributes of the recipient had reduced the financial affairs of the State to a state of utter confusion. It was difficult to formulate the estimates of the state revenue in the absence of a regular system of taxation and record-of-rights. Mahmūd Gāvān ordered a systematic measurement of land fixation of the boundaries of villages and towns and a thorough inquiry into the assessment of revenue. This considerably eased the financial stringency of the Bahamanī government.

Mahmūd Gāvān was quite conscious of the rivalry between the oldcomers and newcomers. He had realised the utter futility of this controversy and also the warning which this controversy contained. Though he himself was a newcomer he tried to patch up the differences between the two factions by the only available and practicable method and that was the even distribution of the powers and responsibilities in the administration of the kingdom. He thus appointed Fathullāh Imād-ul-mulk and Malik Hasan Nizām-ul-mulk both oldcomers as *Sarlaṣkars* of Māhūr and Gulburgā, respectively. From among the newcomers he made Āzam Khān, *Sarlaṣkar* of Waraṅgal and appointed Yusūf Ādil Khān and Fakhrul Mulk Gilāni to the charge of Daulatābād and Junnar, respectively. He put the province of Bijāpūr under his own charge. His policy of reconciliation did not however succeed as the subsequent events would testify.

For two years after the conclusion of the Goā campaign, the whole of the Deccan was devastated by a terrible famine known in the history as the Bijāpūr famine. The Bahamanīs geared up their administration for providing relief to the needy and the sufferers. The famine declined in its severity in late 1475 and conditions returned to normal, when news was received of trouble in the eastern part of the Bahamanī Kingdom. Puruṣottam and Hamir Rāi of Orissā formed an alliance to oust the Bahamanī power from Telaṅgaṇa. They seduced to their side most of the local chiefs of the region. Their combined armies defeated Nizām-ul-mulk, the *Sarlaṣkar* of Telaṅgaṇa, and forced him to retreat to Wazirābād. On hearing the news *Sultān* Muhammad Śāh himself marched against Rājmahendry and ordered another contingent to proceed to Malikpūr. On the approach of the Bahamanī army, Hamir Rāi retreated to Kondāvidu. The Bahamanī forces occupied Rājmahendry. From here the *Sultān* proceeded against Puruṣottam who had pitched his camp on the banks of Godāvarī. No general action was fought between the two armies. In one of the skirmishes in the rear of the Orissā encampment, Daryā Khān defeated a contingent of Puruṣottam. It appears that both the sides came to terms thereafter and peace was established between the two kingdoms of Orissā and the Bahamanīs. The uneasy peace did not last long and the *Sultān* led another expedition into Orissā in the latter part of the year 1478. He marched into the heart of the Orissā country and stayed their for six months making it impossible for the *Rājā* to offer any effective resistance. The *Rājā* offered submission and

**CHAPTER 2.**
**The Bahamanis of the Deccan.**

peace was again established between the two kingdoms. The *Sultān* did not directly return to the capital but stayed at Rājmahendry for two years consolidating the gains of the campaign he had so successfully led.

SHAMSUDDIN. MUHAMMAD III.

In 1480, the *Sultān* led a campaign again in the eastern provinces. At this time a rebellion had broken out at Kondāvidu whose chief had aligned himself with Narasimha, the *defacto* ruler of the Kingdom of Vijayanagar. A siege was laid to the fortress. The fortress capitulated shortly after and Narasimha retreated to his own territory. The fort was handed over to the charge of Nizām-ul-mulk along with the surrounding territory. The *Sultān* then retired to the capital and thought of undertaking an expedition into Vijayanagar. It may be mentioned that Nizām-ul-mulk who wanted the governorship of the entire province of Telaṅgaṇa was not happy over the division of the province under the administrative reforms of Mahmūd Gāvān. Under the new arrangement he was made to handover the charge of Waraṅgaḷ to Āzam Khān. Nizām-ul-mulk, therefore, petitioned to the *Sultān* that he might be allowed to appoint his son Malik Ahmad as his deputy in the province, while he himself be allowed to accompany the *Sultān* in his proposed campaign against Vijayanagar. The *Sultān* agreed to the request of Nizām-ul-mulk. The *Sultān* now left the capital and marched towards the capital of Vijayanagar Kingdom. The *Sultān* halted at Nellore. Narasimha, as the account goes, on the approach of the Bahamanī army, had already fled to the capital. He now offered to submit and sent priceless presents to the *Sultān*. His surrender was accepted by the *Sultān*. The *Sultān* who had in his mind an intention to further penetrate into the Vijayanagar territory proceeded from Nellore towards Kāñcī. He reached Kāñcī on 12 March 1481 by forced marches, accompanied by Nizām-ul-mulk and Khān-i-Āzam Ādil Khān. The town was reduced and looted. This was the last independent campaign of *Sultān* Muhammad when the Bahamanī power was at the height of its glory under the able guidance of Mahmūd Gāvān. But this point of climax which the Bahamanīs had reached was also the beginning of an end that was to come soon. The administrative and military reforms introduced by Mahmūd Gāvān were not to the liking of the new officers of the Kingdom because it took away from them all their power. Gāvān's attempts to bridge the gulf that divided the oldcomers and newcomers failed miserably. The enmity was so deep rooted that neither side could forget the wrongs done to them by the other. Mahmūd Gāvān had become a target of hatred from all those who had opportunity to destroy Mahmūd Gāvān. Nizām-ul-mulk headed suffered in the loss of their power. They were now seeking an this party. They contrived to obtain the seal of Mahmūd Gāvān affixed on a letter purported to be written by him to the king of Orissā inviting him to invade the Bahamanī Kingdom. The letter ran thus: "Although I have been brought up on the salt of my royal master. still if you swear over all that you hold

sacred according to your own religious belief, that you would agree to partition the Deccan between you and me, I would promise to help you to the best of my ability. As all authority, financial and civil, rests with me and I have full control over matters of policy as well as those relating to the army, you can well understand that there is nothing which is outside my purview and I can do what I like to fulfil our joint purpose."

This letter was placed before the *Sultān* in the Court at Kondāvidu while on his return march from the Vijayanagar campaign. The *Sultān* who believed in the contents of the letter ordered Mahmūd Gāvān to his presence immediately. Mahmūd who was told by his friends of the plot against him was advised by them to disobey the summons and flee the State. Mahmūd Gāvān refused the suggestion and appeared in the Court to pay his respects to the *Sultān*. The *Sultān*, without ordering any enquiry held Mahmūd Gāvān guilty of treachery and made a sign to his slave Jauhar to finish off Khvājā Jahān Mahmūd Gāvān. Thus died Mahmūd Gāvān on April 5, 1481 A.D.[1].

The *Sultān* followed up the execution of Mahmud Gāvān by putting to death Said Khān Gilāni and the other sympathisers of the dead minister. The *Sultān* ordered the loot of Khvājā's treasure. To his great surprise the *Sultān* found that his great *Wazīr* was penniless. It was now that the *Sultān* realised that a

1. Following is an account given by Ferishta in regard to the assassination of Mahmud Gawan :—

*Zureef-ool-Moolk* Deccany, and one Mifta, an Abyssinian, were the two persons selected to execute the plot. Having laid themselves out for the purpose, they became intimate with the Abyssinian slave who kept the minister's seal, and were in the habit of drinking with him. On one occasion, when the slave was much inebriated, they asked him to affix the minister's seal to a paper, which they said was an account of one of their friends, to which the signet of several of the departments was already attached, and which only required the ministers. The slave, intoxicated with liquor, complied, and without even unfolding the paper stamped the seal on the part pointed out to him. The two wretches, overjoyed at their success, went the same night to *Nizam-ool-Moolk*, who wrote a letter on the paper, as if from Khwaja Mahmood to the *Ray* of Orissa, in these words. " I am weary of the debaucheries and cruelty " of Mahomed Shah : the Deccan may be conquered with little trouble. On the Rajmundry " frontier, there is no officer of any character and that tract lies open to invasion from your quarter". As most of the officers and troops " are devoted to my interests, I will join you " with a powerful army. When we have, in conjunction, reduced the kingdom, we can divide " it equally between us." *Zureef-ool-Moolk*, and Mifta Hubshy were instructed to deliver this letter to the King, in the presence of *Nizam-ool-Moolk*. Mahomed Shah, seeing the seal, was incensed beyond measure, and *Nizam-ool-Mulk* availed himself by false insinuations. The King, losing all command over his reason, and without weighing the probability of the circumstance, sent for Khwaja Mahmood, without even asking to see the messenger, who, it was pretended, had been intercepted carrying the letter. The minister's friends warned him against going, and recommended him to frame some excuse for not obeying that day, but to wait till the King's frenzy should abate ; by which time the author of the forgery might be detected, and brought to punishment. Khwaja Mahmood resolved to meet the danger, repeating, in reply, certain verses to the following effect : " He who dies a martyr in the fulness of devotion has his reward here and hereafter ; happy, then, would it be for me to meet with so enviable a destiny.

" My beard has grown grey in the service of the " father, it will surely be honourable that it be " dyed red in that of the son."

Many of the chiefs attached to the minister sent messengers to him, saying, that they had heard alarming reports, but they had each a thousand horse ready, and that if he chose to fly to Guzerat, they would attend him and sacrifice their lives for him. He replied, he had for many years enjoyed an honourable station in his master's

CHAPTER 2.

The Bahamanis of the Deccan.

SHAMSUDDIN. MUHAMMAD III.

mistake might have been committed in the execution of Mahmūd Gāvān. He ordered the conspirators to produce the man who had brought the letter purported to be written by Mahmūd Gāvān to the *Rāja* of Orissā. No such person could be found. The *Sultān* now repented and hastened back to Bidar full of remorse. But his repentence and sorrow at the execution of Mahmūd Gāvān was not going to turn the wheels of destiny in his favour. There was no one to take the place of Mahmūd Gāvān and no one to check the tide of rebellion that had now started in the Bahamanī kingdom. Already signs of restlessness were visible among the Court nobility. Provincial governors *viz.*, Imād-ul-mulk, Khudāvand Khān and Yusūf Ādil who had accompanied the *Sultān* on his expedition to Vijayanagar politely but firmly refused to respect the commands of the *Sultān*. On the contrary they forced the *Sultān* to agree to their scheme of redistribution of the provincial posts. Accordingly Imād-ul-mulk and Khudāvand Khān were confirmed to their respective charges and Yusūf Ādil was put in charge of Bijāpūr. Nizām-ul-mulk was made the *Wakīl* and *Peśvā* of the kingdom while Qiwām-ul-mulk, the elder and Qiwām-ul-mulk, the younger were put in charge of Rājmahendry and Waraṅgal, respectively. Six months had now elapsed since the return of the *Sultān* to the capital. The events that had taken place during that period brought remorse to him. The miserable *Sultān* foresaw the shape of things to come. He appointed his son Mahmūd as heir apparent and immersed himself in drinks and debauchery. He died on 27 March 1482 exactly a year after the execution of Mahmūd Gāvān.

---

*contd.*

service, during which he had been guilty of no crime; that he relied with confidence on the justice of the King, who would certainly not punish a faithful servant on the bare accusations of his enemies; but if impelled by Providence to do so, it was befitting in him to submit to the decree. He concluded by observing, that the measure they proposed, out of duty and friendship, would on his part be ingratitude and rebellion.

Having made up his mind to the worst, he went to court. Mahomed Shah sternly asked him, "When any one is disloyal to his sovereign," and his crime be proved what should be his "punishment"? The Khwaja undauntedly replied, "Let he abandoned wretch who practises treason" against his lord meet with no mercy. 'The King then showed him the letter; upon seeing which, the minister, after repeating the verse to the King, "O God, verily this is a great forgery," said "The seal is mine, but not the letter, of which I "have no knowledge." He concluded, by repeating the following verse: "By that God whose commands have been fulfilled by the just, even at "the expense of their blood, false as the story of "Yoosoof and the wolf is that which my enemies" have forged against me." The King being at the time intoxicated with wine, had resigned his reason to fury, and as the decline of the house of Bahmuny was also to be soon completed, he went into no further examination, but rising from his seat, ordered his Abyssinian slave Jowhur to put the minister to death on the spot. Khwaja Mahmood, addressing the King, said, The death of an old man "like me is, indeed, of little moment, but to "Your Majesty it will be the loss of an empire" and the ruin of your character." The King, without attending to him, went abruptly into his harem. The slave then drawing his sabre advanced towards the Khwaja, who, kneeling down facing the Kibla, said, "There is no God but "God, and Mahomed is the prophet of God." As the sabre descended he exclaimed, "Praise be to God," and thus resigned his soul to the divine mercy. Asud Khan Geelany, an officer of high rank, and a friend of the Khwaja, happening to be present, was put to death by the slave also, without orders. Thus died Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, in the seventy eighth year of his age. A little before his death he completed a poem in praise of his master, Mahomed Shah.

(Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. II, pp. 505—09).

SHAMSUDDIN. MUHAMMAD III.

The subsequent history of the Bahamanī Kingdom is one of steady disintegration. The name of the Bahamanī dynasty continued till 1538 when the last scion of the Bahamanī family disappeared from history. The rulers who succeeded *Sultān* Muhammad were Śihābuddin Mahmūd (26 March 1482—7 December 1518), Ahmad IV (7 December 1518—15 December 1520), Alāuddin Śāh (28 December 1520—5 March 1523), Waliullāh (5 March 1523—1526) and Kalimullāh (1526—1538). They never ruled. They only reigned. The provincial governors declared their independence. Effective power at Bidar was wielded by Qāsim Barid. The *Sultāns* became mere puppets in the hands of Qāsim Barid and pawns in the game of power politics between the five Sultanates which came into existence from out of the remnants of the Bahamanī kingdom *viz.*, Ahmadnagar, Bijāpūr, Berār, Goḷconḍā and Bidar. It is not necessary to detail separately the subsequent history of the Bahamanī dynasty after the death of Muhammad Śāh as it merges into the history of the five Sultanates of the Deccan. The history of these five Sultanates will be detailed at length in the chapters to follow.

सत्यमेव जयते

# CHAPTER 3—THE NIZAMSHAHI OF AHMADNAGAR



THE ECLIPSE OF MAHMUD GAVAN FROM THE POLITICAL SCENE OF THE DECCAN and the death of *Sultān* Muhammad Śāh Bahamanī in 1482 had created confusion in the Bahamanī capital of Bidar. The provincial governors now began to visualise the prospects of becoming independent. However, none of them had reached that state of political preparedness which would have enabled him to take such a step. At the time of the death of Muhammad Śāh most of the newcomers and the respectable from among the oldcomers were absent from the capital. *Malik Nāib* Bahrī who was appointed to succeed Mahmūd Gāvān, now placed on the throne Mahmūd, the son of Muhammad Śāh, after consultations with Qāsim Barīd-ul-Mamālik and Qivām-ul-Mulk the younger. The latter was the governor of Waraṅgaḷ. At this time Yusuf Ādil who was away on an expedition to Goā returned to Bidar with full force to pay respects to the new *Sultān*. He remained completely indifferent to the advances made by *Malik Nāib*. He demanded the distribution of the offices of the state. When the nobles met in assembly under the new scheme of redistribution *Malik Nāib* retained the prime ministership. Qivām-ul-Mulk, the elder, became minister, Qivām-ul-Mulk the younger, master of ceremonies and Dilāvar Khān, the African, assistant minister of finance. In the meanwhile Fathullāh *Imād-ul-Mulk* also arrived in the capital from Berār. *Malik Nāib* now arranged for the review of the troops of Bijāpūr and Berār by the *Sultān*. At the same time he gave secret orders to the Deccani troops to fall upon the foreigners. At the time of the review the young *Sultān*, tutored by *Malik Nāib*, repeated the instructions of *Malik Nāib* to the Deccanis about the attack on the foreigners. The Deccanis executed the orders and fighting broke out between the two parties. The fighting continued for twenty days, during which hundreds fell dead on both sides. Ultimately Yusuf Ādil withdrew from the city and retired to his province of Bijāpūr. For the next four years *Malik Nāib*, Fathullāh *Imād-ul-Mulk*, and Qāsim Barīd now appointed the *Kotvāl* of Bidar, carried on the administration. However, *Imād-ul-Mulk* soon got disgusted with the intrigues in the Court and left for his province of Berār. *Malik Nāib* now became supreme. He appointed two deputies at Daulatābād to represent his son Ahmad, extracting from them promises of loyalty to Ahmad[1].

[1] It will be interesting to know the antecedants of Mullik Ahmed as given by Ferishta. They are as under :—

Ahmud Nizam Shah was the son of *Mullik Naib Nizam-ool-Moolk* Bheiry, originally a *bramin* of Beejanuggur, whose real name was Timapa, the son of Bheiroo.

CHAPTER 3.

The Nizam-shahi of Ahmadnagar.

BACKGROUND.

He also put Fakhruddin in charge of Śolāpūr and Pareṇḍā whom he created *Khvājā-i-Jahān*. He then sent his son Ahmad to take charge of Junnar. The provincial governors and various officers of the kingdom now realised that *Sultān* Mahmūd was powerless and *Malik Nāib* had usurped the real power. In consequence revolts broke out in the various parts of the kingdom. In 1486 Qivām-ul-Mulk the younger, revolted in Telaṅgaṇa. *Malik Nāib* marched against him. He took the king along with him. At Goā, Najmuddin Gilānī, the governor, died and his slave Bahādur Gilānī seized the fortress, refusing to owe allegiance to *Sultān* Mahmūd. At Cākaṇ, Zainuddin Alī, the governor, refused to acknowledge the authority of Ahmad as the governor of Junnar. He was backed by Yusuf Ādil Khān, who sent five to six thousand cavalry to assist him. The news of this defiance of orders reached the *Sultān* and *Malik Nāib* in Telaṅgaṇa. Qāsim Barīd, Dastur Dinār and other nobles sought this opportunity to seek audience of the *Sultān*. They impressed upon him that the sorry state of affairs, was due to the arrogance of *Malik Nāib* and mishandling of the administration of kingdom by him. They advised the *Sultān* that *Malik Nāib* should be put to death. When *Malik Nāib* was informed of the conference, he fled to Bidar and took asylum with one of his own proteges, Dilpasand Khān, a noble at the Bidar court. Together, they started raising troops. When this news reached the *Sultān*, he at once marched in the direction of Bidar. Dilpasand Khān now withdrew from his alliance with *Malik Nāib* and affirmed his loyalty to the *Sultān*. The *Sultān* sent orders to Dilpasand Khān to execute *Malik Nāib*. Dilpasand Khān strangled the helpless *Malik Nāib* to death and presented his head to the *Sultān* when the latter arrived in the capital.

---

*contd.*

In his infancy he was taken prisoner by the Mahomedan army of Ahmud Shah Bahmuny, when, being admitted among the number of the faithful, and having received the name of Hussun, he was brought up as one of the royal slaves. The King was so struck with his abilities, that he made him over to his eldest son, the Prince Mahomed, as a kind of companion, with whom he was educated, and attained eminence in Persian and Arabic literature. From his father's name Bheiroo, he was called *Mullik* Hussun Bheiroo; but the Prince being unable to pronounce the word correctly, he obtained the appellation of Bheiry. When the Prince ascended the throne, he raised his favourite to the rank of a thousand horse; and it is also said, on account of his surname Bheiry, which signifies a falcon, he was nominated to the office of falconer, which in Toorky is called Koosh-begy: some people have asserted that he obtained the name of Bheiry from his office alone. In course of time he rose to the first offices in the state, and was dignified by the titles of Ashruf Hoomayoon and Nizam-ool-Moolk. Being a great favourite of the minister Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, he was recommended by him to the government of Tulingana including Rajamundry and Condapilly, which were granted to him in *jageer*. On the death of that minister he succeeded to his office under the title of *Mullik Naib* and on the demise of Mahomed Shah Bahmuny he was appointed prime minister to that monarch's son, Mahmood Shah, who added Beer, and other districts in the vicinity of Dowlutabad, to his estates. The administration of this new *jageer* was made over to *Mullik Naib*'s son, *Mullik* Ahmud, who took up his residence at Joonere while Khwaja Jehan Deccany was appointed governor of Purenda. Although *Mullik Naib* had procured for his son the necessary orders to occupy those districts, yet several Marhatta officers, in whom Khwaja Mahmood Gawan placed great confidence, refused to give them up, until the King was of an age to act for himself. *Mullik* Ahmud, having determined to enforce the orders, attacked the fort of Soonere, situated on the top of a hill, and of uncommon strength. After a siege of considerable duration, the garrison came forward with swords suspended from their necks, and habited in shrouds, to sue for quarter. The place being occupied

The Deccanis or oldcomers were not happy with this turn of events. They decided to dethrone the *Sultān*. They encircled the palace where the *Sultān* was having his drinking bouts and forced the palace guards to join them. The *Sultān*, however, managed to escape to the roof of the palace bastion and contrived to send a message to the foreigners or newcomers to come to his help. A contingent of the foreigners arrived and drove away the Deccanis killing many of them. On the next day, the *Sultān* ordered a general massacre of the Deccanis. The ruthless carnage of the Deccanis continued for three days and was stayed only at the earnest prayer of Śāh Muhibullāh. The *Sultān* now gave himself up to pleasure and debauchery.

When these events were taking place in the capital, Malik Ahmad was busy consolidating his position. He had assumed the titles of his father under the name of Malik Ahmad *Nizām-ul-Mulk* Bahrī. Likewise, Qāsim Barīd who had the charge of Qandhār and Ausā had revolted and had succeeded in defeating Dilāvar Khān who had been sent against him by the *Sultān*. He marched to the capital and forced the *Sultān* to appoint him as prime minister and assign to him Daulatābād and Bālāghāṭ in *Jāgir*. Qāsim Barīd had now to face a formidable opponent in the person of Malik Ahmad. Malik Ahmad had already subjugated most of the forts in the Koṅkaṇ and the Ghāṭs including Śivnerī, Joṇḍ, Lohogaḍ, Tuṅg and Tikoṇā, Koṇḍāṇā, Purandar, Bhorap, Marabdev, Judhān, Khaj, Murañjan, Tuṅgī and Tavni, Maholī, Pālī and Koṭdaṇḍā Rājapurī. Qāsim Barīd could not look with equanimity on these resounding victories of Malik Ahmad. He forced the *Sultān* to send orders to Yusuf Ādil to unite with Khvājā-i-Jahān and Zainuddin Alī Taliś, the governor of Cākaṇ to march against Ahmad and destroy him. Yusuf Ādil evaded these orders. However, Nadiruzamānī Śaikh Movaddi, a Bahamanī officer, volunteered to march against Malik Ahmad. He reached Pareṇḍā on his way to Junnar with an army of 12,000 cavalry. Malik Ahmad who had already been cautioned by Yusuf Ādil about these court intrigues against him, prepared himself for war. But instead of engaging the Bahamanī army in the open, he hovered round their camp and allowed them to advance. At this time Alī Tāliś was making preparations to march against Ahmad. Ahmad suddenly wheeled round and

*contd.*

it was found to contain five years' revenue of Marhatt and Concan, which had been deposited therein; and this sum enabled Mullik Ahmud to assume a new line of conduct. Having rewarded his officers and soldiers liberally for their services, he proceeded to reduce the following places which refused to submit to his authority, *viz.*, Chawund, Loghur, Toong, Kooary, Tikona, Koondhana, Poorundhur, Bhorup, Joodhun, Kuhrdroog, Murunjun-Maholy, and Pally; the whole of which he occupied by force. He soon after conquered the Concan, and was besieging the sea-port of Dunda Rajpoor, when he heard of the assassination of his father, Mullik Naib Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry. On this information he raised the siege for the present, and returned to Joonere where he assumed the titles of the deceased, under the appellation of Ahmed Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry; and although he did not immediately adopt the title of Shah (or King), yet, as he is uniformly so called by historians, the author (Mahomed Kasim Astrabady Ferishta) has thought proper to designate him, in the future pages of his work, *Ahmud Nizam Shah Bheiry*.

(Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, pp. 189—92).

**CHAPTER 3.**

**The Nizamshahi of Ahmadnagar.**

BACKGROUND.

surprised Alī Tāliś at Cākaṇ. In the engagement, Alī Tāliś was defeated and killed. In the meanwhile a contingent of Malik Ahmad's army under Nasir-ul-Mulk Gujarāti was twice defeated by Śaikh Movaddi. On hearing of these reverses, Malik Ahmad decided to attack the main body of the Bahamanī army. He made a night attack and completely routed the enemy. Śaikh Movaddi was killed in the action. The defeat of the Bahamanī troops and the death of their two best generals put the handful courtiers at Bidar in a quandary. They now persuaded the *Sultān* to send another force against Malik Ahmad. Accordingly *Azmat-ul-Mulk* was sent with an army of 18,000 under his command to put down Malik Ahmad. Ahmad avoided direct confrontation with the Bahamanī army. He moved in the hilly areas surrounding the present town of Ahmadnagar. When the Bahamanī army reached the Murī pass, 40 miles south-west of Ahmadnagar, Ahmad with 3,000 troops suddenly headed for Bidar and captured the women of all the nobles who had marched against him. He then moved towards Pareṇḍā. On his way he received an assurance from the panicky Bahamanī officers that they would not fight against him. On this assurance Ahmad released his prisoners and sent them back to Bidar. In the meanwhile *Azmat-ul-Mulk* had been replaced by Jahāṅgīr Khān. The behaviour of *Azmat-ul-Mulk* was disapproved by the court party. Ahmad now applied to *Imād-ul-Mulk* of Berār to assist him against Jahāṅgīr Khān. He fell back on Junnar. Jahāṅgīr Khān occupied Paiṭhaṇ and crossing the Jeūr hills by the Devulgāṅv pass near Tisgāṅv encamped at Bhiṅgār, about two miles north-east of Ahmadnagar. Malik Ahmad, who was in the Jeūr hills could not receive any help from Pareṇḍā. This stalemate continued for a month. The rainy season was now near. The Bahamanī army, fatigued by the marchings gave itself up to relaxation and pleasure. Malik Ahmad, who had kept a careful watch over the state of affairs in the Bahamanī camp suddenly made a night attack on Jahāṅgīr Khān on 23rd June 1490, accompanied by Āzam Khān, the son of *Khvājā-i-Jahān*. The Bahamanī troops were taken by surprise and completely routed. Jahāṅgīr Khān was killed. Malik Ahmad returned victorious to Junnar. This victory ended whatever connections Malik Ahmad had with the Bahamanī court. It paved the way for a declaration of independence by him. This event was not delayed for long, for, in 1490, Malik Ahmad invited Yusuf Ādil Khān of Bijāpūr and Fathullāh *Imād-ul-Mulk* of Berār to join him in assuming royal titles and asserting their independence of Bidar. From this date these three provincial governors became the independent rulers of the territories under their jurisdictions. Their dynasties came to be known as the Nizāmśāhī dynasty of Ahmadnagar, the Ādilśāhī dynasty of Bijāpūr and the Imādśāhī dynasty of Berār. These were soon followed by *Qutb-ul-Mulk* and Barīd-ul-Mamālik at Goḷconḍā and Bidar, respectively. Their dynasties came to be called the Qutbśāhī dynasty of Goḷconḍā and the Barīdśāhī dynasty of Bidar.

Immediately after the declaration of his independence, Malik Ahmad laid siege to Daṇḍa Rājapurī and, after a protracted siege, captured it. He thus secured an unbroken communication between his Deccan territories and the coast. The Gujarāt *Sultāns* held the coast as far south as Caul. The Bijāpūr *Sultāns* were in possession of the coast as far north as Bāṇkoṭ. It may be recalled here that Ahmad's father, *Nizām-ul-Mulk* had appointed the two brothers Malik Wājī and Malik Aśrāf to the charge of the fort of Daulatābād[1]. Malik Aśrāf now revolted, killed his brother Malik Wājī and his son, and declared his independence. Malik Ahmad marched against Daulatābād. On his way he received a communication from Qāsim Barīd asking him to march to the succour of Bidar which had been attacked by Yusuf Ādil. For this help he was promised the grant of Goā, Koṅkaṇ, Panhāḷā and Karāḍ. A battle was fought about 10 miles from Bidar. It ended in a victory for Yusuf Ādil. Malik Ahmad now retired to Junnar and invested the fortress of Daulatābād. The strong fort, however, resisted all attempts of Malik Ahmad to subjugate it by assault. He therefore consulted his commandant Nasir-ul-Mulk and other officers. On their advice he decided to raise the siege of Daulatābād, but ordered his army to lay waste the territory surrounding the fort every year so that no reinforcements should reach the fort. He then retired to Junnar. In 1491 Bahādur Gilānī, the *Kotval* of Goā

[1] A brief description of the fort is given below :—

The Daulatabad fort is on an isolated hill, 700 feet in height, forming an outlier to the Balaghat range that bounds it on the north and east. The hill is coneshaped and the city of Daulatabad was situated to the east and south of it ; but the greater portion is now in ruins, and only some straggling huts remain. The outer wall which enclosed the city is 2¾ miles in circumference, and has only two entrances in use, the Mecca and Roza gates. About midway between them, a pathway branches off from the main road to the fort, and a descent into a hollow leads to the first of the four walls with which it is surrounded on three sides. The entrance is simply an open space ; and beyond it is the second line of defence, with a large square gateway, on the inner side of which are two small groups of lions and elephants carved in stone. The third gateway is much higher and stronger than the second, and the towers are decorated with effigies of elephants and lions. The porch has a dome ornamented with panels of lotus leaves and flowers ; and on each side are two small chambers supported on carved stone pillars. A flight of steps leads to the top of the gateway, on which are the ruins of several extensive buildings. The road turns abruptly to the right ; and the gate to the next line of defence has a high semicircular tower on the left, used as a *nagarkhana*. Beyond this is a smaller entrance near the limit of the lower portion of the fort, from which a roughly-paved ascent leads to the portal of the inner defences.

The interval just mentioned between the outer and inner fortifications, contains ruined palaces, temples and *dargahs* shrouded in jungle shrubs.

To return to the fortifications, after crossing the last portal, and at a distance of 50 or 60 yards, a fourth large gate forms the entrance to another line of defence. This is called the " black gate "; and from it the road turns to the right to the fifth gateway. An ascent of a dozen broad steps leads to the sixth gate, which has an oblong porch with a semi-circular roof, containing the remains of a Hindu building. Another ascent of 50 or 60 steps leads to the seventh gate, to the left of which is the entrance to the old palace of the Hindu *rajas* ; and a short distance beyond is the eighth gate, containing on the right the ruins of the *Chini mahal*. Immediately above the *Chini mahal* is a circular bastion, carrying a heavy piece of ordnance ; and a few yards further on is the only entrance which the upper fort possesses. It is approached by a narrow bridge thrown across a trench which surrounds the fort. The trench is always supplied with water, and is upwards of a hundred feet in depth. The passage from the bridge leads through a small portal and ascends to a high bastion erected by Aurangzib. From this point, the ascent continues along at

**CHAPTER 3.**

**The Nizamshahi of Ahmadnagar.**

MALIK AHMAD NIZAM SHAH.

rebelled and took possession of the whole coast-line up to Dābhoḷ. He plundered many Gujarāt ships. Mahmūd Begāḍā, the *Sultān* of Gujarāt, requested Mahmūd Śāh Bahamanī to control his refractory vassal. Accordingly the *Sultān* appealed to Yusuf Ādil, Malik Ahmad and Fathullāh *Imād-ul-Mulk* for help against Bahādur Gilānī. Malik Ahmad, along with Yusuf Ādil and Fathullāh sent large forces to help the *Sultān*. Bahādur Gilanī's rebellion was suppressed. Ahmad now thought of shifting his headquarters from Junnar to a convenient place. His choice fell on Bhiṅgār, the site of his great victory over Jahāṅgīr Khān, the Bahamanī general, which was roughly midway between Junnar and Daulatābād. In 1494 he laid the foundation of a city upon the left bank of the Sinā river and named it Ahmadnagar, after himself. "In two years the city is said to have rivalled Bagdad and Cairo in splendour". After this the Ahmadnagar army took the field twice a year, at the time of the early and the late harvest, to plunder the country about Daulatābād and in effect to starve the fort garrison. The garrison, however, withstood all attempts of Malik Ahmad to subjugate the fort. At this time Yusuf Ādil and Dastur Dinār who held the country between the Bhīmā and Telaṅgaṇa had come to grips, each claiming suzerainty over the other. Malik Ahmad aligned himself with Dastur Dinār and induced *Khvājā-i-Jahān* of Pareṇḍā to march in aid of the latter. Later, he himself marched to join hands with *Khvājā-i-Jahān*. Dastur Dinār was defeated by Yusuf Ādil. He was, however, restored by the *Sultān* to his former *Jāgirs*. Malik Ahmad then retired to Ahmadnagar, his capital. Immediately afterwards, Yusuf Ādil again attempted to compel Dastur Dinār to accept his suzerainty. On finding that Qāsim Barīd and Malik Ahmad were supporting Dastur Dinār, he gave up his efforts. He, however, obtained from Bidar, a decree prohibiting Malik Ahmad from attacking him.

In 1498, Ahmad Nizām Śāh, Yusuf Ādil Śāh and *Imād-ul-Mulk* decided to divide the whole of the Deccan among themselves. Malik Ahmad Nizām Śāh laid claim to Daulatābād, Antur, Gāḷṇā[1] and the country beyond these forts as far as the

*contd.*
a winding gallery hewn out of the heart of the rock The first gallery is 60 feet long, and lands in a small courtyard. To penetrate the second gallery, it is necessary to be provided with torches. The passage is about the same length as the last one, and terminates in a small vestibule ornamented with pillars. Beyond this is a long tunnel containing numerous chambers cut out of the rock, which were used as guard-rooms and store-houses. Another flight of steps lands on a small platform and a further ascent of 43 feet leads to a small opening 30 feet by 20 feet. This upper outlet has a contrivance in the shape of a huge iron gratig to close it; and when necessary, a large fire was kindled upon the grating, which rendered all approach from the inner gallery impossible. To provide ventilation for the fire, a hole was tunnelled close by. The remains of a fortified wall are also seen; and to the left is a small bastion with a piece of ordnance.

[1] A brief description of the fort is given below :—
Galna Fort lies about fourteen miles (22·53 km.) north of Maleganv. It consists of a circular detached hill with fairly flat top affording an area of twenty or thirty acres (8 to 12·44 hectares). The top is 2,316 feet (706 metres) above mean sea level or about 800 feet (243·84 metres) above the plain. It is accessible only by a broad flight of steps, now in a ruined condition, cut into the northern face. These steps cross the hill from east to west, and then reversing the line climb again to the eastward, and pass under four gateways, Parkot, Lokhandi, Kotval Pir, and Lakha.

CHAPTER 3.

**The Nizam-shahi of Ahmadnagar.**

MALIK AHMAD NIZAM SHAH.

borders of Gujarāt[1]. During all these years Malik Ahmad was continuing with his operations against the fort of Daulatābād, held so valiantly by Malik Aśrāf. Malik Aśrāf now sought the aid of Mahmūd Begāḍā, the *Sultān* of Gajarāt, who was at that time marching against *Sultān* Ādil Khān Fāruqī of Khāndeś. Ādil Khān appealed to Ahmad Nizām Śāh to come to his help against the *Sultān* of Gujarāt. Ahmad Śāh consequently raised the siege of Daulatābād, and marched to the aid of Ādil Khān with a force of 15,000 cavalry. This was against the advice of his commander-in-chief Nasir-ul-Mulk Gujarāti. He, however, accompanied his master to Burhāṇpūr and was sent as ambassador to the Gujarāt camp. In the camp, at his master's instance he induced the elephant keeper of the Gujarāt army to let loose a mad elephant at a fixed time. At the time of the night Ahmad Nizām Śāh attacked the Gujarāt camp with 5,000 cavalry and 5,000 infantry. The mad elephant was let loose just at that time by the elephant keeper. Panic seized the Gujarāt army and Mahmūd Begāḍā fled six miles away from his camp. Ahmad Nizām Śāh occupied the camping grounds of the Gujarāt army. Peace was, however, soon established with both the *Sultāns*

---

*contd.*

Of these the Lokhandi gate is remarkably handsome and is lined with iron plates from which it takes its name. There is a small opening in one fold of this gate to admit a single man. The third and fourth gateways, at about two-thirds of the ascent from the town, are approached by covered ways and are furnished with strong iron-cased doors and surmounted by walls nearly twenty feet (6 metres) thick, where the gateways are situated. These walls are continued westward and eastward along the face of the hill till they unite in the highest battlements on the west and on the east ends of the hill, while a single wall encircles the plateau on the east, south, and west sides.

The upper walls are perfect and contain magazines of various sizes in each of the bastions, which are semicircles and must have commanded the approach in every direction on the south and west, while the face of the hill, being almost perpendicular for nearly one thousand feet (304·80 metres) below the wall, the lines are as straight as the outlines of the rock allow, and have been defended by large wall pieces, which were moved on iron pivots and many of which are still seen on the round bastions at every eighty or hundred yards (37·15 to 91·44 metres) on the west and north faces.

The south side of the hill is a bare scarp for many feet from the wall, and, at about two-thirds of the length from the east, there is a bastion in which are arches of Saracenic form between the central two of which was a slab containing a Persian inscription dated A. D. 1569 (H. 977). There was a second slab in a niche between the battlements, fronting the north and surmounting a row of cellars furnished with moderate sized windows, and probably intended for residences. This slab contained a Devnagari inscription dated A. D. 1580 (*Sak* of 1502).

This tower and bastion is close to the north-west corner of the fort, a part where the whole of the wall shows marks of repairs, which must have been recent as compared with the ruins of the original structure in the valley below. From the tower a narrow stone pavement, which connects the whole circle of the battlement by flights of steps, leads east towards the entrance gateways, to a second tower built so as to command the entire ascent, and immediately facing the third and fourth gateways at different elevations. From this second tower the side of the hill, whose slope makes the plateau in the top more conical towards the east than towards the west, admitted of two wells with batteries for swivel guns and pierced with loopholes at every elevation. The hill above this spot approaches within thirty yards (27·43 metres) of the wall, and between this tower and the mosque there are the idol of Galnesvara Mahadeva, five cisterns, and a series of rock-cut caves.

[1] Briggs's Vol. III, p. 19.

CHAPTER 3.

The Nizamshahi of Ahmednagar.

MALIK AHMAD NIZAM SHAH.

agreeing to withdraw to their respective territories[1]. Malik Ahmad now returned to his siege of Daulatābād. Malik Aśrāf again appealed to *Sultān* Mahmūd Begāḍā for help promising him tribute and the reading of the *Khutbā* in his name. Mahmūd Begāḍā agreed and marched with a large force to the succour of Malik Aśrāf. On the approach of the Gujarāt army Malik Ahmad raised the siege and returned to his capital. Malik Aśrāf visited the camp of the *Sultān* of Gujarāt, paid him tribute and accepted his suzerainty. Mahmūd Begāḍā then returned to Gujarāt. Immediately after, Malik Ahmad marched against the fort of Daulatābād and laid siege to it with 30,000 troops. The fort of Daulatābād was garrisoned by Marāṭhā troops which had not liked the submission of Malik Aśrāf to *Sultān* Mahmūd. They, therefore, revolted and sent offers of submission to Ahmad Nizām Śāh. Shortly after Malik Aśrāf died and the fort capitulated to Malik Ahmad. Ahmad garrisoned the fort with his own troops, built new fortifications to strengthen it and retired to Ahmadnagar. He now ordered the building of a wall round the *Bāgh-i-Nizām* at Ahmadnagar. The work was entrusted to experts who completed the construction of the wall in a short time. The fortifications of Ahmadnagar thus completed, new palaces were built inside the fort. Malik Ahmad then shifted his headquarters within the walls of the Ahmadnagar fort. He now turned his attention to the fort of Antur which he reduced and forced the chiefs of Bāglāṇa and Gāḷṇā to pay him tribute (1499). In the year 1504, Yusuf Ādil Śāh of Bijāpūr proclaimed profession of the *Śiāh* creed in his kingdom. This action was looked upon with disfavour by the neighbouring kingdoms which professed the *Sunnī* creed. Mahmūd Bahamanī commanded Malik Ahmad, *Imād-ul-Mulk*, Khudāvand Khān, and Qulī Qutb Śāh to form a league against Yusuf Ādil on religious grounds and invade his kingdom. Malik Ahmad, who was a sworn enemy of Yusuf Ādil, and Qulī Qutb responded. Barīd captured Guñjoṭī and Malik Ahmad dispatched a communication to Bijāpūr demanding the cession of Naḷdurg. Yusuf suddenly marched upon Guñjoṭī and retook it. He then sent back an angry reply to Malik Ahmad. Yusuf, however, decided to fight the war away from his territory. Avoiding direct engagement with the allied army which consisted of the troops of Bidar and Goḷcoṇḍā, and the Ahmadnagar contingent of 1,000 cavalry and a train of artillery, Yusuf entered the Ahmadnagar territory. He laid waste the territory about Bīḍ. He was hotly pursued by the allies and entered the Berār territory. He sought help from *Imād-ul-Mulk*, the *Sultān* of Berār, who refused to be drawn in this religious war. On the contrary he advised Yusuf Ādil to retrace his steps and revoke his proclamation. Yusuf Ādil agreed and recalled his edict. He further detached Malik Ahmad and

[1] As in *Burhan-i-Masir*. The version of the succession of events that led to this episode as related by the Gujarat historians is given in the chapter on the Faruqi dynasty of Khandesh. It is claimed by them that there was no invasion of Khandesh in the year referred to by Sayyad Ali. However, *Sultan* Mahmud Shah did appear on the Khandesh border and made a show of strength when Adil Khan Faruqi failed to pay tribute in the year in which this episode was alleged to have taken place.

*Qutb-ul-Mulk* from the alliance[1]. Thus ended what Ferishta called the Holy war of the faithful brethren. In 1507 Malik Ahmad was embroiled in a war with Mahmūd Begāḍā of Gujarāt on the issue of succession to the Khāndeś throne. He marched to Thāḷner to support the claims of Ālam Khān. When he heard of the approach of Mahmūd Begāḍā with a large force, he retired to Gāvīlgaḍ. He tried hard to press the claims of Ālam Khān with Mahmūd Begāḍā. But Mahmūd scornfully rejected the claims. Finding that he was no match to the superior strength of Mahmūd Begāḍā, Malik Ahmad quietly returned with Ālam Khān to Ahmadnagar. Shortly after, in 1509, Malik Ahmad died after a brief illness.

The life of Malik Ahmad was hectic and adventurous. In his early career, till the declaration of independence by him in 1490, he had to fight hard against the Bahamanī nobility. Afterwards he was busy consolidating his gains, fighting against the territorial ambitions of neighbouring *Sultāns* and subjugating the Hindu officials of the Bahamanīs in his territory. As a matter of fact many of the fortified places in the Nizāmśāhī Koṅkaṇ and the region of the western ghāṭs were held by Hindu Chiefs. They could not withstand the power of Malik Ahmad and were wiped out. Malik Ahmad did not possess the qualities of continence and modesty as claimed by Sayyad Alī. He was ruthless, particularly towards the Hindus, and killed the commandants of the fort along with their families when the forts capitulated. Sayyad Alī even boasts proudly of the carnage of Hindus and the desecration of Hindu temples by Malik Ahmad. He was, however, an excellent administrator and ruled well, though ruthlessly and with an iron hand. He constituted a council to advise him on matters of administration. The names of some of these were, Malik Nasir-ul-Mulk Gujarāti-*Wakil* and *Peśvā*, Dalpatrāv-*Wazīr*, *Kājī* Khāvand Majlis and *Ustād Khvāja-Ibn-Dabīr*. His ministers and officers were Kāmil Khān, Jarif-ul-Mulk Afghān, Jalāl Rumī Khān, Kadam Khān, Munīr Khān, Polād Khān, Malik Rājā *Dastur-ul-Mulk* and Sayyad Muizuddin. The advice rendered by the council was not necessarily binding upon the *Sultān* who loved to rule as a despot[2].

---

[1] Briggs's, Vol. III, pp. 22—29; Wolseley Haig gives a different version. According to him *Imad-ul-Mulk* advised Yusuf Adil to go to Khandesh. From Khandesh Yusuf Adil succeeded in detaching Malik Ahmad and *Qutb-ul-Mulk* from the league. Then he marched from Khandesh addressing a letter to Mahmud Shah Bahamani seeking pardon. That letter received an insulting reply from Mahmud Shah at the instance of Barid. Yusuf Adil then with the assistance of *Imad-ul-Mulk* defeated Mahmud Shah and Amir Ali Barid at Kalam in Berar.

[2] The practice of *yekung* (single-stick) was also introduced by this prince, who was himself well skilled in the sword, and delighted much in the exercise; accordingly, as is ever the custom, the people being eager to copy the prince, both high and low devoted themselves to it, and instead of colleges, as is usual in Mahomedan cities, schools for single-sword and wrestling were established in all quarters of the city of Ahmudnuggur. Nothing was talked of but this art in every assembly, till at length things grew to such a pitch in the strife-engendering climate of the Deccan that people vaunted over their neighbours; and brawls arising between rash young men, they frequently begged to make good their cause before the King, who used to see them combat with swords in his presence; and he who gave the first wound was considered the victor. In consequence of this encouragement, a crowd of

**CHAPTER 3.**

**The Nizamshahi of Ahmadnagar.**

BURHAN NIZAM SHAH.

On his death Malik Ahmad Nizām Śāh was succeeded by his son Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh, a child of seven. Mukammil Khān Dakhaṇī who had served Malik Ahmad as *Wakīl* and *Peśvā* in the last years of his reign, was reappointed to that post. His son Jamāluddin was created *Aziz-ul-Mulk* and appointed to the office of *Sarnobat*. Under the influence of the power enjoyed by his father, *Aziz-ul-Mulk* started behaving arrogantly with other nobles, and insulting them at every opportunity. A few of the nobles, therefore, decided to destroy the influence of *Aziz-ul-Mulk* and Mukammil Khān. They entered into a conspiracy aiming at deposing Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh and putting his younger brother Rājājī on the throne. Rājājī was removed from the palace. He was being taken to the headquarters of the conspirators when his absence was detected by the palace guards who brought him back. The plot of the conspirators to depose Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh thus failed.

The nobles who had participated in the conspiracy now felt that they would be victimized by Mukammil Khān and *Aziz-ul-Mulk*. Among such nobles were Rumī Khān, Kadam Khān, Munīr Khān and others. They, therefore, fled to Berār with 8,000 cavalry and entered the service of Alāuddin Imād Śāh, the *Sultān* of Berār[1]. They convinced Alāuddin that this was the opportune time for an attack on Ahmadnagar as the *Sultān* of Admadnagar was very young and the Ahmadnagar court was

---

*contd.*

young men were in the habit of assembling daily at the palace for the purpose of displaying their skill, till at length a day seldom passed without one or two persons being killed. The King, thinking it time to discountenance this practice, gave orders that no more exhibitions of this sort should take place in his presence, though the combatants were at liberty to settle their disputes on the outside of the town; and it was commanded, that if either party were killed in fair combat, no retaliation should be required. This vile custom is so congenial to the Mahomedans of the Deccan, that it has spread far and wide from Ahmudnuggur; and it is so fashionable at the present day that even learned divines and philosophers, as well as nobles and princes, practise duelling; and if their children show any backwardness in this way they do not esteem them as lads of proper spirit. As an instance of which, the writer of these pages (Mahomed Kasim Ferishta) saw the following transaction occur in the streets of Beejapoor. Syud Moortuza and Syud Hussun, two brothers whose beards were grey, and who were in high estimation at court, had a trifling dispute with three Deccanies, who were also brothers, who frequented the court, and were also respectable greyheaded men. First, the son of Syud Moortuza, a youth of twenty, engaged one of the Deccanies, but was immediately killed. The father and uncle engaged the other two Deccanies, and they were also killed; and before their bodies could be removed and buried, the three opponents died of the wounds they had received, so that, in a few minutes, six respectable persons, who had no real animosity towards each other, were lost to their relatives and to society. The Mahomedans of the Deccan are certainly very expert in the use of the sword, and particularly in single combat; but as they generally practise on foot, and do not accustom themselves to throwing the lance on horseback, they are inferior as cavalry; and their skill is of no avail when acting in masses of infantry, though in private quarrels, and street contentions, they fight like lions.

Since the extinction of the dynasty of Bahmuny this practice has rather been encouraged than discouraged by other princes of the Deccan, excepting by Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Beejapoor, who seems to set his face against the custom; and it is to be hoped, that this abominable habit, which is unknown in any other civilised country in the world, will, by the happy exertions of wise princes like him, be altogather abolished.

(Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, pp. 207—209).

[1] Fathullah Imad-ul-Mulk died in 1504 and was succeeded by his son Alauddin under the title of Alauddin Imad Shah.

riddled with political intrigues. Alāuddin readily agreed and marched with a large force towards Rānubarī on the Ahmadnagar frontier. The Ahmadnagar troops, on receiving intimation of the movements of Alāuddin, had already moved towards Rānubarī under the command of Mukammil Khān and had taken up positions there. On the way they were reinforced by *Khvājā Jahan* Dakhanī of Pareṇḍā. Mukammil Khān divided his army into two contingents, one under his own command and the other under the command of Miyān Kālā Ajdur Khān. A general engagement took place. Alāuddin Imād Śāh was defeated. He fled the field of battle leaving all his baggage, horses and elephants to be looted by Ahmadnagar troops. It was through the intercession of the *Sultān* of Khāndeś that peace was established between Ahmadnagar and Berār[1].

For the subsequent history of Ahmadnagar for a few years divergent accounts have been given by Ferishta and Sayyad Ali Tabatabai.

According to Ferishta, in the year 1518, dispute arose between Alāuddin Imād Śāh and Burhān Nizām Śāh on the question of Pāthrī. Burhān Nizām Śāh instructed Mukammil Khān to write to Alāuddin Imād Śāh to transfer Pāthrī to Ahmadnagar to be exchanged for another district. Imād Śāh refused to accede to this demand. Instead, he started fortifying the place. Mukammil Khān objected to the building of such a strong fort so near the frontiers of Ahmadnagar kingdom. But this warning went unheeded and Alāuddin Imād Śāh completed the fortifications of the fort and left for his capital. Sometime after this, Burhān Nizām Śāh went on a reconnoitring expedition in the neighbourhood of Daulatābād. He suddenly marched towards Pāthrī. He attacked the fort and carried it by assault. He placed the fort in charge of Miyān Muhammad Ghorī who

---

[1] The following is the account of the invasion of Ahmadnagar by Berar as given by Ferishta :—

The enemies of the *Peshwa* (Mookumil Khan) were soon after induced to quit Ahmudnuggur with their followers, to the number of eight thousand men. They entered the service of Allaood-Deen *Imad-ool-Moolk*, ruler of Bera whom they excited to attack the dominions of Boorhan Nizam Shah. *Imad-ool-Moolk*, deeming the conquest an object of easy attainment, marched with a large army from Elichpoor towards the Nizam Shahy frontier ; while Mookumil Khan, aided by the forces of Khwaja Jehan Deccany of Purenda, and attended by the young King, opposed the enemy near the town of Ranoory, in the year 916, when *Imad-ool-Moolk* sustained a total defeat ; flying from the field without halting till he reached Elichpoor, and leaving in the hands of the Nizam Shahies all his baggage, horses, and elephants.

A. H. 916
A. D. 1510

In this battle Boorhan Nizam Shah, on account of his tender years, rode on horseback with his tutor Ajdur Khan, and was seated before him on the same saddle. *Imad-ool-Moolk*, finding himself pursued, left Elichpoor and fled to Boorhanpoor, where he solicited the aid of the ruler of Khandesh to mediate a peace. Some learned men were accordingly sent to Mookumil Khan, who represented that it was contrary to the law of the prophet for the faithful to wage war against each other, a peace was concluded, and both parties returned to their respective dominions.

(Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, pp. 213-14.)

**CHAPTER 3.**

**The Nizam-shahi of Ahmadnagar.**

BURHAN NIZAM SHAH.

had distinguished himself on the occasion and conferred on him the title of Kāmil Khān[1]. Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh then returned to the capital[2]

According to Sayyad Ali the capture of Pāthrī was preceded by three battles fought between the armies of Ahmadnagar and Berār. The first battle was fought at Borgāṅv and the second on the banks of the river Devnali. Both the battles were indecisive[3] Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh now decided to fight out the issue to a final conclusion. He made elaborate preparations and marched against Alāuddin *Imād-ul-Mulk*. A grim battle was fought near Danur in which the Imādśāhī forces were completely routed. All the bag and baggage of the enemy fell into the hands of Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh. Imād Śāh was so overwhelmed with this defeat that instead of retreating towards his capital of Ellicpūr he fled to Gujarāt.

It was after this defeat of Imād Śāh that Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh marched in Berār and besieged Pathrī[4]. The fort was taken by assault and razed to the ground. Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh then appointed Muhammad Ghorī to the command of the fort with the title of Kāmil Khān and then returned to Ahmadnagar.

It is interesting to note that Ferishta, while giving the subsequent happenings in the capital avers to the existence of Mukammil Khān as the prime minister. He, however, says that Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh, after his return from the campaign against Pāthrī, married Aminā, a dancing girl, and took to drinking wine. Mukammil got disgusted with this state of affairs and tried to upbraid Burhān Nizām Śāh. When his attempts failed, he, one day approached Burhān Nizām Sāh and laid the insignia of his office at the feet of the *Sultān* requesting to be relieved from participating any more in public business. Burhāṇ Nizām agreed and raised his sons to high rank in the kingdom. Mukammil, till his death, led a retired life.

---

1. The '*Ahmadnagar District Gazetteer*', mentions that it was Mukammil Khan and not Burhan Nizam Shah who led the expedition, p. 362.

2. It is said that the ancestors of the Nizam Shahy kings were natives of the town of Patry; but for some cause, one of them, a Coolcurny, quitting his birth-place, removed to Beejanuggur and settled. When the family attained regal power its relations came to Ahmudnuggur, and expressed a desire to recover their ancient rights in the village of Patry, situated within the territory of Berar, but close on the Nizam Shahy frontier. On which Mookumil Khan wrote to *Imad-ool-Moolk*, as from Boorhan Nizam Shah, requesting that he would, out of private regard, give up the Patry district, in which the Nizam Shahy family has so much interest, and receive in lieu of it another, yielding even a greater revenue. *Imad-ool-Moolk* refused to consent to the exchange; and fearing that a war might ensue in consequence of his refusal, began to build a fort at Patry. Mookumil Khan requested him to desist, but in vain; till at length the work being completed, Mookumil Khan, being some time after at Dowlutabad, went on a party of pleasure to see the caves of Ellora in its vicinity, from whence he made a sudden march against Patry, and carried it by assault. After which he left it in charge of Meean Mahomed Ghoory, who had distinguished himself on the occasion, and conferred on him the title of Kamil Khan. (Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III pp. 214-15.)

3. Sayyad Ali gives the names of the following officers who accompanied Burhan Nizam Shah in the second battle:—Alam Khan, Rumi Khan, Kadam Khan, Munir Khan, Umdat-ul-Mulk, Khairat Khan, Polad Khan, Miyan Raja, Danayya Rui Rai, Makhdum Khwaja Jahan and *Ain-ul-Mulk* Kanani.

4. Sayyad Ali, however, conveniently forgets to give reasons that prompted Burhan Nizam Shah to insist upon the capitulation of Pathri.

Sayyad Ali makes no mention of the presence of Mukammil Khān in the campaign against Pāthrī and gives an entirely different story of the downfall of the *Vazīr* and his son *Aziz-ul-Mulk*. He says that Mukammil Khān died shortly after the battle of Rānubarī. His son *Aziz-ul-Mulk* was appointed to the office of the *Vakīl* and *Peśvā* of the kingdom. *Aziz-ul-Mulk* usurped all power and reduced Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh to the status of a nominal sovereign. He even made an unsuccessful attempt to poison Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh. At this time Dānayyā Caṣanjī, the commandant of the fort of Antur, came on a visit to the *Sultān* and was informed by him of the high-handedness of *Aziz-ul-Mulk*. Dānayyā promised the *Sultān* to devise ways and means to destroy *Aziz-ul-Mulk*. On the consent of Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh he left for Antur and faked a rebellion with the complete understanding of Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh. When *Aziz-ul-Mulk* was informed of the rebellion, he sent his brother Jahāṅgīr Khān against Dānayyā. But Dānayyā defeated Jahāṅgīr Khān and took him prisoner. The news was received with a shock by *Aziz-ul-Mulk* who now pressed Burhāṇ to personally lead the campaign against Dānayyā. Unwillingly, Burhāṇ consented. On his march towards Antur, Burhāṇ Nizām was advised by some of his nobles to recall those of his *amirs* who had fled to Berār for fear of *Aziz-ul-Mulk*. Accordingly, Burhāṇ recalled these *amirs*. They now joined Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh and attacked *Aziz-ul-Mulk*. *Aziz-ul-Mulk* was blinded. After thus destroying the influence of *Aziz-ul-Mulk*, Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh carried on the administration of the kingdom for some time with the help of Mīr Ruknuddin, Śaikh Jāfar and Maulānā Pīr Muhammad Śhervānī. Subsequently Mīr Ruknuddin was dismissed and Śaikh Jāfar appointed to the office of *Vakīl* and *Peśvā*. After some time Śaikh Jāfar was replaced by Kānhū Narsī who had been introduced to the court by Śaikh Jāfar himself. Kānhū Narsī continued to hold the post of *Vazīr* for a long time. Burhāṇ Nizām also made certain other appointments in the military department of the government. He put Bāreb Khān and Juner Khān as *Sarnobats* in command of the vanguard and Gairat Khān as *Sarnobat* in command of the rear of the armed forces. It will not be out of place here to take a brief survey of events that were taking place at Bidar during this period and the part played by Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh in the Bidar affairs.

In about 1514 Amir Ali Barīd[1] appointed Jahāṅgīr Khān, the adopted son of Dastur Dinār, to the charge of Gulburgā, creating him *Dāstur-ul-Mamālik*. To counter any opposition from Ismāīl Ādil Śāh who had succeeded his father in 1510[2], he marched against Bijāpūr. Amir Barīd had obtained assistance from Qulī Qutb Śāh and Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh. He was, however, defeated and fled to Ausā. Mahmūd Śāh Bahamanī who had accompanied Amir Barīd was escorted to Bidar by 5,000 Bijāpūr

1. Qasim Barid died in 1504 and was succeeded as a matter of course by his son Amir Ali Barid.

2. Yusuf Adil Shah died in 1510, a year after the death of *Malik* Ahmad Nizam Shah.

CHAPTER 3. The Nizamshahi of Ahmadnagar.

cavalry. However, Amir Barīd aain obtained help from Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh, attacked Bidar and forced the Bijāpūr cavalry to retire.

BURHAN NIZAM SHAH.

Mahmūd Śāh Bahamanī now fled to Berār and with the help of Alāuddin Imād Śāh marched upon Bidar. Amir Alī Barīd again appealed for help to Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh against Alāuddin Imād Śāh. But the wretched monarch left Alāuddin's camp and went over to Amir Alī Barīd. Alāuddin Imād Śāh was forced to retire to Berār. Sometime in 1520 Śāh Tāhīr, a learned scholar from Iran, migrated to India and landed at Dābhoḷ. He first proceeded to Bijāpūr, thence to Gulburgā and finally to Pareṇḍā where he was warmly received by Makhdūm Khvājā Jahān. Pīr Muhammad Servānī of the Ahmadnagar Court was at this time on a visit to Pareṇḍā. Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh, on the advice of Servānī, invited Śāh Tāhīr to his court and became his patron (1522). Sometime after this an alliance was formed between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpūr to punish Amir Alī Barīd who had instigated Kṛṣṇa Rāya of Vijayanagar to attack Bijāpūr. The two *Sultāns* met at Śolāpūr and the sister of Ismāīl Ādil, Bibi Mariam, was married to Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh. Asad Khān Lārī, the prime minister of Bijāpūr, promised, at the time of marriage, to give the fort of Śolāpūr and its five and a half districts to Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh as the princess's dowry. When Burhāṇ demanded the cession of Śolāpūr, Ismāīl denied that he had ever authorised such a thing. The humiliated Burhāṇ dropped the demand and returned to Ahmadnagar, determining, however, to settle the issue at the proper time. The marriage brought the two queens Aminā and Bibi Mariam in conflict with each other and Bibi Mariam complained to her brother of the insulting treatment she received at the hands of her husband. Ismāīl Ādil vainly remonstrated with the Ahmadnagar ambassador at Bijāpūr. This episode further embittered the relations between the two kingdoms. Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh now allied himself with Amir Alī Barīd and Alāuddin Imād Śāh and marched with a combined army of 40,000 against Śolāpūr in 1525. Ismāīl Ādil Śāh marched with an army of 12,000. In the engagement fought near the frontiers of Bijāpūr, the allied troops were defeated by the mounted archers of Bijāpūr commanded by Asad Khān. Alāuddin fled to Gāvīlgaḍ and Burhāṇ, exhausted by heat and thirst, was carried by his retreating troops to Ahmadnagar.

When these events were taking place, there was a rapid succession of Bahamanī *Sultāns* at Bidar. Mahmūd Śāh died in 1518 and Amir Alī Barīd put on the throne his son Ahmad. Ahmad died in 1520 and was succeeded by his brother Alāuddin. He was, however, deposed by Amir Alī Barīd for conspiring against him and put to death. Amir now put on the throne Waliullāh the brother of the deposed *Sultān*. But he went the same way as Alāuddin. His brother Kalimullāh was allowed by Amir Alī Barīd to succeed Waliullāh. Kalimullāh tried to get rid of his minister by writing to Bābar, the Moghal emperor to help him. Amir Barīd came to know of the conspiracy. Fearing death,

BURHAN NIZAM SHAH.

Kalimullāh, in 1527, fled to Bijāpūr and thence to Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh. Burhāṇ treated the helpless Kalimullāh as a sovereign and made promises to recover Bidar for him. Śāh Tāhīr, who was now minister to the Ahmadnagar *Sultān,* restrained Burhān from following this course of unwanted generosity. Poor Kalimullāh now suffered disgrace. Restrictions were placed upon him. Shortly afterwards he died. With the death of the last of the Bahamanī family, Amir Alī Barīd now declared independence and assumed the royal insignia.

In 1527, at the instigation of Ismāīl Ādil Śāh and with the active help of Qutb Śāh, Alāuddin Imād Śāh marched against Pāthrī and captured it[1]. Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh now allied himself with Amir Alī Barīd and besieged Pāthrī. After a close siege which lasted for two months, Pāthrī capitulated. Burhāṇ gave the district of Pāthrī in charity to his Brāhmaṇ relations and marched against Māhūr which he carried by assault. From Māhūr he invaded Berār and marched towards Ellicpūr. Alāuddin now sought the assistance of *Sultān* Muhammad of Khāndeś. But the allies were defeated by the armies of Ahmadnagar and Bidar. Alāuddin and Muhammad fled towards Burhāṇpūr, leaving Berār to be ravaged by the armies of Ahmadnagar and Bidar. Three hundred elephants belonging to Alāuddin along with his baggage fell into the hands of the invading armies. Alāuddin Imād Śāh and Muhammad Fāruqī now sought the assistance of Bahādur Śāh of Gujarāt. Bahādur Śāh entered Berār by way of Nandurbār and forced Burhāṇ and Barīd to beat a hasty retreat. Burhāṇ frantically sought the assistance of Bijāpūr and Golconḍā and called for further reinforcements from Bidar. He even wrote a letter of congratulations to Bābar on his ascending the throne of Delhi. This was meant to make an impression on Bahādur Śāh. Burhāṇ sought Bābar's help in repulsing the aggressor. Undeterred, Bahādur Śāh continued his advance and occupied Ahmadnagar. Burhāṇ fell back on Bīḍ where he was joined by a cavalry force of 6,000 from Bijāpūr and 3,000 infantry from Bidar. An advance contingent of the Gujarāt army was twice defeated between Paiṭhaṇ and Bīḍ by Amir Barīd, the Gujarāt army losing 3,000 men and seventy camels laden with treasure. Another division of Gujarāt army consisting of 20,000 horse under Khudāvand Khān also suffered a defeat. The main army of Gujarāt under Alāuddin Imād Śāh.

[1] In the year 933, Imad Shah, at the instance of Ismael Adil Shah and *Sooltan* Koolly Kootb Shah, led an army against the fort of Patry, which he recovered; but which was shortly afterwards retaken by Boorhan Nizam Shah. after a close siege of two months. On this occasion he razed the works to the ground, and gave over the district dependent on it in charity to his relations the *bramins*, in whose hands it continued for several generations till the reign of the Emperor Akbur. After destroying Patry, Boorhan Nizam Shah marched and reduced the fort of Mahoor, and afterwards moved on to Elichpoor. Imad Shah, unable singly to contend with the Nizam Shahy troops, fled to Boorhanpoor, where he induced Mahomed Khan Farooky, the ruler of Kandeish, to assist him. Thus united, the allies marched against Boorhan Nizam Shah; but experienced such a total defeat, that they lost three hundred elephants and all their baggages, besides many places in Berar which fell into Boorhan Nizam Shah's hands.

A. H. 933.
A. D. 1527.

**CHAPTER 3.**

**The Nizamshahi of Ahmadnagar.**

**BURHAN NIZAM SHAH.**

however, continued to advance and forced Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh to fall back upon Parenḍā and thence on Junnar. From Junnar, Burhāṇ sent contingents of his army to cut off supplies from reaching Ahmadnagar. Though Ahmadnagar had capitulated, the fort garrison still continued to resist. Bahādur Śāh, reduced to miserable straits for want of supplies, withdrew from Ahmadnagar and marched to Daulatābād, leaving Alāuddin to continue the siege of Ahmadnagar. Bahādur Śāh besieged the fortress of Daulatābād which was commanded by Mañjan Khān, the son of Khairat Khān. Burhāṇ wrote pressing letters to Ismāīl Ādil to march in person to his relief. Ismāīl Ādil, who was engaged in his war with Vijayanagar, sent 500 picked cavalry commanded by Haider-ul-Mulk Kazvini. Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh, now, on the advice of his minister Kānhū Nasrī issued forthwith all his troops from Junnar and proceeded to Daulatābād. He succeeded in occupying a few hills surrounding Daulatābād and commanding the fortress. For three months he carried operations against the besiegers. He was, however, defeated in a general action. To Alāuddin Imād Śāh and *Sultān* Muhammad of Khāndeś, it had now become apparent that under the guise of assisting them the *Sultān* of Gujarāt was solely bent upon his own aggrandisement. They now received a communication from Burhāṇ to intercede on his behalf with Bahādur Śāh. They agreed on Burhāṇ promising to return to them the forts and elephants captured by him in the last war. The two *Sultāns* met Khudāvand Khān, the Gujarāt general, and expressed doubts about the motives of Bahādur Śāh, protesting against occupation of their territory by the Gujarāt army for such a long time. The Gujarāt commander replied pointing out that they had invited the Gujarāt *Sultān* and thus were themselves to blame for the consequences. It was then that the alliance between Gujarāt, Khāndeś and Berār was broken and Alāuddin attacked the Gujarāt camp. He sent provisions to the garrison of the Daulatābād fort and retired to Ellicpūr. Bahādur Śāh, though generally successful on the field of battle, decided to pull off the campaign, due to the approach of the rainy season. Talks began through the intercession of Muhammad Śāh Fāruqī, and Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh bought peace on very insulting and humiliating terms. He acknowledged the suzerainty of the *Sultān* of Gujarāt by agreeing to read the public prayers in his name. He also promised to return Pāthrī and Māhūr to Berār and the elephants captured by him in the last war with Khāndeś and Berār to the respective *Sultāns*[1]. With peace thus concluded, Bahādur Śāh returned to Gujarāt[2].

---

[1]. It is pertinent to note that Burhan read public prayers in the name of Bahadur Shah throughout the kingdom of Ahmadnagar but refused to fulfil the other term of the treaty. It was only after long haranguing that Muhammad Shah of Khandesh could succeed in recovering his elephants from Burhan Nizam Shah. To Alauddin's requests he turned a deaf ear.

[2]. Sayyad Ali in *Burhan-i-Masir* gives a totally distorted and exaggerated version of the confrontation between Ahmadnagar and Gujarat. The gist of his account is as under :—*Imad-ul-Mulk* after his defeat by Burhan Nizam Shah fled to Gujarat and persuaded Bahadur Shah to undertake the conquest of Ahmadnagar. Bahadur

In 1531, Bahādur Śāh of Gujarāt invaded Māḷvā. Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh was genuinely alarmed and sent his minister Śāh Tāhīr to the court of Bahādur Śāh with many valuable presents to arrange for a meeting between himself and Bahādur Śāh. Śāh Tāhīr was ill-treated by Bahādur Śāh who refused even to give him audience[1]. But ample amends were made to him when Bahādur Śāh discovered his talents and erudition. After a three months' stay he was given leave to depart. Later in the same year Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh sent Śāh Tāhīr and Narsū Paṇḍit to Bahādur Śāh to congratulate him on his conquest of Māḷvā. At the intercession of Mirān Muhammad Khān of Khāndeś, Śāh Tāhīr and Narsū Paṇḍit (*alias* Kānhū Narsī) met Bahādur Śāh who was on his way to Gujarāt. The meeting took place at Burhāṇpūr. Śāh Tāhīr now represented the desire of his master to meet Bahādur Śāh. At this time Bahādur Śāh had received reports of the movements of the Moghal emperor Humāyūn towards the south. Humāyūn was aiming at the assimilation of Māḷvā and Gujarāt in the Moghal empire. In the eventuality of a Moghal attack, Bahādur Śāh did not want to antagonise

*contd.*

Shah marched from Gujarat and laid siege to the fort of Daulatabad. The commandant of the fort Manjan Khan offered stiff resistance and the siege went on for a long time. When the news of the collaboration between Bahadur Shah and Imad Shah was received by Amir Barid, he wrote to Imad Shah of the inconsiderateness of his action in inviting Bahadur Shah. He pointed out to the danger, Bahadur Shah would pose to the sovereignty of Berar if he succeeded in subjugating Ahmadnagar. Imad Shah realised the predicament he had put himself in and removed himself at a distance from the main camp of Bahadur Shah. He also wrote to Manjan Khan encouraging him to stoutly defend the fort. Manjan Khan now attacked the Gujarat army killing many soldiers. Being reduce to great straits, Bahadur Shah invited Imad-ul-Mulk and his officers for consultations. *Imad-ul-Mulk* advised him to raise the siege of Daulatabad and lead an expedition against Burhan Nizam's army. He pointed out that once the Ahmadnagar army is destroyed, the capture of the fort would be an easy task. Bahadur Shah lent his consent to this proposal. *Imad-ul-Mulk* on the other hand sent a message to Manjan Khan to attack the Gujarat army from the rear no sooner it raised the siege. Imad also informed Burhan Nizam Shah that all of them belong to a single family and now they should unite to drive away the outsiders from their territory. He further said that Burhan and Amir Ali Barid should attack the Gujarat army and in the thick of the battle he would desert Bahadur Shah. When the Gujarat army raised the siege according to plan, Manjan Khan attacked it from the rear causing heavy slaughter among the Gujaratis. In the meanwhile Burhan collected a huge force and put it under the command of Malik Barid. Malik Barid advancing in Bid province attacked the Gujarat army. He was now joined by Burhan Nizam Shah. The combined armies now attacked the Gujaratis and the battle raged for the whole day. Half of the Gujarat forces perished in the battle. Bahadur Shah was now convinced of the strength of Deccani army and repented for having invaded Deccan on the advice of Allauddin Imad Shah. He considered the further prosecution of the campaign as futile and decided to imprison Alauddin Imad Shah. Before he could execute his plan, Imad Shah moved away from the main camp of the Gujarat army. He informed Bahadur Shah of the difficult task that lay ahead of him and advised him to retire to Chanakdeo. Bahadur Shah reached Chanakdeo where he was informed that Imad Shah had left for Berar. Anxiety now engulfed Bahadur Shah and consulting his officers he retreated to Gujarat. Burhan Nizam Shah also returned to Ahmadnagar.

The comparison will show the obvious discrepancies in the account given by Sayyad Ali. It will be of interest to note that Sayyad Ali very conveniently avoids to describe the extremely humiliating terms imposed by Bahadur Shah of Gujarat upon Burhan Nizam Shah.

[1]. The reasons for this ill-treatment of Shah Tahir by Bahadur Shah appear to be the refusal of Burhan Nizam Shah to abide by the terms of the treaty and his suspension of the practice of reading the public prayers in the name of Bahadur Shah.

**CHAPTER 3.**

**The Nizamshahi of Ahmadnagar.**

**BURHAN NIZAM SHAH.**

Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh. He, therefore, sent Śāh Tāhīr back to Ahmadnagar with a message to Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh of his willingness to meet him at Burhāṇpūr[1]. Sayyad Ali in *Burhan-i-Masir* states that Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh was first reluctant to go to Burhāṇpūr as, many officers of the Ahmadnagar court, who were against Śāh Tāhīr, attributed motives to Śāh Tāhīr's mission. But later on, being convinced by Śāh Tāhīr and Kānhū Narsī, Burhāṇ relented and agreed to the interview. The account of the meeting between the *Sultāns* is as follows: Burhān Nizām Śāh put Husain Nizām Śāh in charge of the administration with 7,000 horse and started for Burhānpūr. Hearing, on the way, that all except holy men were required to stand before the throne of Bahādur Śāh, Burhāṇ declined to move further saying that 'should he who had won his independence from the great house of the Bahamanī stoop to that of Gujarāt.' Śāh Tāhīr again intervened, promising his master that his honour would in no way suffer and agreed to accompany him to the Gujarāt king's court. When the royal party approached Bahādur Śāh's camp, Śāh Tāhīr accompanied Burhān Nizām Śāh carrying on his head a copy of *Qorāṇ* in the hand-writing of the Caliph Ali. When Bahādur Śāh saw Śāh Tāhīr approaching him, he got down from his throne, kissed the *Qorāṇ*, and with it, touched his eyes and forehead three times. He then received compliments from Burhān who greeted him, and ascended the throne. Bahādur Śāh then requested Śāh Tāhīr to be seated. He replied that he could not accept a seat when his master was being made to stand. Upon this Bahādur Śāh requested Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh and Śāh Tāhīr to be seated. After having humiliated Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh, Bahādur Śāh took from his waist a sword and jewelled dagger and girded them on Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh with the words, "May the title of Śāh prove auspicious to you"[2]. Bahādur Śāh also presented him with the canopy or *chatra,* which he had taken from the king of Māḷvā. Bahādur Śāh then instructed his officers and Mirān Muhammad, the Khāndeś *Sultān,* to escort Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh to the tent erected. An entertainment programme was arranged when Bahādur Śāh seated both Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh and Mirān Muhammad on chairs of gold in front of him. He presented Burhāṇ with five horses, two elephants and twelve fighting deer. Bahādur Śāh and Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh then played *caūgān* or the game of polo. Sayyad Ali says that Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh exhibited such skill in the game that Bahādur Śāh was highly pleased. Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh now made valuable offerings to

1. From Sayyad Ali's account it appears that the meeting between Burhan Nizam Shah and Bahadur Shah took place after Bahadur Shah returned to his country subsequent to his conquest of Malwa. This does not appear to be true. Bahadur Shah stayed for a long time at Burhanpur at the invitation of Miran Muhammad after the conclusion of his Malwa campaign on his way to Gujarat. It was during his stay at Burhanpur and before his return to Gujarat, that he invited Burhan Nizam Shah to meet him.

2. It is, however, difficult to accept the version that the Nizamshahi Sultans of Ahmadnagar, who assumed all the titles and insignia of royalty as early as 1490, should have so late as 1531, sought and obtained the confirmation of their sovereignty from a distant ruler of almost equal dignity.

Bahādur Śāh but the latter accepted only a copy of the *Qorāṇ*, a sword, four elephants and two horses. The account further says that the *Sultān* of Gujarāt then conferred all the Deccan country on Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh. Bahādur Śāh who was very pleased with the performance of Śāh Tāhīr used every effort to persuade him to accept services under him. Śāh Tāhīr, however, refused and returned along with Burhāṇ Nizām Sāh to Ahmadnagar. On his way to Ahmadnagar, Burhāṇ visited Daulatābād to pay his respects to the shrines of holy men who were buried there. He was met at Daulatābād by his son and ministers and the envoys of Bijāpūr and Goḷconḍā. Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh conferred the titles of Latif Khān and Pratāp Rāi, respectively on two of his officers Khvājā Ibrāhīm and Sābājī Cīṭṇīs who had preceded him to Burhāṇpūr to arrange for his reception there[1]. Burhāṇ, who had now left the management of kingdom in the able hands of Kānhū Narsī, started on an expedition in the Koṅkaṇ and the western ghāṭs. He reduced about thirty forts in the region. He forced the Marāṭhā chiefs to pay the tribute which they had not done since the death of Malik Ahmad Nizām Śāh.

In 1531 Ismāīl Ādil Śāh demanded the cession of Kalyaṇī and Kandhār from Amir Barīd. Amir Barīd appealed to Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh for aid against Ismāīl Ādil. Burhāṇ dispatched an insolent communication to Ismāīl Ādil commanding him to desist from this demand. To this letter Ismāīl Ādil gave a stinging reply humiliating Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh for accepting the suzerainty of Gujarāt and using the secondhand and the soiled insignia of Māḷvā. Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh declared war with Bijāpūr and marched upon Umrazpūr. Accompanied by Barīd Śāh, he then invaded the territory of the Bijāpūr kingdom. They were, however, completely routed by Asad Khān Lārī, the Bijāpūr general, near Naḷdurg. Burhāṇ fled precipitately to Ahmadnagar leaving all his baggage behind and losing four thousand men killed in action.[2] In 1532 Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh and Ismāīl Ādil Śāh met and decided to divide the Deccan between themselves. Ādil Śāh, who already claimed Bidar, was permitted to annex Goḷconḍā whereas Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh's claim to Berār was confirmed. The scheme, however, did not materialise as Ismāīl Ādil died in 1534[3].

Sayyad Ali gives information about the attack on a number of strongholds by Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh at about this time. The first was the capture of the fort of Gāḷṇā in the territory of

1. Sayyad Ali informs us that some historians have stated that Bahadur Shah and Burhan Shah met in a village near Daulatabad. The meeting according to these historians was brought about not by Shah Tahir but by Khwaja Ibrahim Dabir and Sabaji. They were now honoured with these titles, respectively. Sayyad Ali however vouchsafes for his account.

2. Sayyad Ali conveniently avoids to mention this ignominious defeat of Burhan Nizam Shah at the hands of the Bijapur general Asad Khan Lari.

3. Ismail was succeeded by his eldest son Mallu Khan. He was, however, soon deposed and his younger brother succeeded him under the title of Ibrahim Adil Shah I.

**CHAPTER 3.**

**The Nizamshahi of Ahmadnagar.**

BURHAN NIZAM SHAH.

Rājā Baharjī of Bāglāṇa. The second was the siege of Murhir or Mulher fort. The commandant of the fort was Bahirdaraṇā. He was the feudatory of the *Sultān* of Gujarāt. He wrote to him for help when the fort was under siege by Burhāṇ. The *Sultān* of Gujarāt strongly protested and Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh had to raise the siege. On his way back to Ahmadnagar he was met by Ratan Khān, the brother of Makhdūm Khvājā Jahān, the commandant of Pareṇḍā. Ratan Khān complained about the ill-treatment meted out to him by his brother and requested Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh to punish Khvājā Jahān. Accordingly Burhāṇ attacked the fort and reduced it. Khvājā Jahān went over to Ismāīl Ādil Śāh and came back to attack Pareṇḍā with a large force. Burhāṇ deputed two of his officers Hasan Khān and Daulat Khān to oppose Khvājā Jahān. Initially they suffered reverses but ultimately Khvājā Jahān was defeated and fled to Gujarāt. After a few years, Khvājā Jahān regained the favour of Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh and was reappointed to the command of Pareṇḍā.

It was at this time that Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh accepted the *Śiāh* faith. He was encouraged to do so by his minister, Śāh Tāhīr, who was himself a *Śiāh* Divine. A great discourse was arranged between Śāh Tāhīr and the *Sunnī Maulavīs* of the court, prominent among whom were *Maulanā* Pīr Muhammad, Śaikh Jāfar, *Maulanā* Abdul Avval, *Qajī* Zainul Abidin and *Qajī* Wilāyat Ambar. The *Maulavīs* were defeated in the discourse and as they could not find any arguments they started abusing. They even rebuked Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh for having accepted the *Śiāh* faith. The result was the execution of *Maulavī Qajī* Ambar and the infliction of severe penalties upon the rest[1].

Burhān now appointed Śāh Tāhīr as his *Vakil* and *Peśva* and at his instigation substituted the names of the *Imāms* for those of the *Sāhibās* in the public prayers. He changed the colour of his canopy and standards to green. He also settled pensions on persons to revile and curse the three first *Khaliphas* and their followers in mosques and in the streets. This caused much discontent and disaffection among the *Sunnīs* who revolted under the leadership of *Maulanā* Pīr Muhammad. Pīr Muhammad collected a force of 12,000. He decided to depose Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh and place on the throne his son Mirān Abdul Kādir. The news was conveyed to Śāh Tāhīr by the head of the cavalry division of the Nizāmśāhī army, Husain Abdāl Rumī. Śāh Tāhīr informed Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh of the happenings and advised him to break the revolt of Pīr Muhammad. Accordingly, Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh dispatched Javil Khān *Sarpardādār* to counter

---

[1]. Sayyad Ali boastfully but quite wrongly states that the acceptance of the *Shiah* faith by Burhan Nizam Shah led to the spread of the doctrine in the neighbouring kingdoms and Adil Shah and Qutb Shah accepted the *Shiah* faith. As a matter of fact the Sultans of these two kingdoms were staunch supporters of the *Shiah* faith.

Pīr Muhammad. There was no fight as most of the adherents deserted Pīr Muhammad. Pīr Muhammad was made a prisoner and confined to the fort of Pālī.

BURHAN NIZAM SHAH.

The neighbouring states of Gujarāt, Khāndeś and Bijāpūr[1] naturally took an affront due to the suppression of the *Sunnī* sect in the Ahmadnagar kingdom. They decided to invade the kingdom of Ahmadnagar and divide it among themselves. Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh, however, compromised with the *Sultāns* of Gujarāt and Khāndeś. He employed in his service all the *Śiāhs* disbanded by Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh and invaded Bijāpūr. According to one account Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh captured one hundred elephants and some pieces of cannon and returned to Ahmadnagar. This gave an opportunity to the enemies of Asad Khān Lārī to encompass his downfall by accusing him of complicity with Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh. Asad Khān fled to Beḷgāṅv. He was innocent of the charge of complicity levelled against him. Taking advantage of these dissensions in the Bijāpūr court, Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh invited Amir Alī Barīd and both of them attacked the Bijāpūr territory, at the same time spreading a lie that Asad Khān had invited them both[2]. Śolāpūr and its five and half districts were subjugated and made over to Khvājā Jahān Dakhanī. The allies then moved against Beḷgāṅv and captured it. They then marched towards Bijāpūr spreading devastation as far as the capital. Asad Khān had joined the allies with 6,000 troops to save his territory from destruction. He tried to convince his master that his joining the allies was a mere ruse. But Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh refused to listen and fled to Gulburgā. Asad Khān now wrote to Daryā Imād Śāh of Berār explaining his position and appealing for help to repel the aggression of Burhāṇ and Amir Alī Barīd[3]. Daryā Imād Śāh sent considerable reinforcements. Asad Khān now joined the Berār troops. He left the allied army. To prevent the junction of the army led by Asad Khān and Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh the allies raised the siege of Bijāpūr and marched to Gulbargā. They were, however, defeated near Gulburgā and forced to retreat. They were hotly pursued by the Berār and Bijāpūr armies. Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh and Amir Alī Barīd fled to Daulatābād, leaving Ahmadnagar to be invested by the Berār and Bijāpūr troops. Amir Alī Barīd died at Daulatābād. Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh purchased peace by the retrocession of Śolāpūr and agreeing never again to molest Bijāpūr. [4]A and [4]B

1. Ibrahim Adil Shah I on his accession followed the *Sunni* faith. He was the first of the Sultans of Bijapur to do so.

2. Sayyad Ali falsely accuses Asad Khan of complicity with Burhan Nizam Shah.

3. Sayyad Ali informs that Darya Imad Shah on the invitation of Burhan Nizam Shah joined the latter in this campaign. But he did not like the aggressive policy of Burhan Nizam Shah and as soon as he received the appeal for help from Asad Khan, he deserted the Ahmadnagar camp.

4-A. The following is the account given by Ferishta about the episode of Asad Khan:—

In the year 949, dissensions arose at the court of Beejapoor between Assud Khan of Belgam and his master, Ibrahim Adil Shah. Boorhan Nizam

**CHAPTER 3.**

**The Nizam-shahi of Ahmadnagar.**

BURHAN NIZAM SHAH.

In 1543, Sultān Qulī Qutb Śāh of Goḷconḍā who was ninety years old was murdered by his son Jamśīd. Jamśīd now ascended the throne. Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh sent his minister Śāh Tāhīr to congratulate Jamśīd Qutb Śāh but with the covert intention of forming an alliance between Ahmadnagar, Goḷconḍā and Vijayanagar against the kingdom of Bijāpūr. The alliance was concluded and in 1543 the allies marched against Bijāpūr. Ibrāhīm bought over Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh and Sadāśivrāya of Vijayanagar and easily defeated Jamśīd Qutb Śāh. The confederacy was renewed next year and Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh again attacked Bijāpūr. Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh moved from Bijāpūr to oppose him. Both the armies lay encamped on the opposite banks of the river Bhīmā.

The account of the confrontation between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpūr given by Sayyad Ali differs considerably from the one given in this chapter. Sayyad Ali's account is obviously wrong. A brief summary of that account is given below: 'Asad Khān was instrumental in creating enmity between Burhāṇ and Ibrāhīm. Both prepared for war. Burhāṇ appealed for help to Malik Barīd and his brother Khān Jahān. Malik Barīd joined Burhāṇ at Kalamb. A battle was fought near Arjān in which Ain-ul-Mulk Kanānī, a former nobleman of Burhāṇ but now in the

*contd.*

A. H. 949 A. D. 1542. Shah, taking advantage of this circumstance, invited Ameer Bereed Shah of Bidur to a coalition; at the same time he promulgated a report, that Assud Khan had, in conformity with his religious feelings invited those two monarchs into the kingdom, and promised to give up Belgam to Boorhan Nizam Shah. Although there was not the slightest truth in this story it was sedulously spread by the enemies of Beejapoor, and so successfully as to poison the King's mind more than ever against his minister. Boorhan Nizam Shah having marched to Sholapoor, he seized on and made over to Khwaja Jehan Deccany the five and a half districts, and then proceeding to Belgam, took possession of it and plundered the towns that did not submit to his authority. Assud Khan used all his exertions to induce the King to march against the enemy, but he was apprehensive of treachery; and to such a height were their mutual jealousies carried that Assud Khan saw no security but that of going over to Boorhan Nizam Shah. He joined him accordingly with six thousand troops attached to his person, and Boorhan Nizam Shah marched direct to Beejapoor. Ibrahim Adil Shah, deprived of his minister, and without confidence in those around him, deserted his capital, and took shelter at Koolburga, till the arrival of a reinforcement under Imad Shah. The proximity of the Berar army to that of Boorhan Nizam Shah, a short time afterwards enabled Assud Khan to quit the side he had espoused, and to unite himself with the ally of his country. Assud Khan no sooner joined the Berar army than Boorhan Nizam Shah retreated towards Ahmudnuggur, whither he was pursued by the allied forces of Berar and Beejapoor; and being compelled, in his turn, to quit his capital and to leave it a prey to the invaders, he took post in the strong fortress of Dowlutabad. At this place Ameer Bereed Shah of Bidur dying, Boorhan Nizam Shah concluded a peace, and restored to Ibrahim Adil Shah the five and a half districts of Sholapoor, (Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, pp. 229-30.)

[4]B. Sayyad Ali conveniently avoids to give the account of the battle. He points out that the war between Ahmadnagar and Bijapur came to a close due to the intercession of Darya Imad Shah and Bijapur agreed to cede the *peths* of Parenda to Burhan Nizam Shah.

Sayyad Ali gives some other interesting details of the campaign. Burhan had in his employ Sayyad *Umadat-ul-Mulk*, Khairat Khan *sarnobat* and his two younger brothers Hasan Khan and Daulat Khan. Burhan suspected treachery in regard to *Umadat-ul-Mulk* and Khairat Khan who left the camp on the pretext of attacking the Bijapuris. Khairat Khan was arrested and blinded whereas *Umadat-ul-Mulk* took asylum with Darya Imad Shah. Sayyad Ali also informs that at this time another noble of Burhan, Ain-ul-Mulk Kanani deserted to *Imad-ul-Mulk* with his troops. This forced Burhan Nizam Shah to seek peace.

service of Ādil Śāh, was killed. Burhāṇ's officer Rāma Śivdev was also killed in the battle of Arjān. Burhāṇ then marched towards Śolāpūr, besieged and captured the fort. He then retired to Ahmadnagar.

BURHAN NIZAM SHAH.

Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh now thought of recapturing the fort of Śolāpūr. He collected his forces and besieged the fort. Burhāṇ Nizām dispatched his army to oppose the Bijāpurīs. Daily skirmishes used to take place between the opposing armies. One day 40 nobles of Ahmadnagar army among whom were Aśraf Khān, Firoz Khān, Śaikh Miyān Afghāṇ, Śaikh Khamis, Sayyad Muhammad Kāsim, Miyān Tund, Khiljī Khān, Pashad Khān, Anvar Citā Khān, Aziz-ul-mulk, Sayyad Ibrāhīm and Sayyad Ovīs, while on a reconnaissance mission approached the Bijāpūr camp. They were attacked by Kadam Khān and Mustafā Khān of the Bijāpūr army with a force of 3,000. In the thick of the battle Ikhlās Khān of the Nizāmśāhī army with 50 troopers reached the scene of battle and attacking a Bijāpurī contingent under Kābul Khān defeated it. Ādil Śāh now raised the siege and retired to Bijāpūr. Sometime after this, Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh marched against Śolāpūr and besieged it. To force Ibrāhīm to raise the siege, Burhāṇ collected an army, and marched to relieve Śolāpūr. Every day battles were fought between the opposing armies. Bahādur Khān and Pīr Muhammad of the Ahmadnagar army distinguished themselves in these battles. Pīr Muhammad, however, fell into the hands of Bijāpurīs. Burhāṇ appointed Muśir-ul-Mulk Afghāṇ to attack the Bijāpurīs. Firoz Khān was his second in command. However, on being told by the latter of laxity on the part of Muśir-ul-Mulk Burhāṇ appointed Allādāl Daulat Khān in his place. Daulat Khān later convinced Burhāṇ of the valour of Muśir-ul-Mulk who was again reinstated to his former post. The Bijāpurīs under the command of Nūr Khān now attacked the Ahmadnagar forces but were signally defeated by Kāmil Khān, Śujāt Khān, Ajdahā Khān and Daulat Khān. Once again disappointed, Ibrāhīm Ādil raised the siege and retired to Bijāpūr.

A few months after, Burhāṇ decided to form an alliance with Imād Śāh, Barīd Śāh and Qutb Śāh against Bijāpūr. He sent a message to Imād Śāh to this effect and directed Śāh Tāhir to proceed to Bidar to persuade Barīd to join the projected alliance. Śāh Tāhir was insulted by Khān Jahān, the brother of Barīd Śāh. Barīd, however, promised to join hands with Burhāṇ. Śāh Tāhir left for Telaṅgaṇa (Goḷconḍā). He succeeded in bringing Qutb Śāh to the side of his master. Burhāṇ, accompanied by Imād Śāh and Barīd Śāh invaded the Bijāpūr territory and marched towards the capital. The advanced train of artillery of the Ahmadnagar army was attacked by the Bijāpurīs. They were repulsed. Burhāṇ besieged Bijāpūr but was, however, informed of the futility of the siege. Asad Khān promised to hand over the fort of Belgāṅv to Burhaṇ Nizām Śāh. Accordingly, Burhāṇ raised the siege of Bijāpūr and marched towards Miraj. Here he got the news of the death of Asad Khān and the occupation of

CHAPTER 3.

The Nizamshahi of Ahmadnagar.

BURHAN NIZAM SHAH.

Belgāṅv by Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh. Burhāṇ therefore, turned towards Panhālā and laid siege to it. One of the Nizāmśāhī officers, Rājan Mahāldār was killed in action. As reduction of the fort was found impossible, Burhāṇ raised the siege and marched against the fort of Payin which he subjugated. He then moved towards Sātārā and invested it. In the meanwhile, news was received of the march of Ibrāhīm with a large force. In the battle fought in the neighbourhood of Sātārā the Nizāmśāhī troops were routed. Burhāṇ therefore retired to the Bālāghāṭ and camped there. A contingent of Bijāpurīs sent to attack the camp, was defeated by Dilāvar Khān and Dānayyā. Burhāṇ now moved to the banks of the Pār river. A great battle was fought on the banks of this river. The Ādilśāhī troops were defeated. Ādil Śāh fled the battle-field leaving behind, his horses, elephants and treasure. Burhāṇ then returned to Ahmadnagar.

Soon after, Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh reorganised his army and decided to attack Śolāpūr. He was joined by Barīd Śāh. The allies marched and besieged the fort of Śolāpūr. Burhāṇ also marched towards Śolāpūr. He was joined by Imād Śāh. The siege was continued with the utmost vigour. There ensued a scarcity of grain and forage in the region. The approach of the rainy season put the army of Ahmadnagar in difficult straits. Burhāṇ therefore wrote to Barīd Śāh to desert the Bijāpurī camp. The request was bluntly refused. Barīd Śāh on the contrary, advised Burhāṇ to hand over the fort of Śolāpūr to Ibrāhīm. He, however, promised that he would join Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh next year to invest the fort. Imād Śāh also was of the same view. Burhāṇ, then, handed over the fort of Śolāpūr to Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh and retired to Ahmadnagar.'

After three months, when the rainy season was over, Ibrāhīm crossed the river and attacked the Ahmadnagar troops at Arjān. He routed them completely, capturing 250 elephants and 170 cannons and tumbrils. Burhāṇ now sent his trusted minister Śāh Tāhīr to Barīd Śāh to appeal for help. Śāh Tāhīr was insulted and dismissed from the court by Alī Barīd. Śāh Tāhīr spat vengeance when he left Bidar. Immediately after, Burhāṇ invaded the kingdom of Bidar. He first invested the fort of Ausā. Barīd Śāh sought the help of Bijāpūr and promised to cede the fort of Kalyāṇī. With the arrival of reinforcements from Bijāpūr, Alī Barīd forced Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh to raise the siege. The allies were, however, defeated in an engagement which took place about four miles from Kalyāṇī. Ausā now capitulated to Burhāṇ. From Ausā, Burhāṇ marched to Udgīr and Kandhār both of which fell to him. Burhāṇ inflicted another defeat on the allies at Kandhār where they lost considerably in the engagement. Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh then returned to the capital[1].

1. Sayyad Ali states that throughout this campaign Darya Imad Shah was with Burhan Nizam Shah.

At this time a conspiracy was formed in Bijāpūr. Its aim was to depose Ibrāhīm and put his brother Abdullāh on the throne. Discovering the plot, Ibrāhīm executed the conspirators. Suspicion fell on Asad Khān also. He retired to Belgāṅv. A few of the conspirators and Asad Khān had already approached Burhāṇ for his support in the plot to overthrow Ibrāhīm. Burhāṇ now entered into a league with Jamśīd Qutb Śāh. Both of them marched against the fort of Belgāṅv. But Asad Khān refused to join them in their expedition and stoutly defended the fort. Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh and Qutb Śāh were subsequently forced to retire. In about 1546-47 Śāh Tāhīr died when on a mission to Daryā Imād Śāh. Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh appointed, Kāsim Beg Hakim and Bhopālrāi in place of Śāh Tāhīr.[1]

Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh entered into a league with Sadāśivrāya of Vijayanagar, against Bijāpūr and its ally Bidar. He, then invested and besieged Śolāpūr. The fort was too strong to be captured. Burhāṇ, therefore, raised the siege and marched against Kalyāṇī which was besieged. On hearing of the news, Ibrāhīm Ādil marched to relieve it. While encamped near Kalyāṇī, he was attacked by Burhāṇ and fled towards Bīḍ and Pareṇḍā leaving his tents, baggage and artillery in Burhāṇ's hands. Kalyāṇī capitulated without further opposition. Ibrāhīm, who had fled the field of battle suddenly appeared before Pareṇḍā and captured it. Putting one of his officers in command he devastated the surrounding territory and levied heavy contribution. On hearing of the approach of Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh who was within 40 miles from Pareṇḍā, Ibrāhīm Ādil retired to Bijāpūr. The new commandant of the fortress of Pareṇḍā mistook the buzzing of a gnat for the sound of Burhāṇ's trumpets and fled. The fort was occupied by Ahmadnagar troops three days after his flight. As stated earlier the fort was handed over to Khvājā Jahān whose daughter was married to Mirān Śāh Haider, the son of Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh.

In the year 1552 Burhāṇ, once again in league with Sadāśivrāya of Vijayanagar, attacked the Bijāpūr territory. The Rāicūr *doāb* was subjugated by the allies and then as arranged Burhān Nizām Śāh marched to the siege of the fort of Śolāpur. The fort capitulated after a siege of three months[2]. Both Sadāśivrāya and Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh then retired to their respective territories. In 1553 the allies again invaded the Bijāpūr territory and besieged Bijāpūr. Ibrāhīm unable to withstand the aggressors,

[1] Sayyad Ali states that Bhopalrai was in the employ of Ali Barid. He visited the court of Burhan Nizam Shah on some assignment. Burhan Nizam Shah enlisted him in his service and appointed him to the command of the fort of Kalyani.

[2] At the time of the siege, the fort was bombarded by the Ahmadnagar artillery but with no effect. Burhan Nizam Shah thought of punishing the officer in command of artillery, Rumi Khan, but was prevented from doing so by prince Miran Abdul Kadir and other nobles. Subsequently Rumi Khan vowed to capture the fort within 12 days and by strenuous efforts succeeded in reducing the fort. During the siege, a nobleman of Burhan Nizam Shah, Saif *Ain-ul-Mulk* defected to Adil Shah.

**CHAPTER 3.**

**The Nizamshahi of Ahmadnagar.**

BURHAN NIZAM SHAH.

retired to Panhāḷā[1]. While the siege was in progress Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh fell sick. He returned to Ahmadnagar where he died on 30th December 1553.

The whole reign of Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh was full of wars with the neighbouring kingdoms. The territorial aspirations of the succession states of the Bahamanī kingdom brought them into conflicts with each other. The numerous alliances made and broken, speaks of lack of foresight and unity of purpose amongst these succession states. The Portuguese chronicles of the time speak very highly of Burhāṇ Nizām and praise his great political sagacity. Yet, in fact the country suffered and vast regions were laid waste, time and again. The kingdom of Ahmadnagar expanded its territory during the long reign of Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh, but at a heavy cost in men and material. Sayyad Ali gives very interesting statistics of the forts in possession of Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh which may prove of great value in demarcating the boundaries of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. They were Rola Chola, Kanchtan, Katra, Anki, Kondana[2], Purandar[3], Rohida, Kheddurg, Alang Karang[4], Ramsej,

---

[1] Sayyad Ali says that Ibrahim Adil Shah was besieged in the fort of Bijapur.

[2] A brief description of the fort is given below.—

Sinhagad or Kondhana Fort (18° 22′ N., 73° 46′ E.; ht. 4,320 ft.), about fifteen miles south-west of Poona, stands on one of the prominent points of the Sinhagada-Bhuleshwar range nearly 2,300 ft. above the Poona plain. The fort is approached irregularly by difficult pathways and regularly by two gates on the north-east and south-east. The north-east or Poona gate is at the end of a winding ascent up the profile of a steep rocky spur; the easier Kalyan or Kondana gate of a less difficult ascent is guarded by three gateways all strongly fortified and each commanding the other. The fortifications, which consist of a strong stone wall flanked with towers, enclose a nearly triangular space about two miles round. The north face of the fort is naturally very strong; the south one is the weakest. The triangular plateau within the walls commands a splendid view on all sides, has several bungalows and is used as a health resort. It is being developed into a national park.

[3] A brief description of the fort is given below—

Purandar (18° 17′ N., 73° 52′ E.; ht. 4,545 ft.), is a famous fortified hill about 25 miles south of Poona and about six miles south-west of Sasvad from where a very fair road leads to the foot of the Purandar hill. Adjoining Purandar on the east and connected by the Bhairav Khind, is Vajragad or Rudramala (4,422 ft.), a minor fort.

The formation of Purandar is varied by two risings. The higher one, which is crowned by the Kedaresvar temple, forms the upper fort of Purandar, while on its northern face, 300 ft. below the temple and more than 1,000 ft. above the plain, runs a level terrace on which stands the military cantonment, flanked on the east by the barracks and on the west by the hospital. The northern edge of the terrace is defended by a low wall with several semicircular bastions and a gate flanked by two towers. This is called the *Machi* (terrace fort). From the foot of the hill the ascent is led by an easy wide road, which, passing by the cantonment and hospital, runs towards the upper fort and ends in a flight of rude stone steps reaching the Delhi Gate, the entrance to the main fort. Now there is a regular motorable road winding up the fort. The inner citadel or the *bale killa* is reached by a footpath. Both forts have a number of tanks cut into the rock, some of them half sub-terranean cisterns, with rock-cut steps leading down.

[4] Kulang and Alang on the Ahmadnagar frontier about 16 km. (ten miles) south-east of Igatpuri station, are two miles (3·21 km.) distant from each other; Alang being almost entirely in the Ahmadnagar district. Their tops are inaccessible, the old way of approach having been destroyed. The two blocks are separated by the smaller mass of Madangad. Though Alang can be climbed, the path is not only difficult but dangerous at places. The crags in this range are perhaps the steepest and hardly afford foothold for any but the smallest brushwood.

Aundhatya, Markoda, Kohij, Bola, Haholi, Trimbak[1], Anjir, Bhorap, Karkara, Haris, Jivdhan, Antur, Galna, Chander, Rajder, Pali, Ratnagir, Dhorapwanki[2], Vanjarai, Alahwant, Sholapur,

[1] A brief description of the fort is given below—

Trimbak fort, which is 4,248 feet (1,294·80 metres) above the sea, is described in 1818 as on a scarp so high and inaccessible as to be impregnable by any army or artillery, however numerous or well served. The hill was ten miles (16 km.) round the base and about four miles (6·43 km.) round the top. The scarp, which varied in height from two to four hundred feet (60·96 to 121·92 metres) of perpendicular rock, surrounded the hill in every part, leaving no points except two gateways. The chief gateway through which the garrison received their stores and provisions was on the south. The north gateway was only a single gate, the passage to which was by narrow steps cut out of the rock, and wide enough for only one person at a time. This passage was cut four to six feet (1·21 to 1·82 metres) in the rock, and had nearly 300 steps, each furnished with side grooves or niches. These grooves were required to hold on by, as at half way up and after, it was hazardous to look back down the cliff which had 600 to 700 feet (182·88 to 213·36 metres) of a sheer drop. The top was surmounted by a building through which a six feet (1·82 metres) wide passage wound about twenty feet (6 metres) in the rock. The mouth was protected by a double gateway, from which the further ascent was through a hatchway. These winding stairs were covered by the building whose beams crossed the stairs overhead, and which, if knocked down, would only add strength to the place by burying the passage gateway. The head of this passage was defended by two towers connected by a curtain, in which was the gateway. The height of the hill was not so great on the north as on the south side, but it rose more abruptly and the ascent was steeper. Besides the gateways there were a few towers and works on different parts of the hill, but their position did not seem to have been chosen with a view to increase the strength of the fortress. The magazines and almost all the houses of the garrison were cut in the rock.

At the foot of the scarp, and at a short distance from the passage leading to the north gate, was an old village in ruins. The fort has now broad rock cut steps leading up the top.

[2]. A brief description of the fort is given below—

Dhodap fort, (4,741 feet = 1,445 metres) about fifteen miles (24 km.) north-west of Chandor, is the highest and most prominent hill in the Ajanta or Chandor range. It stands out from the rest, distinguished by its deeply-cleft level top and lofty tower-like peak at the eastern corner. It has also this peculiarity that its shape is the same whether viewed from the north or the south side, and it forms a conspicuous feature in the distant landscape both from Nasik and Sinnar on the one side, from Kalvan and Satana on the other. It is approached by two paths, one from the south leading straight from the Chandor to the Machi, a little village below the defensible works of the fort, and the other from Otur, a large village on the north or Kalvan side, at the foot of one of the lower spurs of the system which culminates in Dhodap peak. The latter is the easier, but has the disadvantage of being considerably the longer, Leaving Otur to the west, the path winds up along gentle grassy slope and after a short distance the first scarp is reached. Continuing the path along the north slope of the hill, the bed of a small torrent is reached, across which there seems once to have been thrown a rough outwork, the first trace of fortifications. At the top of the scarp, which is ill-defined towards the north and north-east, is a large level space of rocky ground covered with a thin coating of soil. Following the path southwards for about half a mile the outer gate of the lower fortified portion is reached, a strong building flanked by walls running on each side to the upper and lower scarp, respectively. From this point the upper scarp presents the appearance of a smooth wall of basalt, the south-eastern corner alone being somewhat jagged and broken. The path follows the line of the hill southwards under some very fair mango trees, with an undergrowth of corinda, and after about three quarters of a mile or rather more, the second gate of the outer line of defence is reached, of more solid construction than the first. Within this is the little village of about 170 inhabitants.

To ascend the fort, the entrance to which is imperceptible from the village, a path is followed which zigzags up a steep slope to a bare wall of black rock cut into steps in two places. These being surmounted, a double gate is reached in a series of bastions and walls called the *khandari* or outworks. The actual fort is still at a considerable height above, and way re-commences its tortuous course up a second slope, variied with projecting slabs of bare rock. At last the real entrance to the fort is attained. This is a completely hidden passage cut in the living rock with two towers in it, and concealed by an outer wall of solid rock and in its upper portion, by passing through a tunnel. Two illegible inscriptions in Persian character are cut on the rock near the doorway, one of them is recording the name of the builder of the fort.

CHAPTER 3. The Nizamshahi of Ahmadnagar.

BURHAN NIZAM SHAH.

Parenda[1], Kandhar, Ausa[2], Kalyani, Manikpunj, Kodeval, Ketra, Wodhera, Erka, Satonda, Talmal, Tanker, Lohogad, Moranjan, Kawani, Berwadi, Karnala, Sanksa, Morkel, Anus, Hatka, Tawakya, Talamwat Vetala, Koldevhir, Rajdevhir, Bhaisagir and Trimbak Vanesa.

*contd.*

On emerging from the passage, the first sight that presents itself is the peak, still towering perpendicularly at a height of three to four hundred feet (91·44 to 141·92 metres) above the gateway. To the right of the gateway facing east, is the *sadar*, or masonry apartment for the captain or *killedar* from the top of which a fine view of the Chandor range is obtained. To the south is a bastion on which was mounted a ten-pound gun, now lying on the ground. Between the court and the foot of the peak lies a grassy slope after crossing which are found remains of chambers formerly used by the residents of the fort for various purposes. These are cut in the living rock of the highest part of the hills. Beyond, to the west, are the provision chambers. Between these and the next cave, that of Devi, are a few small recesses, walled in with rough stone work, apparently modern, which now serve as rest-houses for mendicants and pilgrims. Immediately to the west of the Devi's cave is a rock-cut reservoir said to be unfathomable, containing excellent water. It is a peculiarity of this south face of the rocky peak that the base of the scarp inclines outwards a little from the point where it springs from the grassy slope, a formation which has been taken advantage of in building up these chambers. On the north side of the peak the strip of grass-covered and slippery ground between the base and the vertical scarp is much narrower than on the south, and the cave chambers on the former side appear to have been for the gunners and soldiers. The summit which consists of a huge mass of rock nearly precipitous for half its height and then conical, rises about 400 feet (121·92 metres) above the level plateau on which the main portion of the fort was situated, and is all but inaccessible. Leaving the peak, the western side is perhaps the most extraordinary feature of the fort. A wall of basalt juts for some 300 to 400 yards (274·32 to 365·76 metres) from the base of the peak. Its top is fairly level, and its sides, some 200 to 300 feet (60·96 to 91·44 metres) high, appear to be sheer precipices presenting scarcely a crack or inequality. The wall is in no place more than perhaps thirty feet (9·14 metres) wide and is inaccessible from every side except the fort. Wherever the precipice below the peak is a little less perpendicular than usual, or presents irregularities which might be taken advantage of by an escalading force, there are built walls with loopholes and bastions, which extend along a considerable portion of the east, north-east, and north sides of the fort. The height of the peak is 4,741 feet (1,445 metres) above the sea level. There is a trigonometrical base-mark just at the starting point of the basaltic wall, from which observations were taken a few years ago connecting this hill with the fort of Ankai-Tankai to the south-east, Ramsej and Anjaneri to the south and south-west, and the huge mass of Salher (5,263) to the north.

[1]. A brief description of the fort is given below :—

The only object of attraction of the town is the fort of Parenda known to have been built by Mahmud Gawan the prime minister of Muhammad Shah Bahamani II. The fort is a solid construction of the mediaeval age, its rampart walls being fortified by 26 strong rounded bastions, two of which flank the main entrance on the northern side. Further it has a protective moat or *khandak* around connected with the fort by a cement bridge. Now the *khandak* for the most part is filled up with silt. It is curious that some of the stones employed in the construction of the fort bear Hindu carvings and art. Some of the bastions in strategic places are mounted with huge cannons which can even be seen today, their names being Malik Maidan (Ranarajni), Ajadahapaikar (Sarprupa), Lande Kashyachi *tof* and the like. These were mostly cast by Dutch craftsmen. The fortifications for the most part as also the guard rooms and a mosque are in good order but the old town is in ruins.

[2]. A brief description of the fort is given below :—

The fort of Ausa is situated in a depression surrounded by high ground on all the sides so that from its highest point one can have a view of the approaching armies even at a great distance while the main parts of the fort remain hidden from the latter. It occupies nearly 13 acres of area and lies two miles due south of the town. Almost square in shape, the fort has a moat or *khandak* (ditch) around, nearly 36·58 metres (120 ft.) in width, now almost dry. As in the case of Kandhar fort in Nanded district, it has a glacis, a retaining wall, a covered way, a double rampart fortified further with massive bastions, which are mostly semi-circular mounted with huge cannons. At present there are no buildings of any note except for a recent *Baradari* constructed by Colonel Meadows Taylor on a circular bastion of the fortification adjoining the first inner gateway of the fort. It commands an excellent view of the

Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh had six sons—Husain, Abdul Qādir, Śāh Alī, Śāh Haider, Mirān Muhammad Bāqar and Muhammad Khudābandā.

HUSAIN NIZAM SHAH.

On the death of Burhāṇ, Husain succeeded him under the title of Husain Nizām Śāh. He was thirteen years old. Abdul Qādir fled to his father-in-law, Daryā Imād Śāh of Berār. Husain Nizām Śāh wrote to the *Sultān* of Berār reminding him of the friendly relations existing between the two kingdoms and requested him not to lend support to Abdul Qādir. Daryā Imād Śāh agreed and Abdul Qādir was asked to quit Berār. Abdul Qādir took asylum at Bijāpūr where he died shortly after. Saif Ain-ul-Mulk too deserted to Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh. The latter conferred on him the *Jāgirs* of Asad Khān Lārī. In the meanwhile news was received that Nasir-ul-Mulk, who had been kept in confinement in the fort of Koṇḍāṇā had fled. A force was sent under Śāh Muhammad against Nasir-ul-Mulk. In the action that took place Nasir-ul-Mulk was killed.

It will be recalled that the daughter of Khvājā Jahān of Pareṇḍā was married to Mirān Śāh Haider. He fled to his father-in-law and with his support claimed the throne. Husain Nizām Śāh marched against him. Khvājā Jahān fled to Bijāpūr. Husain Nizām Śāh besieged Pareṇḍā and reduced it. He then returned to Ahmadnagar.

Prince Mirān Śāh Alī was in the fort of Pālī in confinement. On the death of his father he fled to Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh, his maternal grandfather. Ibrāhīm supported Khvājā Jahān of Pareṇḍā and enforced the claim of Mirān Śāh Alī to the throne of Ahmadnagar. He sent a small force under the command of Alī to invade the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. He himself marched against Śolāpūr which he besieged. It appears that Ibrāhīm Ādil tried to seduce some of the nobles of the Ahmadnagar court. When Husain Nizām Śāh heard of this he arrested the nobles and blinded them[1]. He then sent his minister Viśvāsrāi to Daryā Imād Śāh to secure his assistance against Bijāpūr[2]. This mission succeeded and a contingent of 7,000 cavalry was sent by Daryā Imād Śāh to the assistance of Husain

---

*contd.*

fort buildings and the surrounding areas. It also affords a dim view of Latur town. There are some badly abraded Nagari inscriptions fitted into the stone masonry of the guard rooms. Besides the other buildings, there is the usual *Pani mahal* in a ruined conditions, quite a few large wells now unused, a mosque and a *dargah* of one Sayyad Sadat. It is also believed that there is an underground passage, big enough to allow an elephant to pass, leading from the fort to a commanding hillock named Sultan *tekadi*, only 3·21 km. (2 miles) off. To-day the fort for the most part is in dilapidated condition, its inside overgrown with grass and wild bushy growth infested with snakes.

1. They were Farhad Khan, Shujat Khan and Khurshid Khan. These nobles followed the *Sunni* sect and supported the *Sunni* prince Abdul Kadir.

2. Sayyad Ali states that Husain first sent Shah Rafiuddin Husain, son of Shah Tahir, to Berar to persuade Imad Shah to help him in his war against Bijapur. But Rafiuddin forgot his mission and maintained illicit relations with a lady of Imad Shah's harem. He was asked to quit the Imadshahi kingdom by Darya Imad Shah.

CHAPTER 3.

The Nizamshahi of Ahmadnagar.

HUSAIN NIZAM SHAH.

Nizām Śāh.[1] Husain Nizām Śāh now marched to relieve the siege of Śolāpūr. Saif Ain-ul-Mulk was sent by Ādil Śāh to oppose the force. He badly mauled the Ahmadnagar army. It was falsely reported to Ibrāhīm Ādil that Ain-ul-Mulk had rejoined the services of Ahmadnagar. This news unnerved Ibrāhīm and he fled the battlefield. Victory thus declared for Husain Nizām Śāh. Ain-ul-Mulk too withdrew from the field to join his master. Ibrāhīm hastened his retreat thinking that Ain-ul-Mulk was pursuing him. All assurances by Ain-ul-Mulk failed to satisfy Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh who told him that his services were no longer required. Ain-ul-Mulk now turned rebel, but was defeated and took refuge with Husain Nizām. Husain Nizām Śāh had Saif Ain-ul-Mulk and most of his followers assassinated.

In the year 1558, Husain Nizām Śāh and Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh entered into a league and conspired to capture Gulburgā and Bidar. Their combined forces invaded the kingdom of Bijāpūr and laid siege to Gulburgā. The siege operations were conducted by Rumī Khān, Mādhorām, Śāh Hasan Añjū, Gajnafar Khān, Daulat Khān, Nizām Khān, Miyān Makhdūm and others. The garrison, however, fought stubbornly and withstood the siege. In the meanwhile, Alī Ādil Śāh who had succeeded his father on the latter's death in 1558 appealed to Sadāśivrāya of Vijayanagar for help. Sadāśivrāya persuaded Qutb Śāh who was a *Śiāh* to desist from attacking Alī Ādil Śāh who was also a *Śiāh* and succeeded in separating him from his alliance with Husain Nizām Śāh. Qutb Śāh agreed and retired to his kingdom. Husain Nizām Śāh was forced to raise the siege. He retired to Ahmadnagar. Suspecting Kāsim Beg of complicity in the whole affair, Husain imprisoned him in the fort of Pareṇḍā. Ināyatullāh Nāyatī, a colleague of Kāsim Beg, fled to Qutb Śāh for fear of his life. Husain Nizām Śāh now appointed Alī Mājindarāṇī as *Vakīl* or prime minister and Bhopālrāi as minister.

In the same year Husain Nizām Śāh was embroiled in a conflict with the Portuguese. The Portuguese had sent an envoy to the Ahmadnagar court seeking permission to build a fort at Caul. The permission was refused and the envoy was imprisoned. Husain Nizām dispatched Muhammad Ustād Niśāpurī and Rumī Khān with 3,000 troops to blockade the construction. He himself followed them. Francisco Berreto, the governor of Goā, arrived with a force of 4,000 Portuguese, aided by native troops. On this, Nizām Śāh sued for peace which was agreed to. One condition was that neither party fortified either Caul of Revdaṇḍā[2].

---

1. Sayyad Ali informs us that before the campaign against Bijapur, there was a revolt in Berar, by Tufal Khan, a noble of that court. Darya Imad Shah, unable to suppress him appealed to Husain Nizam Shah for help. Husain Nizam Shah sent a force accompanied by Farhad Khan, Ranyabahar Khan, Miyan Salar, Daulat Khan and others. With their help Darya Imad Shah succeeded in breaking the rebellion of Tufal Khan who fled to Burhanpur.

2. Sayyad Ali states that shortly before this campaign Husain Nizam Shah captured the forts of Galna and Antur by defeating their chiefs, Danayya Rui Rai and Baharji, respectively. It was also in this year that Saif *Ain-ul-Mulk* was treacherously murdered by Husain Nizam Shah.

HUSAIN NIZAM SHAH.

When the conflict with the Portuguese was in progress, Alī Ādil Śāh pressed for the cession of Śolāpūr and Kalyāṇī. But Husain Nizām Śāh steadfastly refused to handover the fortresses. Alī Ādil Śāh then formed an alliance with Sadāśivrāya of Vijayanagar and Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh of Goḷconḍā. Husain Nizām Śāh made overtures to Daryā Imād Śāh. Both the *Sultāns* met at Sonpet (later named *Iśratābād*) and signed a treaty of friendship which was further cemented by the marriage of the daughter of Daryā Imād Śāh, Daulat Śāh Begam with Husain Nizām Śāh.

The allies now sent a peremptory communication to Husain Nizām Śāh demanding the cession of Śolāpūr and Kalyāṇī. On the refusal of Husain Nizām Śāh, the allies marched with a huge army against Ahmadnagar. Husain fled to Paiṭhaṇ and appealed to the *Sultāns* of Khāndeś, Berār and Bidar for assistance. Khān Jahān, the brother of Barīd Śāh, who was in the service of Imād Śāh persuaded the latter against sending any help to Husain Nizām. He himself marched with 6,000 troops towards the Ahmadnagar frontier. He was, however, defeated by the Ahmadnagar general Mullā Muhammad Niśāpurī. He later joined the Bijāpurīs. Upon this, Daryā Imād Śāh, sent his minister Jahāṅgīr Khān to the succour of Husain Nizām Śāh. The allies, in the meanwhile, laid waste the territory of Ahmadnagar. The rainy season was now approaching and Jahāṅgīr Khān had succeeded in cutting of the supplies of the allies. Dissensions began to appear among the allies. Qutb Śāh, jealous of the Bijāpūr king's powers, established contacts with the garrison of Ahmadnagar fort and supplied it with provision. When Sadāśivrāya asked for an explanation he deserted the allied camp one night and retired to Goḷconḍā. One of his generals stayed back and joined Husain Nizām at Paiṭhaṇ. The allies, now hard pressed, raised the siege and retreated to Aṣṭī. They sent forces to besiege Pareṇḍā. It was at this time that Bhopalrāi the commandant of the fort of Kalyāṇī handed over the fort to Ādilśāhī officers. Husain Nizām Śāh's position was none too happy and he sued for peace with Sadāśivrāya. It was granted on three conditions *viz.*, the surrender of Kalyāṇī to Alī Ādil Śāh, the execution of Jahāṅgīr Khān who had considerably harassed the allies, and the personal submission of Husain. These humiliating conditions were accepted by Husain Nizām. He ordered the execution of Jahāṅgīr Khān without hesitation. His master could do nothing to prevent the murder of his minister and sullenly retired to Berār[1].

The fort of Kalyāṇī was handed over to Alī Ādil Śāh. Husain paid a visit to Sadāśivrāya when he was made to stand and forced to kiss the hand of Sadāśivrāya. The account says that after kissing the hand of Sadāśivrāya, to insult him, Husain asked for water to wash his hands. The Vijayanagar king is reported to have said that had he (Husain Nizām Śāh) not been his guest

1. The account of these events leading to the murder of Jahangir Khan as given by Ferishta is as follows :—

Hoossein Nizam Shah, unable to cope with these forces, fled from Ahmudnuggur to Peitun, whence he deputed embassies to *Imad-ool-Moolk* in Berar, to Meeran.

CHAPTER 3.

The Nizam-shahi of Ahmadnagar.

HUSAIN NIZAM SHAH.

he would have been cut to pieces[1]. Husain Nizām Śāh then returned to Ahmadnagar. He now dismantled the old mud fort of Ahmadnagar and constructed a stronger and more spacious structure in stone in its stead. Husain Nizām Śāh had been perturbed at the loss of Kalyāṇī. On the advice of his ministers Mir Kāsīm Beg and *Maulānā* Ināyat (who had re-entered the services of Husain Nizām Śāh) he decided to enter into an alliance with Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh who had rendered him considerable help in his last war with Vijayanagar and Bijāpūr. Both the *Sultāns* met near Kalyāṇī where Husain Nizām Śāh's daughter Bibi Jamil was married to Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh. Both the *Sultāns* then led an

---

*contd.*

Moobarik Shah Farooky of Kandeish, and to Ally Bereed Shah at Bidur, soliciting each of them to march to his assistance. Khan Jehan, the brother of Ally Bereed Shah, having left Bidur some time before, had entered the service of Duria *Imad-ool-Moolk*, whom he now not only dissuaded from rendering any assistance to the king of Ahmudnuggur, but even prevailed on him to allow him to take the command of six thousand horse, and march to the frontier to attack him. This measure was, however, anticipated, and Khan Jehan was so completely defeated by a small detachment of Nizam Shahy horse, that he was ashamed to return to *Imad-ool-Moolk*, and came over to the Adil Shahy army. The allies now laid siege to Ahmudnuggur; but Ibrahim Kootb Shah, unwilling that Ally Adil Shah should add this fort to his dominions, connived at supplies passing through his camp to the garrison. At the same time, also, Moolla Inayut Oolla Nevayut, then in the Kootb Shahy service, kept up communication both with Hoossein Nizam Shah at Peitun and with the besieged. As these proceedings could not long remain secret, Ally Adil Shah and Ramraj demanded an explanation of Ibrahim Kootb Shah, who, without affording it, decamped during the night and marched to Golconda, while Moolla Inayut Oolla finding his way first into the fort, afterwards joined Hoossein Nizam Shah at Peitun. Duria *Imad-ool-Moolk*, after the defeat of Khan Jehan, by way of reparation to Hoossein Nizam Shah, sent a large force under Jehangeer Khan to join him. This division was employed to cut off the supplies of the besiegers, which soon produced a famine; and all circumstances combined to compel the allies to raise the siege and to encamp at Ashty, where it was determined to send one division of the army to Purenda, and another to Ousa and that after having secured supplies, to return to the siege of Ahmudnuggur.

Hoossein Nizam Shah, however, having deputed Kasim Beg and Moolla Inayut Oolla to Ramraj to sue for peace, it was granted on the following conditions—

First, that he should cede the fortress of Kulliany to Ally Adil Shah.

Secondly, that he should put to death Jehangeer Khan, who commanded the auxiliary troops of Duria *Imad-ool-Moolk* who had been extremely active against the enemy.

Thirdly, that Hoossein Nizam Shah should submit to pay Ramraj a visit, and to receive a *pan* from his hands.

Hoossein Nizam Shah, to save his kingdom, accepted the terms, and fulfilled the second article, by employing a band of assassins to put to death the gallant Jehangeer Khan in his tent. After having thus, at the instigation of an infidel, murdered one of the faithful, and verified the proverb, that "there is no faith in princes," he proceeded to the camp of Ramraj, who rose on his entering his tent, and took him by the hand. Hoossein Nizam Shah, who possessed great pride, called for a basin and ewer, and washed his hands, as if they had been polluted by the touch of Ramraj, who said, in his own language, "If he were not my guest I would cut "off his hands and hang them round his neck;" then calling for water, he also washed; and such were the bad feelings which prevailed, that a tumult nearly occurred on the spot. Hoossein Nizam Shah, on giving the keys of Kulliany to Ramraj, said "I give them to you as a present." Ramraj immediately sent them to Ally Adil Shah, and gave Hoossein Nizam Shah *pan*, when he returned to Ahmudnuggur without visiting Ally Adil Shah. On his arrival, he caused the fort, which was originally built of mud only, to be rebuilt with stone, and a deep ditch to be excavated around it. The treaty of peace was concluded by Kasim Beg and Moolla Inayut Oolla on the part of Hoossein Nizam Shah, and by Venkatadry and Yeltumraj on the part of Ramraj. (Briggs's Ferishta, Vol. III, pp. 240-42).

1. Sayyad Ali conveniently avoids to mention the humiliating treatment meted out to Husain Nizam Shah by Sadashivraya of Vijayanagar.

attack against Kalyāṇī and besieged it. Alī Ādil Śāh and Sadāśivrāya marched to the relief of the fort and were joined by Barīd Śāh and Tufāl Khān of Berār. Husain and Qutb Śāh marched to oppose the allied forces. Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh retreated under the heavy attack from the Ādilśāhī, Barīdśāhī and Imādśāhī forces, while, Husain, attacked by Vijayanagar forces, lost his whole train of artillery composed of 700 guns. Both Husain and Qutb Śāh retreated to Ahmadnagar leaving their camps to be plundered by the allies[1]. Ibrāhīm parted company with Husain at Ausā and retired to Goḷcoṇḍā. Husain threw up provisions at Ahmadnagar and retreated to Junnar. Ahmadnagar was now besieged. Alī Ādil Śāh, however, advised Sadāśivrāya to march against Husain who was camping at Junnar. The allies, therefore, attacked Junnar and Husain fled to the neighbouring hills of the western ghāṭs. By their harassing tactics Husain Rustam Khān Dakhanī, Ādham Khān Habśī and Sābājī Koḷī, and other Ahmadnagar officers made further pursuit impossible. At Kānhūr Husain Rustam Khān made a sudden dash upon the Ādilśāhī camp but was killed in action along with his contingent of 2,000 troops. Thinking that pursuit was impossible with the approach of rainy season the allies retired again to the siege of Ahmadnagar. Sadāśivrāya encamped in the dry bed of the Sinā river. A sudden outburst of rain and consequent heavy floods caused considerable damage to Vijayanagar camp. The allies therefore raised the siege and retired to their respective territories. In the following year the Bijāpurīs made numerous incursions in the Śolāpūr region. Murtazā Khān, a Bijāpurī officer, plundered a convoy of provisions headed for Śolāpūr and defeated a contingent of Ahmadnagar troops between Pareṇḍā and Śolāpūr. A force of 2,000 was sent against Murtazā Khān who had retired to Naḷdurg. He was attacked, taken prisoner and sent to Ahmadnagar. Husain Nizām Śāh himself marched at the head of a huge force to Śolāpūr. His army carried with it 30,000 loads of grain. During all these years, the kingdom of Vijayanagar under Sadāśivrāya had gained in strength and had benefited by the quarrels among the succession states of the

1. In the year 970, Hoossein Nizam Shah and Ibrahim Kootb Shah met in the neighbourhood of Kulliany, where they celebrated the marriage of Beeby
A.H. 970 Jumally, the eldest daughter of the former, with the latter sovereign,
A.D. 1562 and immediately after laid siege to that fortress. In this situation they were attacked by Ramraj and Ally Adil Shah, who were also joined by Ally Bereed Shah from Bidur, and Boorhan Imad Shah from Berar, who had lately succeeded his father, Duria Imad Shah, in the government. The latter prince was particularly incensed against Hoossein Nizam Shah for his shameful assassination of Jehangeer Khan. On the approach of these forces Hoossein Nizam Shah sent his family into the fort of Ousa, and accompanied by Ibrahim Kootb Shah marched with seven hundred pieces of ordnance of different calibres and five hundred elephants, to within twelve miles of the enemy. It happened that he had scarcely encamped, when a violent storm came on, which blew down all the tents, and the rain pouring in torrents, his cattle, and his guns in particular, were rendered almost useless, the latter being immoveable in the heavy black clay in which he was encamped. On the following morning the enemy's Bergy horse cut in upon Ibrahim Kootb Shah's lines, whose army fled without making resistance; and Hoossein Nizam Shah, finding himself deserted, commenced his retreat also, taking with him only forty out of seven hundred pieces of ordnance, which he had brought into the field.

(Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, pp. 242-43).

CHAPTER 3.

The Nizamshahi of Ahmadnagar.

HUSAIN NIZAM SHAH.

Bahamanī kingdom. The danger of the rising power of Vijayanagar to their own safety was now realised, though very late, by these states. They decided to form an alliance against Vijayanagar. Husain Nizām Śāh first sent his envoy Sayyad Mustafā Khān to Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh. The envoy succeeded in winning over Qutb Śāh to the proposed alliance. Mustafā Khān then went to Bijāpūr and conveyed the request of his master to Alī Ādil Śāh. Ādil Śāh agreed. The alliance was strengthened by the marriage of Cāndbibi, the daughter of Husain Nizām Śāh, with Alī Ādil Śāh and that of Falāhbibi Hadia, the sister of Alī Ādil Śāh, with Murtazā Nizām Śāh, the son of Husain Nizām Śāh. The fort of Śolāpūr was ceded to Bijāpūr as dowry for the marriage of Cāndbibi with Alī Ādil Śāh. Barīd Śāh was drawn into the alliance. Overtures were made to Berār, but Tufāl Khān refused to join as the Berāris had not yet forgotten the cruel execution of Jahāṅgīr Khān by Husain Nizām Śāh.

In December 1564 the allied armies which had assembled near Śolāpūr marched against Vijayanagar and reached Tālikoṭā in the vicinity of the river Kṛṣṇā.

Rāmrājā, the prime minister of Sadāśivrāya, on receiving the news of the march of allied forces decided to fight out the issue with the *Sultāns*. He sent his brother Veṅkaṭādri with 20,000 horse, 1,000 elephants and 1,00,000 infantry. He dispatched another force composed of 12,000 horse, 1,000 elephants, and 200,000 infantry under Eltamrāj. He himself followed them immediately with a large force[1]. The Vijayanagar army blocked all the fords across the river. Husain now advised that the allies should move by the bank of the river to find a convenient ford where the river could be crossed. The allies started moving accordingly. The Vijayangaris also followed suit on the opposite bank but in doing so left the principal crossings unprotected. This continued for three days when the allies suddenly returned, covered the distance to the principal ford in a day, crossed the river and encamped at a distance of about 10 miles from the Vijayanagar camp. The left of the allied forces was commanded by Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh, the right by Alī Ādil Śāh and the centre by Husain Nizām Śāh. Thus deployed, the allied armies marched against the army of Vijayanagar. Veṅkaṭādri, who commanded the right flank of the Vijayanagar army, defeated and dispersed the left flank of the allies under Qutb Śāh. Alī Ādil who was on the right flank also met with a similar fate. Only Husain Nizām Śāh withstood his ground. His artillery commander Rumī Khān who had taken up position in the front of the army with 600 guns attacked the enemy ranks with his heavy guns filled with copper coins. At the same time 2,000 foreign archers kept up a constant attack. In the thick of the battle Husain Nizām Śāh ordered his tent to be pitched in front of the Vijayanagar formations. The battle

1. Ferishta places the strength of the Vijayanagar army at 82,000 horse, 9,00,000 infantry and 2,000 elephants.

HUSAIN NIZAM SHAH.

became general now. The Vijayanagar army which had become confused due to the artillery attack was attacked by Husain who charged them with his cavalry. Rāmrāja, seeing the general trend in the battle going against him, dismounted and sat in a palanquin. He was attacked by an elephant belonging to Husain Nizām Śāh. The palanquin bearers left the palanquin, leaving Rāmrājā alone on the field of battle. The elephant guard was informed[1] that the person was none else than Rāmrājā himself. Rāmrājā was captured and taken to Rumī Khān. Rumī Khān escorted him to Husain Nizām Śāh. Before Alī Ādil Śāh could intercede in his behalf, Husain, who had not forgotten the previous insult, ordered him to be beheaded. His head was hung on a spear and displayed high on an elephant's back on the field of battle. The Vijayanagar army was struck with terror at this ghastly sight and fled the battlefield. Thousands of its men were killed by the pursuing army. Huge booty fell into the hands of the allies. The allies camped on the battlefield for 10 days and then proceeded to Vijayanagar. They occupied the city for six months, looting and plundering the city. They then retired to their respective kingdoms. The battle of Tālikoṭā broke the power of the Vijayanagar empire which had barred the expansion of the Deccan powers for two centuries. The unity among the Deccan states, however, did not last long and the old bickerings among them started all over, as subsequent events will show.

Soon after his return to Ahmadnagar, Husain Nizām Śāh died on June 6, 1565 leaving behind him four sons and four daughters. He was succeeded by his son Murtazā Nizām Śāh[2].

MURTAZA NIZAM SHAH.

On his accession, Murtazā Nizām Śāh gave himself up to debauchery and dissipation. He left the management of the kingdom in the hands of his mother Khuñjā Humāyūn. She continued Kāsīm Beg in the post of the *Peśvā*. Due to old age he retired after some time. His place was taken by *Maulānā* Ināyatullāh. He also retired shortly after and Sayyad Śāh Rafiuddin Hasan, son of Śāh Tāhīr was appointed in his place. He too, was removed. Shortly after, Khuñjā, the regent raised to nobility her three brothers Ain-ul-Mulk, Tāj Khān and Etibār Khān. This caused much discontent. At this time Timma Rājā and Veṅkaṭādri of Vijayanagar were disputing the succession to power in Vijayanagar. Timma Rājā (Eltamrāj) was backed by Alī Ādil Śāh. Veṅkaṭādri appealed to Ahmadnagar for help. Khuñjā wrote to Tufāl Khān and Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh to form an alliance against Bijāpūr and march to the help of Veṅkaṭādri. Tufāl Khān and Qutb Śāh agreeing, the allies marched against Bijāpūr with Khuñjā and her young son

---

1. According to Sayyad Ali by Dalpatray a minister of Sadashivraya.

2. Husain Nizam Shah had four sons and four daughters *viz.*, Murtaza, Burhan, Shah Kasim and Shah Mansur and Chandbibi, Bibi Khadija, Aka Bibi and Bibi Jamal. Murtaza and Burhan succeeded to the Ahmadnagar throne. Chandbibi was married to Ali Adil Shah, Bibi Khadija to Jamal-ud-Din Husain Inju, Aka Bibi to Mir Abdul Wahab and Bibi Jamal to Ibrahim Qutb Shah.

CHAPTER 3.

The Nizamshahi of Ahmadnagar.

MURTAZA NIZAM SHAH.

at the head of the army. Alī Ādil Śāh thinking himself illequipped to face the alliance, retreated from the Vijayanagar territory to his own kingdom.

When these events were taking place in the south, the political situation had worsened in Berār. Tufāl Khān, who was the regent for Burhāṇ Imād Śāh had usurped all power. Alī Ādil Śāh, therefore, invited Murtazā Nizām Śāh to form an alliance against Tufāl Khān. Both the *Sultāns* met in the fort of Ausā and decided to punish Tufāl Khān. Accordingly, Farhād Khān of Ahmadnagar and Dilāvar Khān of Bijāpūr were sent to Berār with a force. They were soon followed by Murtazā and Alī Ādil Śāh. They advanced as far as Ellicpūr laying waste the country. Tufāl Khān retired to Gāvīlgaḍ which was besieged by the allies. Tufāl Khān then opened negotiations with Alī Ādil and sent him a present of 50 elephants and 1 lakh *hons*. Alī Ādil lost all interest in the campaign and started his retreat towards Bijāpūr. Murtazā was also forced to raise the siege and to withdraw to Ahmadnagar. On the way the Marāṭhā troops of Ādil Śāh attacked the Ahmadnagar army and in the engagement Mansur Khān, a noble of Ahmadnagar, was killed. Only tact avoided an outbreak of hostilities between the two and both the armies returned to their respective countries[1]. During his return Alī Ādil Śāh tried to seize the young king of Ahmadnagar but his mother, being warned, fled with her son through the night and escaped to Ahmadnagar. In 1567 Alī Ādil Śāh, provoked by Murtazā's persistent hostility, invaded Ahmadnagar and captured serveral places including the fort of Koṇḍāṇā. A force was sent under Kiśvar Khān towards Bīḍ. Kiśvar Khān defeated Murtazā's officers at Kaij and built the fort of Dhārūr[2].

It was at this time that Murtazā Nizām Śāh thought of doing away with the power and influence his mother wielded over him and the administration of the kingdom. Sayyad Ali says that Murtazā was invited by his teacher *Maulānā* Husain Tābrijī, who aspired to the prime ministership of the kingdom. A plot

---

1. Sayyad Ali informs that soon after Ahmadnagar and Berar troops invaded Bijapur. Maulana Inayat, Farhad Khan, Kamil Khan and Galib Khan laid siege to Bijapur. But the garrison attacked the allied forces killing many troopers and capturing a number of elephants. The besiegers raised the siege and withdrew to Ahmadnagar. Ferishta does not mention this event but states that Kishwar Khan Bijapuri attacked the Ahmadnagar kingdom and captured a few frontier districts and forts.

2. *Burhan-i-Masir* gives the succession of events that preceded the removal from power of Khunja Humayun and assumption of royalty by Murtaza Nizam Shah as under : Qutb Shah who had now become aware of the hostility between Bijapur and Ahmadnagar made overtures to Murtaza Shah. He proposed an alliance against Bijapur between Ahmadnagar, Vijayanagar, Golconda and Berar. This was agreed to and the forces of Ahmadnagar, Golconda and Vijayanagar assembled on the banks of Krishna. They marched against Bijapur. Ali Adil Shah, unable to face the allies, seduced Qubt Shah who deserted the allied army and marched to Golconda. Khunja now consulted her officers and it was decided that the Ahmadnagar forces should withdraw. On their way back they were attacked by the Bijapur and Golconda troops and suffered considerably. In one of the severely fought engagements, the Qutbshahi army was defeated. Ahmadnagar lost Motmat Khan *Sarnobat*, and Golconda, Mukrab Khan, both killed in action.

was formed to imprison Khuñjā Humāyūn, but she received the news of the plot from Murtazā himself. The conspirators among whom were Khvājā Mirak Ḍabīr, Sayyad Murtazā (according to Sayyad Ali) and Jamāluddin Husain Iñjū, Kāsīm Beg Hakīm, Śāh Ahmad and Murtazā Khān (according to Ferishta) fled to Bijāpūr. Murtazā, however, succeeded later in imprisoning Khuñja when he went on a hunting expedition[1]. He was then accompanied by a large number of followers. Khuñjā suspected treachery and followed her son. But she returned to the camp sooner than Murtazā. Murtazā sent Habaś Khān, Farhād Khān and Ikhlās Khān to arrest her. She, however, defied the arrest before she could be overcome. Her brothers fled without making any efforts to assist their sister. Ain-ul-Mulk took refuge with Qutb Śāh and Tāj Khān with Rājā Baharjī of Bāglāṇa. Khuñjā was sent to the fort of Daulatābād in confinement. She was later transferred to Śivnerī[2]. Murtazā's younger brother Burhāṇ who had been in prison at Śivnerī was transferred to Lohogaḍ. Relieved thus of the influence of his mother, Murtazā took over charge of the administration and appointed *Maulānā* Husain as his *Vazīr,* creating him Khān Khānān.

Murtazā now decided to march against Kiśvar Khān of Bijāpūr who had built a fort at Dhārur[3]. He set out with a force of 5,000 troopers. With unusual energy and spirit he arrived in the neighbourhood of the fort. He received an insulting letter from Kiśvar Khān informing him that he was no match for the commandant of the fort of Dhārur and hence should withdraw. Murtazā now swore that he would not retire till the fort capitulated, and attacked the fort. He reached the gate inspite of the showers of shots, arrows and rockets which poured from the fort. His army suffered heavy losses. In the thick of the battle a

1. Sayyad Ali informs that the seizure was effected when Murtaza, Khunja Humayun and the nobles of the kingdom had marched against Kishwar Khan of Bijapur. Habash Khan seized Khunja when she was resting in her tent. Her brothers were defeated by Khwaja Mirak *Dabir* who was later given the title of Changiz Khan.

2. In the year 977 the Dowager-queen marched, with her son, to oppose the encroachments of Kishwur Khan, the Beejapoor general. Upon their arrival at Dhamungam, Moortuza Nizam Shah, now able to judge for himself, and resolving to become free from his mother's trammels, gained over the principal nobles, and sent Hubbush Khan to inform the Queen that it was his pleasure she should no longer engage in public affairs, but live retired, like the other princesses. Enraged at this message, she summoned her creatures, and throwing a veil over her face, came from the palace on horseback, armed with a bow, a sword, and dagger. She was, however, seized, after a short resistance, and her attendants fled. The King now assumed charge of the affairs of his government; and having levied forces, marched towards Dharoor, with the intention of attacking Kishwur Khan, the Beejapoor general. (Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, pp. 252-53).

A. H. 977.
A. D. 1569.

3. A brief description of the fort is given below :—

The hill fort of Dharur is about 500 years old. The fort is located at a distance of, about a furlong (·201 km.) to the west of Dharur on a hill range with an average height of about 753·47 metres (2,472'). The fort ramparts are of masonry and have a height of nearly 30·48 to 38·10 metres (100 to 125 ft.). There are, what appear to be, the remains of old gates of which only the frames are now in existence. The fort also contains a tank and three big wells. In the centre of this tank is a bore of 152·4 m (6') diameter and it appears to be the source of water to the tank.

**CHAPTER 3.**

**The Nizam-shahi of Ahmadnagar.**

MURTAZA NIZAM SHAH.

chance arrow released by Cañgīz Khān of the besieging army hit Kiśvar Khān, wounding him mortally. The fire from the fort suddenly stopped and Murtazā's forces entered the fort finding it empty of garrison. Kiśvar Khān was dead. His head was cut off and presented to Murtazā. The fleeing Bijāpurīs were pursued with heavy slaughter and much booty fell into the hands of the victors[1]. Murtazā Nizām Śāh in the flush of his victory insulted his ally, Qutb Śāh who fled from the Ahmadnagar camp leaving his baggage to be plundered by his ally.

Taking advantage of the absence of Murtazā from his capital and with the object of relieving Kiśvar Khān, Alī Ādil Śāh had dispatched a force of 10 to 12 thousand men under the command of Nūr Khān, Ain-ul-Mulk and Zarifūl-Mulk to invade the Ahmadnagar territory. This diversionary move of Ādil Śāh did not succeed and the Bijāpurīs were defeated by Ahmadnagar troops led by Farhād Khān, Cañgīz Khān and Ikhlās Khān. Nūr Khān was taken prisoner and the other two Bijāpurī officers were killed. Murtazā renamed Dhārur as Fatehbād and concluded a treaty with Bijāpūr. He then returned to his kingdom. The peace was shortlived, for, in the following year Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh again approached Murtazā Nizām Śāh for an alliance against Bijāpūr. Murtazā, on the advice of Khān Khānān marched with a large army. Qutb Śāh also left his capital and marched to meet Murtazā Nizām Śāh. Both the armies met at Wāghdarī. What could have been a grand invasion against Bijāpūr ended in fiasco and the alliance between Ahmadnagar and Golcoṇḍā was broken. The reason was a friendly letter by Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh to Alī Ādil Śāh immediately after the meeting between him and Murtazā.

*contd.*

The fort of Dharur presents an interesting phenomenon both from the point of view of human ingenuity and natural landscape. Situated as it is to the west of the town, it has only one entrance and that is to the east facing the city, so that viewed from the city the fort appears to be a land fort. As one enters the fort, this illusion is lost on the mind and one gets a wide expanse of the hilly region stretching beyond. On the descending hill-slopes to the north are built the powerful fort walls and bastions, probably with a view to prevent any attack upon the city from that side. The hills are gradual in their slopes and are easy of descent as well as ascent. The builder must have realised this drawback in the defence armoury of the fort and therefore to make the fort impregnable and thus secure the town against the enemy attacks, a solid wall with bastions was built on the slopes of the hills. All the bastions except the two at the main gate are in bad repairs. The fort walls to the east have an approximate height of about 4·57 metres (15 feet) and above them could be seen residential quarters and observation posts mainly for the party in reconnaissance. The walls of the fort on the east are in rows of three and in-between the sunken space of the walls, particularly on the south side, there is a pond probably used as a source of water supply to the active garrison. Outside the fort walls to the south there must have been a big tank at one time for remains of the arrangement to lift up water from the tank over the wall with the help of *moat* could still be seen. Exactly in front of the main gate could be seen a wall built in a zigzag fashion. What the purpose of the builder was cannot be fathomed but if conjecture is permissible one may say that the closeness of the wall to the main gate must have prevented many an enemy from making use of elephants to break open the doors.

1. Sayyad Ali again informs us that Tufal Khan of Berar sent a contingent of 1,000 cavalry to help Murtaza carry on the siege under the command of his son Samsher-ul-mulk. This appears to be improbable taking into consideration the enmity that existed between Berar and Ahmadnagar after the cruel execution of Jahangir Khan by Husain Nizam Shah which the Beraris had not forgotten. It may also be noted that it was at this time that Murtaza Nizam Shah sought the assistance of Ibrahim Qutb Shah.

Perhaps treachery had become second nature with Ibrāhīm and he had to pay the penalty for his duplicity. The details are as follows: At that time Abul Hasan, a son of Śāh Tāhīr, was minister of Alī Ādil Śāh. Alī Ādil Śāh suspected him of inviting this invasion by Murtazā Śāh and threatened him. Abul Hasan now requested Sayyad Murtazā Sabzāvarī to intercede in his behalf with Murtazā Nizām Śāh by going to the Ahmadnagar camp and beg Murtazā Nizām Śāh to retire in view of the compromising position in which he had been placed. He placed in the hands of Sayyad Murtazā a copy of the letter which Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh had sent to Alī Ādil Śāh. Sayyad Murtazā accordingly went to the Ahmadnagar camp and placed all the facts before Murtazā Nizām Śāh. Murtazā who was convinced of the treachery of Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh consulted his officers and decided to attack his ally's camp. On the next day, the camp of Qutb Śāh was encircled by Ahmadnagar troops and plundered and sacked. Qutb Śāh led to Golconḍā, hotly pursued by a contingent of his erstwhile ally. The account, however, says that Murtazā feared that Qutb Śāh would ally himself with Alī Ādil Śāh. Murtazā, therefore, decided to conciliate him. He was informed that Qutb believed that the attack on his camp by the Ahmadnagar army was due to the advice of Mullā Husain Tābrizī *alias* Khān Khānān. Murtazā did nothing to allay Qutb Śāh's suspicion of Khān Khānān. He, however, dismissed and imprisoned Khān Khānān in the fort of Jond (Cāvaṇḍ). In his place Śāh Haider, the son of Śāh Tāhīr, was appointed to the post of *Peśvā* and *Vakīl*. Śāh Jamāl Husain Iñjū was ordered to work as an associate of the new prime minister (1569). After this, Murtazā Nizām visited Junnar and Śivnerī and from thence proceeded to visit the fort of Joṇḍ. From Joṇḍ he went to Nāndgāṅv, the *Jāgir* place of Farhād Khān and from that place returned to Ahmadnagar[1].

In 1569, Murtazā Nizām Śāh, Alī Ādil Śāh, the Zamorin of Calicut and the king of Achin in Sumatrā formed an alliance with a view to expel the Portuguese from their possessions in India. Alī Ādil was to attack Goā and Murtazā was to attack Caul Revdaṇḍā in Kolābā district. Murtazā appointed Jalāl-ud-Din Husain, his prime minister and marched to Revdaṇḍā with all the available forces under his command which numbered 1,50,000 men[2]. The commandant of Caul was Louis Ferrira Da Adred.

---

[1] An interesting episode is related by Sayyad Ali. He says that the wife of Shah Haider had arrived at Ahmadnagar at this time. She invited Murtaza to pay her a visit. Accordingly Murtaza visited her and was lavishly entertained. On the next day when Shah Haider arrived in the camp he came to know of the visit of Murtaza to his wife. He did not like the fact of his wife entertaining Murtaza. He practically withdrew from public life. When Murtaza retired to the capital he visited Shah Haider but was not reconciled to him. In his place he appointed Shah Jamaluddin Husain. Murtaza there upon invited Shah Haider's wife to Junnar and conferred upon her a pension amounting to 1 lakh *tankas*. The rift between the husband and wife perpetuated and subsequently the wife of Shah Haider left for Irak. This was perhaps the sign of the events to follow in the life of Murtaza which earned for him the nickname of '*Divana*'.

[2] Danvers gives the strength as 34,000 cavalry, 1,00,000 infantry, 2,000 sappers and miners and a huge train of artillery and elephants.

CHAPTER 3. The Nizamshahi of Ahmadnagar. MURTAZA NIZAM SHAH

He had under his command a force of 50 horses and infantry not exceeding 3,000 men. He was also short of ammunition and provisions. The governor of Goā who himself was hard pressed by the besieging Bijāpurī army sent 600 troops and an ample supply of provisions. The fort garrison grimly held on defeating all attempts of the Ahmadnagar army to storm the fort. The besiegers lost heavily with 12,000 men, 300 elephants, 4,000 horse and 6,000 oxen killed during the siege operations. The Portuguese succeeded in seducing many nobles of Ahmadnagar such as Farhād Khān, and Ikhlās Khān by heavily bribing them. The siege operations, grew slack and the officer in command of the siege operations Śāh Jamāluddin Husain became negligent and careless. Provisions were allowed to reach the fort garrison and details about the deployment of the Ahmadnagar troops were secretly conveyed to the commandant of the fort. The Portuguese pounded the besiegers and on one day, Murtazā lost 3,000 men killed. Caṅgīz Khān, therefore, advised Murtazā to raise the siege and enter into a compact with the Portuguese. Murtazā agreed and concluding an agreement with the Portuguese, returned, defeated and humiliated to Ahmadnagar. He imprisoned Farhād Khān and Ikhlās Khān, for their treachery and expelled Jamāluddin Husain from the kingdom. He then appointed Caṅgīz Khān to the post of *Vakīl* and *Peśvā*. At this time Sayyad Murtazā, who had gone over to Bijāpūr, returned to Ahmadnagar and entered the services of Murtazā Nizām Śāh. Murtazā appointed him to the post of *Sar Śiledār*, a charge equivalent to that of a *Vazīr* or an *Umrāv*. It was at this time that he conferred nobility upon Khudāvand Khān, Jamśīd Khān Śirājī and others.

Some time after this, Alī Ādil Śāh formed an alliance with Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh. Before the alliance could materialise into an invasion of Ahmadnagar, Caṅgīz Khān advised Murtazā to invade the kingdom of Bijāpūr. Alī Ādil also marched with his army to meet the aggressor. The object of Caṅgīz Khān was to break the alliance between Goḷconḍā and Bijāpūr and hence he now intervened to prevent a war between Bijāpūr and Ahmadnagar. He personally led the mission and met Sayyad Alī Motbar Khān, the prime minister of Bijāpūr at Naḷdurg. It was agreed that a meeting should be arranged between the two *Sultāns*. Accordingly both the *Sultāns* met at *Kālā Cabutrā*. It was decided that Murtazā should conquer Berār, Bidar and Telaṅgaṇa with the help of Alī Ādil and Alī Ādil should annex an equivalent territory from the kingdom of Vijayanagar. Accordingly, the armies of the allies advanced towards Bidar, plundering the whole territory on their way. But subsequently Caṅgīz Khān advised Murtazā to turn towards the conquest of Berār first and then subjugate Bidar and Telaṅgaṇa. Murtazā agreed and informed Alī Ādil accordingly. He sent a detachment of his army under the command of Amin Khān to devastate the territory of Goḷconḍā and help Alī Ādil during his march towards Vijayanagar. Alī Ādil too sent a contingent of his army under Dilāvar Khān to assist Murtazā in his conquest of Berār Murtazā marched towards

Berār but on the approach of the rainy season halted at Kaulās. Here he was joined by the detachment under Amin Khān.

In the meanwhile developments were taking place in Berār. Tufāl Khān who was acting as the regent of the kingdom due to the minority of Burhān Imād Śāh had usurped all power and was contemplating the assumption of royal titles. Murtazā sent letter with his minister Śāh Haider to Tufāl Khān demanding removal of all restrictions placed on Burhān Imād Śāh (who had now come of age) and restoration of all the powers of the government of Berār to him. On the advice of his son Samśer-ul-Mulk, Tufāl Khān dismissed Śāh Haider without a reply. On this, after the end of the rainy season Murtazā left Kaulās and invaded the kingdom of Berār. He halted at Pāthrī and sent advance detachments of his army under the command of Khudāvand Khān, Rustam Khān and others. The invasion of Murtazā had made the people of the region panicky, and they fled to the jungles. Murtazā issued a declaration inviting the people to return to their normal business. He distributed the territory of Berār in *Jāgir* and *Ināms* among his noblemen. In the meanwhile, news was received of the march of Tufāl Khān towards Kandhār. An engagement took place between a contingent of the Berār army under Samśer-ul-Mulk and a contingent of Ahmadnagar troops near Bidar in which the Berāris were defeated. Next day when Murtazā moved forward with his main army, news was brought that Tufāl Khān had fled towards Māhūr without risking a battle. Murtazā detailed Haider Sultān Alī Qulī *Sarkhel,* now created *Sar Laṣkar,* Mirzā Yādgār, Candā Khān, Kāmīl Khān and others in the province of Kandhār to prevent an attack from that side while he himself marched to pursue Tufāl Khān. When Murtazā was camping at Metāpūr, news was received that Tufāl Khān was also camping in the neighbourhood. Caṅgīz Khān thereupon dispatched a force under Ahmadbeg Qijalbāś Khān to attack Tufāl Khān. Tufāl Khān also marched forward and a general engagement took place. It continued for the whole day and late into the night also, when the armies retired to their respective camps. However, Tufāl Khān fled overnight. Murtazā now deputed Bahiri Khān, Jamāl Khān and Kadam Khān to reduce the fort of Māhūr. He himself advanced to subjugate the kingdom of Berār. At this time the Emperor Akbar was busy in Gujarāt, suppressing the rebellion of the Mirzās. The rebellion of the Mirzās was put down and they fled to Murtazā to seek refuge. Murtazā took them under his protection and entertained them in his service.

In the meanwhile, Tufāl Khān was pursued by Khudāvand Khān and Rustam Khān. When these nobles were camping in Berār, Samśer-ul-Mulk surprised them, inflicting heavy casualties upon the Ahmadnagar troops. Rustam Khān was killed and the entire camp was plundered by the Berāris. Murtazā reached the place where this disaster had taken place and started in pursuit of Tufāl Khān. Cugtāī Khān, one of the nobles of Berār, at this time defected to Murtazā Nizām Śāh. Tufāl Khān now reached the

**CHAPTER 3.**

**The Nizamshahi of Ahmadnagar.**

MURTAZA NIZAM SHAH.

borders of the kingdom of Khāndeś. Fearing that Tufāl Khān might seek refuge with Mirān Muhammad Śāh Fāruqī, the Khāndeś Ruler, Murtazā wrote to Mirān Śāh dissuading him from granting Tufāl Khān any asylum. Sayyad Ali states that Murtazā and Mirān Muhammad met on the banks of the river Parandi (probably Pūrṇā) where Mirān Śāh promised Murtazā that he would refrain from granting asylum to Tufāl Khān. Disappointed, Tufāl Khān fled to Narnāḷā. His son Samśer-ul-Mulk took refuge in the fort of Gāvīl. Murtazā advanced to besiege the fort of Narnālā and Khān Zamān, Rustām Khān, Mālī Khān, Bahrām Khān and Bahādur Khān to besiege the fort of Gāvīl. Bahādur Khān, and, later, Bahrām Khān were put in charge of the siege operations of Gāvīl, whereas Asad Khān was put in charge of the siege operations of Narnāḷā.

In the meanwhile, news was received that Qutb Śāh had attacked and defeated the Nizāmśāhī troops at Kandhār. Murtazā, therefore, ordered the nobles besieging Māhūr to proceed to Kandhār and oppose the Qutbśāhī army. Accordingly, these nobles reached Kandhār and joined the army there which was now under the command of Sayyad Mirzā Yādgār. The Qutbśāhī army was camping at Tamarṇī. When they received the news that reinforcements had arrived at Kandhār they marched to Kaulās. Here they received an order from Qutb Śāh to move from Kaulās. But before they could make any considerable advance, the Ahmadnagar army swooped upon them and routed them (11th May, 1573) and returned to Kandhār. The siege of Narnāḷā was, in the meanwhile, being vigorously prosecuted. The garrison stoutly resisted. Ultimately, by a ruse, one of the officers of Ahmadnagar, Khvājā Muhammad Lārī, got entrance into the fort by pretending to be a dealer in horses. He seduced the *Nāikvāḍīs* in charge of the defence of the fort by bribing them. When Tufāl Khān became aware of treachery he executed many of the *Nāikvāḍīs*. At this time Asad Khān heavily bombarded the fort but the fort held out grimly. In April 1574 Murtazā Nizām Śāh ordered an all out attack on the fort. The Ahmadnagar troops, under cover of heavy artillery fire rushed through the gates of the fort and in the face of the counter attacks of Tufāl Khān captured it. Tufāl Khān fled the fort leaving considerable treasure in the hands of Murtazā Nizām Śāh. Caṅgīz Khān sent Sayyad Husain Jarjānī, *Sarnobat* in pursuit of Tufāl Khān. Jarjānī captured Tufāl Khān in a village, and brought him as a prisoner before Murtazā Nizām Śāh[1].

After the capture of Narnāḷā, Murtazā Nizām Śāh marched towards the fort of Gāvīl. The fort garrison put Samśer-ul-Mulk

---

1. Sayyad Ali informs us that Adil Shah had instructed his envoy with Ahmadnagar, Itibar Khan, to communicate to him the details of the campaign and caution him if the campaign aimed at the imprisonment of Tufal Khan and subjugation of Berar. The news reports were not dispatched properly and Berar was conquered by Murtaza. The envoy of Ahmadnagar in the court of Bijapur was Khwaja Muhammad Amin, the brother of Itibar Khan. Murtaza Khan, a Bijapuri noble, represented to Adil Shah that the delay in the dispatch of news by Itibar Khan was due to the interference of Amin Khan. Adil Shah, therefore, ordered the execution of Khwaja Muhammad Amin Khan.

under arrest and handed over the keys of the fort to Murtazā Nizām Śāh. A great booty fell into the hands of Murtazā Nizām Śāh. Murtazā now ordered Caṅgīz Khān to send Tufāl Khān, Samśer-ul-Mulk, the other sons of Tufāl Khān and all the members belonging to the royal family of Imād Śāh in confinement to the fort of Lohogaḍ. Thus was annexed the kingdom of Berār. It remained a part of the Ahmadnagar kingdom till its cession to the Moghals by Ahmadnagar in 1596. Murtazā distributed the kingdom of Berār among the following nobles of Ahmadnagar-Jamśīd Khān, Khudāvand Khān, Rustam Khān, Candā Khān, Bābī Khān, Mirzā Alī Khān, Śer Khān, Makhsūd Aqā and others. He appointed Khattā Khān Kāśī as the *Sarlaśkar* of Berār and put Bahrām Khān Gilānī and Sayyad Alī Zahīr in charge of the forts of Gāvīlgaḍ and Narnāḷā, respectively.[1]

After the conclusion of the Berār campaign, Murtazā Nizām Śāh marched to invest the fort of Bidar. When Qutb Śāh heard of the march of the Nizāmśāhī troops, he dispatched his envoy Mīr Jaināl to Murtazā. He feared that Telaṅgaṇa would be the next, to be attacked and wanted to prevent such an eventuality. Caṅgīz Khān brought about a meeting between Murtazā and Mīr Jaināl and the envoy was given leave to depart. In the meanwhile news was received that rebellion had broken out in Berār and that Mirzā Qulī had killed Khattā Khān, the commander-in-chief of the Berār army. Murtazā, thereupon, appointed Khurśīd Khān *Sarnobat* as the commander-in-chief of Berār with orders to suppress the rebellion there. Murtazā himself moved with his troops and halted at Udgīr. Taking advantage of the disorder prevailing in Berār, Mirān Muhammad Śāh of Khāndeś, on the pretext of supporting a pretender to the throne of Berār, sent his general Sayyad Jainul Abidin with a force of

[1] A short account of the invasion of Berar by Murtaza Nizam Shah given by Ferishta is as under :—

A. H. 980. A. D. 1572. In the year 980 Moortuza Nizam Shah marched to Berar; and by the gallantry and good conduct of his general Chungiz Khan drove Toofal Khan from Elichpoor, compelling him and his son, Shumsheer-ool-Moolk, to fly to the hills, taking from them two hundred elephants, besides all their heavy baggage. Toofal Khan was driven from jungle to jungle for six months, at the end of which time, being forced into a narrow defile blocked up by the King's troops, he would certainly have been taken, had not the King been delayed by religious superstition for some time on his march by a mad devotee, Meer Moosa Mazinderany, who, meeting him on the road, conjured him by the love he bore to the twelve *Imams* not to move further till he had given him the sum of 12,000 hoons. The King waited on the spot till he could comply with his request, though the minister entreated him to defer giving the money till the camp was pitched. The delay which ensued enabled Toofal Khan to make his escape, and fly to Boorhanpoor, where he sought protection with the ruler of Kandeish, who was, however, afraid to grant it, for fear of the vengeance of Moortuza Nizam Shah. Thence Toofal Khan returned to Berar, and took refuge in the hill-fort of Nurnala, from which place he applied for assistance to Akbur Badshah, Emperor of Dehly. Akbur sent an envoy to Moortuza Nizam Shah, requiring him immediately to desist from his invasion of Berar; but no attention was paid to the communication, so that Nurnala, and all the other principal forts in Berar, fell into the hands of Moortuza Nizam Shah; and Toofal Khan, with his sovereign, Boorhan *Imad-ool-Moolk*, and all his family, being captured, were confined in one of them; where they shortly after died suddenly, and, it is conjectured, by poison.

(Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, pp. 255-56).

**CHAPTER 3.**

**The Nizamshahi of Ahmadnagar.**

MURTAZA NIZAM SHAH.

20,000 to invade Berār. The Nizāmśāhī officers who had not as yet settled in their respective charges, assembled at Ellicpūr, the headquarters of Khurśīd Khān to devise ways and means to counter the movements of the Khāndeś army.[1] Khurśīd Khān feeling himself unable to cope up with the strength of the Khāndeś army withdrew to Gāvīlgaḍ. The Khāndeś army invested and besieged the fort of Narnāḷā. In the action which was fought between the two armies at the foot of the fort the Nizāmśāhīs were completely routed. They were pursued to the banks of the river Parandi where they suffered another reverse. The remnant of the Nizāmśāhī army, with difficulty, reached the Nizāmśāhī camp at Udgīr.

On receipt of the news of this disaster Murtazā at once left his camp at Udgīr and entered Berār through Rohankheḍ. He put Sayyad Murtazā in command of the troops. The Khāndeś army, instead of taking the field, retreated towards Khāndeś, hotly pursued by the army of Ahmadnagar. Murtazā crossed the river Tāpī. Mirān Muhammad took refuge in the fort of Asir. Murtazā advanced and sacked the city of Burhāṇpūr. From thence he marched to besiege the fort of Asir. An advance contingent of Nizāmśāhī troops under Caṅgīz Khān was engaged by Jainul Abidin of Khāndeś. The latter was, however, repulsed after heavy fighting. The fort of Asir was invested and besieged. Mirān Muhammad now offered to submit and sent his minister Khān Khānān, who was formerly in the employ of Ahmadnagar to negotiate peace. Murtazā agreed to withdraw on condition that Mirān Muhammad would pay a million *Muzaffarī* rupees as indemnity of war. Accordingly, the amount was paid when the Nizāmśāhī forces crossed the river at Burhānpūr on their way to the South.

It was at this time that Caṅgīz Khān, the Ahmadnagar minister, came into the disfavour of Murtazā Nizām Śāh. It may be recalled here that Qutb Śāh had sent an envoy to Ahmadnagar when Murtazā was contemplating an attack on Bidar. He offered Caṅgīz Khān 2 lakh *hons* to dissuade Murtazā from undertaking the invasion of Bidar. Caṅgīz Khān refused. This envoy, Śāh Mirzā Isahanī, now conspired to destroy Caṅgīz Khān with the help of a low born person, Husain Khān, a favourite of Murtazā Nizām Śāh. Husain Khān told Murtazā all kinds of lies about Caṅgīz Khān. Coming as they did from his favourite, Murtazā Nizām Śāh believed in them. Husain Khān informed his master that Caṅgīz Khān contemplated the seizure of Berār and desired to become the master of the country. Murtazā decided to verify the truth or otherwise of this charge and invited Śāh Mirzā secretly to give his opinion in the matter. Śāh Mirzā confirmed the charge. Murtazā now feigned that he was tired of the campaign and expressed his eagerness to return to Ahmadnagar. Unwillingly, Caṅgīz Khān advised Murtazā to prolong his stay in Berār for six months to settle the country. Murtazā

[1] Sayyad Ali states that Qutb Shah of Golconda instigated Miran Muhammad to invade Berar.

was now convinced of the ill intentions of Caṅgīz Khān towards him and openly expressed disapproval of Caṅgīz Khān. Caṅgīz Khān, fearing danger to his life, stopped attending court under the pretext of sickness. This further embittered the relations between the master and the servant. Murtazā now plotted the death of his faithful minister. He sent his physician Muhammad Misrī to Caṅgīz Khān with specific instructions to poison the minister. This was faithfully carried out. The dying minister wrote a letter to Murtazā expressing his innocence. In the effects of Caṅgīz Khān were also found a few letters completely absolving the minister from any complicity in the alleged plot against Murtazā. The foolish *Sultān* repented vainly of his rash action and turned out Śāh Mirzā, the Golcondā envoy, from his camp.[1]

Murtazā now appointed Muhammad Misrī as his *Vazīr* and Sayyad Murtazā as *Sarnobat*. He then returned to Ahmadnagar where he came under the influence of one *Maulānā* Sāduddin Talkin. He ceased taking any active interest in the administrative affairs of the kingdom and remained in complete seclusion. He instructed Qāzī Beg Tihranī, the prime minister, to look after the affairs of the state with the assistance of Amin-ul-Mulk, Mirzā Muhammad Taqī and Kāsīm Beg. A sort of perversion now developed in the character of Murtazā Nizām Śāh. Only Husain Khān, now entitled Sāhib Khān, was allowed to trespass his privacy. Sāhib Khān took undue advantage of the love and affection bestowed upon him by Murtazā and started terrorising the people. Even the ministers were plagued by him. At this time news was received of a rebellion in Berār. One Firoz Śāh who claimed to be a son of Imād Śāh collected troops under his banner and defeated Khān Zamān, the governor of Berār. When the news was conveyed to Murtazā he appointed Sayyad Murtazā to the governorship of Berār and sent him there to put down the rebellion. When Sayyad Murtazā reached Janatapūr, Jamśīd Khān and other Nizāmśāhī officers in Berār joined him. Sayyad Murtazā reached Bālāpūr and was informed that Firoz Śāh had taken refuge at Ellicpūr. Sayyad Murtazā marched towards Ellicpūr when Firoz Śāh moved into the fort of Āmnercarvī. The rebellion of Firoz Śāh encouraged the Goṇḍs in Berār to rise in revolt. Sayyad Murtazā now detailed Mirzā Yādgār, Candā Khān and other nobles to invest Āmnercarvī and dispatched the rest of the forces to suppress the Goṇḍs. Accordingly, Āmnercarvī was invested. In the action fought, Firoz Śāh was killed. Similarly, the entire country of the Goṇḍs was plundered and sacked. The Nizāmśāhī troops then returned to Ahmadnagar. Sayyad Murtazā made Ellicpūr his headquarters and retired to that place.

It was at this time that the Emperor Akbar contemplated an invasion of Khāndeś because of the failure of Rājā Alī Khān,

[1] It was at this time that Tufal Khan died at the fort of Lohogad. He was buried at Ellichpur

**CHAPTER 3.**

**The Nizamshahi of Ahmadnagar.**

MURTAZA NIZAM SHAH.

the *Sultān* of Khāndeś, to pay the stipulated amount of tribute. He sent his general Qutubuddin Khān on 27 February, 1577 to Khāndeś to collect arrears of tribute. Rājā Alī Khān submitted and paid the tribute. Akbar who had marched up to Diyalpur then returned to Fattehpur Śikri[1]. The news of the advance of the Moghal army unnerved Murtazā Nizām Śāh who took precautionary measures against a possible Moghal attack by alerting his army in Berār and by personally marching towards Daulatābād with a small contingent of troops. After Akbar retired, Sayyad Murtazā waited upon Murtazā Nizām Śāh and left for Ellicpūr. Murtazā Nizām Śāh also retired to Ahmadnagar.

Another rebellion now rocked Berār. Muzaffar Husain Mirzā fled from Daryāpūr to the frontiers of Gujarāt and collected an army of five to six thousand, consisting of Moghals and Berāris. With this force he marched towards Berār. On the way he reinforced his army with elephants and horses from the estates of Mirzā Yādgār. At this news, the Nizāmśāhī officers in Berār got panicky and assembled at Ellicpūr. Sayyad Murtazā made preparations to meet Husain Mirzā and marched from Ellicpūr. Sayyad Murtazā won over a contingent from the army of Husain Mirzā. It changed sides when the opposing forces met at Añjangāṅv. Husain Mirzā thereupon fled without offering resistance. He reached Burhāṇpūr where he was made prisoner by Rājā Alī Khān Fāruqī and sent to Akbar. Murtazā Nizām Śāh expressed his appreciation of Sayyad Murtazā and other officers of Berār by conferring upon them dresses of honour.

In the same year there was committed great slaughter in Ahmadnagar at the express orders of Murtazā Nizām Śāh. It so happened that one night Murtazā detected one of his personal attendants in his harem dressed as a *Saīs*[2]. Murtazā got annoyed and decreed that all his personal servants known as *Divaṭe*[3], *Dāṅg*[4] and *Khavās*[5] should be executed. The order was

---

1 Sayad Ali gives an exaggerated account of the so called confrontation between the Moghals and Ahmadnagar. He informs that when the news of Akbar's advance and halt on the banks of Narmada was received by Murtaza Nizam Shah, Murtaza dispatched his forces on the borders, with orders to oppose the Moghals, if they attacked. Asad Khan was put in command of the army and took position along with Sayyad Murtaza on the banks of the river Parand. The presence of Muzaffar Husain Mirza the rebel cousin of Akbar was regarded as dangerous and he was ordered to be sent to Daryapur. Murtaza Nizam Shah himself moved to Daulatabad. Sayyad Ali further says that Akbar was really astonished at these movements of the Ahmadnagar army and consulted his officers about the steps to be taken. They opined that if the Moghals attacked Ahmadnagar and defeated them it would not do any credit to them, because of their obvious superior strength. If on the other hand the Moghals attacked and were themselves defeated it would be most increditable to them and do them much harm in the eyes of the world. Upon this Akbar retired to Fattehpur Shikri. Murtaza realising the gravity of the situation sent many valuable presents to Emperor Akbar with his envoy Vafa Khan. Except the contents of the last sentence of this episode the rest of it is pure fantasy and imagination. Akbar never contemplated an invasion of the Deccan at that time and no other historical narrative of the time corroborates this. What Sayyad Ali says is entirely fictitious.

2 A servant who looks after the royal horses.

3 Also known as machalis or oil-lamp bearers.

4 *Sais* were also called *Dang*.

5 Personal attendants of Murtaza Nizam Shah also called *Khidmatgar*.

conveyed to Qāzī Beg who issued instructions accordingly to Siyāsat Khān, the *Kotvāl* of Ahmadnagar. Siyāsat Khān arrested nearly all the personal servants of Murtazā. Some of them were killed in Ahmadnagar and the rest dispatched to Daulatābād where they were executed[1].

MURTAZA NIZAM SHAH.

The death of Caṅgīz Khān and the seclusion of Murtaza Nizām Śāh were regarded as splendid opportunities by Ādil Śāh to invade the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. He sent an army to plunder the territory of Ahmadnagar. The news of this development was conveyed to Murtazā Nizām Śāh by Qāzī Beg. He issued orders to take counter measures. Accordingly, Bābī Khān, Muhammad Husain Mirzā, Ādil Khān Begī, Śāhavardī Khān Kurd and Malik Muhammad Khān were dispatched to devastate the Bijāpūr territory. Ādil Śāh took refuge in the fort of Bijāpūr. The Nizāmśāhī troops reached the suburbs of Bijāpūr without opposition and carried much loot and plunder. They then returned to Ahmadnagar[2].

It was at this time that relations between Qāzī Beg, the prime minister of Ahmadnagar, and Sayyad Murtazā Sabzāvarī became strained. Sayyad Murtazā took Sāhib Khān, the favourite of Murtazā Nizām Śāh in his confidence and with his help brought about Qāzī Beg's dismissal[3]. In his place Asad Khān was now appointed the *Vakīl* and *Peśvā* of the kingdom. As stated earlier, Sāhib Khān had, by his wicked nature, severally harassed the nobles of the kingdom, especially the foreigners. Some of them complained to Murtazā about the atrocities perpetrated by Sāhib Khān. However, Sāhib Khān, with whom Murtazā Nizām Śāh was extremely infatuated, represented to his master that the foreigners in the kingdom were plotting to depose him and place Husain on the throne. For their treason and treachery they should be punished. Murtazā Nizām Śāh was easily persuaded and he passed orders for punishing the rebels. Sāhib Khān, with his associates, now let loose a reign of terror in the capital. Many fled to Bijāpūr and Golcoṇḍā. Wanton crimes were committed by the Deccani Muslim associates of Sāhib Khān. Children were forced from their parents for evil purposes. Mīr Mehdī was killed in defending the honour of his family. Sāhib Khān became so insolent that he even ordered a nobleman, his namesake, to change his name and on his refusal, nearly succeeded in destroying him. Murtazā Nizām Śāh now shifted to the residence of Sāhib Khān. One day when he was alone with Sāhib Khān, the latter represented that the foreigners were against him and hence there should be a wholesale massacre of foreigners. On

---

[1] The account of this massacre is given by Sayyad Ali and finds no place in Ferishta.

[2] Ferishta does not refer to any such conflict between Ahmadnagar and Bijapur at this time. This account given by Sayyad Ali may perhaps be an exaggerated version of some minor skirmishes between the forces of the two kingdoms.

[3] Ferishta says the Kazi Beg's dismissal was due to the defalcation of accounts of the Government and the royal treasury by Kazi Beg.

**CHAPTER 3.**
**The Nizamshahi of Ahmadnagar.**
MURTAZA NIZAM SHAH.

Murtazā Nizām Śah's refusal, Sāhib Khān ran away from his residence in Ahmadnagar. Murtazā Nizām Śāh had now really become mad after Sāhib Khān. He left Ahmadnagar to find his object of affection. He overtook Sāhib Khān at Pareṇḍā and both of them stayed together at Pareṇḍā for a few days. Sāhib Khān now insistently demanded the massacre of all foreigners to which Murtazā compromised by promising him the fort of Bidar and creating him Sāhib Khān Barīd-ul-Mulk. Accordingly Murtazā Nizām Śāh, now joined by Sayyad Murtazā, invested and besieged the fort of Bidar. Barīd Śāh offered to submit. The siege of Bidar was only a pretext by Murtazā Nizām Śāh to keep his favourite's company. Murtazā, therefore, decided to convince Sāhib Khān and dissuade him from his foolish demand. Sāhib Khān refused to listen but ultimately agreed on receiving from his master a valuable jewel-decked *Kamarband*. The Ahmadnagar troops now raised the siege and moved towards Udgīr. Sāhib Khān now again deserted the camp and marched in the opposite direction terrorising the subjects wherever he went. He issued grants as if he were the *Sultān* himself. Murtazā now moved from Udgīr to Kandhār when he received the shocking news of the rebellion of his brother Burhān. Burhān had been kept in confinement by Murtazā in the fort of Lohogaḍ. When Murtazā left Ahmadnagar after his favourite Sāhib Khān, many nobles of the court wrote to Burhān to depose Murtazā and ascend the throne. Burhān persuaded Jujār Khān, the commandant of Lohogaḍ to release him. From Lohogaḍ he marched towards Junnar with five to six thousand troops. Murtazā now commanded Asad Khān to proceed to Ahmadnagar. He himself moved towards Ahmadnagar from Kandhār. Asad Khān persuaded the discontented foreigners to join him and prepared to face Burhān who had encamped at Kanur (Pārner). In the meanwhile Murtazā reached Ahmadnagar and marched against Burhān. After a short engagement, Burhān was defeated and fled the battlefield (27th May 1580). Murtazā Nizām Śāh was now free to deal with his favourite Sāhib Khān against whom many representations had been received. He sent orders to Sayyad Murtazā to march against Sāhib Khān and either imprison him and bring him to Ahmadnagar or drive him out of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. Sāhib Khān was now at Rāñjaṇī which he had captured from its commandant Bahrī Khān. Sayyad Murtazā sent Khudāvand Khān and other nobles to Rāñjaṇī with instructions to take him to Ahmadnagar or kill him. Khudāvand Khān was joined by Jamśīd Khān Śirāzī and Bahrī Khān at Jālnā. As they approached Rāñjaṇi they sent messages to Sāhib Khān asking for an interview. Sāhib Khān, without knowing the real intentions of these noblemen, and under the influence of liquor, agreed. In the interview Khudāvand Khān killed Sāhib Khān with a stroke of his dagger. Sayyad Murtazā informed Murtazā Nizām Śāh of the happening. Murtazā Nizām Śāh could not tolerate the death of his favourite and withdrew entirely from the affairs of

the state. He expressed his intention of proceeding on a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. One day he secretly left for Hūmayūnpūr. The nobles of the kingdom. Śāh Haider and other *Maulavis*, however, persuaded him to drop his plans. Murtazā then retired to Ahmadnagar. He appointed Śāh Haider as his prime minister. The latter soon incurred the disfavour of Murtazā Nizām Śāh by his arrogant and disobedient nature and was dismissed by Murtazā. Murtazā had now again a fit of remorse and left for Daulatābād. He now decided to retire from the world. Once again he was persuaded to give up his intention by his nobles who went to Daulatābād. He now appointed Asad Khān as his *Vakil* and *Peśvā* and on the latter's insistence appointed Salābat Khān as his co-partner[1]. Śāh Haider was ordered to go to Daulatābād where he was kept under house arrest. Later he was allowed to go and stay in his *mokāsā* place of Daṇḍa Rājpurī. Sometime afterwards Murtazā returned to Ahmadnagar and took up his residence in the garden of Haśt-i-Behiśt. He remained in complete seclusion. The only contact which Salābat Khān and Asad Khān maintained with Murtazā was through a young eunuch who now seemed to have become the favourite of Murtazā.[2] It was at this time that Salābat Khān gradually gained ascendency over Asad Khān in the affairs of the state. He even desired the subordination of Sayyad Murtazā, the *Amir-ul-Umrā* of Berār to him. He wrote to him in an insulting tone which Sayyad Murtazā did not like. The attitude of Salābat Khān brought together the nobles of Berār. Asad Khān also joined hands with them. However, Asad Khān, by his sober attitude, avoided any direct confrontation with Salābat Khān. Murtazā now expressed his intention to invade the kingdom of Bidar and occupy the city of Bidar. An alliance was formed with Qutb Śāh and preparations were made for the proposed expedition. About twenty thousand troops commanded by Asad Khān, Salābat Khān, Mirzā Yādgār *alias* Khān Jahān, Cugtāī Khān, Muhammad Khān Turkmān, Śāhāwardī Khān, Candrarāj, Tamṭyā and Sāṭyā marched towards Bidar and besieged the fort. Malik Barīd offered stubborn resistance. On being hard pressed, he appealed to Alī Ādil Śāh for help. Alī Ādil agreed to help Malik Barīd, on condition that the latter would dispatch one of his beautiful slaves to the former. Malik Barīd agreed to the condition. Ādil Śāh dispatched 10,000 troops to the succour of Bidar.[3] Murtazā got annoyed at this posture of Bijāpūr and decided to invade that kingdom. Circumstances favoured an

---

[1] Salabat Khan was a slave of *Sultan* Shah Tahmasp of Iran and was sent by him as a present to Murtaza Nizam Shah. His cleverness and wisdom took him to a position of distinction in the kingdom of Ahmadnagar.

[2] It was at this time (1580) that Sayyad Ali, the author of *Burhan-i-Masir*, came to Ahmadnagar from Irak.

[3] Among many of the *Sultans* of the Deccan this trait of perversion was apparent. Unfortunately for Ali Adil, the eunuch could not tolerate the advances of Ali Adil Shah and stabbed him to death with a dagger (9th April 1580). Ali was succeeded by his nephew Ibrahim under the title of Ibrahim Adil Shah.

CHAPTER 3. The Nizamshahi of Ahmadnagar.

MURTAZA NIZAM SHAH.

expedition against Bijāpūr.[1] Murtazā formed an alliance with Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh and a plan was envisaged for an expedition against Bijāpūr, the first object of attack being Śolāpūr. An army was prepared and its command was entrusted to Bahizād-ul-Mulk Turk[2]. Bahizād-ul-Mulk marched in the direction of Śolāpūr laying waste the territory on his way. Ādil Śāh was informed of this invasion. Kiśvar Khān prepared to meet the aggressor by assembling a force of 20,000 and put it under the command of Afzal Khān, Moghal Khān and Miyān Buddu. They were ordered to proceed to Bidar and join hands with the contingent sent there for the succour of that city. They were then to oppose a force of 8,000 Qutbśāhī troops marching towards Śolāpūr, before it joined the Nizāmśāhī troops there. Accordingly the Bijāpūrīs marched towards the Qutbśāhī troops and defeated them. They were pursued up to Tandur. The Bijāpurīs then returned and marched against the Nizāmśāhī troops which had invaded their kingdom. The Ahmadnagar troops under Bahijād-ul-Mulk were ill prepared for war and hence Salābat Khān sent additional reinforcements, under Sayyad Murtazā. Sayyad Murtazā sent an urgent message to Bahijād-ul-Mulk to join forces with him. Bahijād-ul-Mulk paid no attention to this call. He camped in a leisurely fashion at Osmanābād. While in camp he was surprised by the Ādilśāhī army. He fled from the battle leaving his camp and equipage in the hands of the Bijāpurīs. The news of the rout of Bahijād unsettled the camp of Sayyad Murtazā and he too left his camp destroying all the heavy baggage. The Bijāpurīs did not pursue the defeated army and marched towards Bidar. Sayyad Murtazā halted on the banks of a river in his retreat where the nobles of Berār and Bahijād-ul-Mulk joined him with the remnants of their army. When the Nizāmśāhī forces besieging Bidar received the news of the advance of Bijāpurīs towards Bidar, they raised the siege and retired to Ahmadnagar. Murtazā Nizām Śāh now issued orders to all the nobles of Ahmadnagar to take their forces and join Sayyad Murtazā. In a short time a large army assembled under Murtazā who now moved towards the Bijāpurīs who were camping near Naḷdurg. On the way he was joined by Sayyad Śāh Mīr, a Qutb Śāhī officer with 10,000 troops. A great battle was fought in which as Sayyad Alī claims, the Nizāmśāhī troops inflicted defeat upon the Ādilśāhī troops, forcing them to take refuge in the fortress of Naḷdurg (1580 A.D.). The fortress was invested and besieged by the Nizāmśāhī troops. The besieging army was heavily

[1] After the death of Ali Adil Shah, Kamil Khan the principal noble of Bijapur put on the throne, Ibrahim, the nephew of Ali Adil. Kamil Khan usurped all the power and thereby antagonised the nobility of the kingdom. As a result Kamil Khan was shorn of all power, by a confederacy of nobles headed by Kishwar Khan who now became the chief administrator of the kingdom. Kishwar Khan had to face another rival in the person of Sayyad Mustafa Khan. Kishwar Khan eliminated Mustafa Khan with the help of Ahmad Mirza, Nuruddin Muhammad Nishaburi and other nobles. This caused confusion in the affairs of that kingdom and made it vulnerable to attack.

[2] Ferishta says that he was a Circasian by birth.

attacked from the fort with a shower of artillery, guns and arrows and forced to retreat. The siege dragged on. The besiegers could not make any impact upon the defences of the fort. In the meanwhile, the Nizāmśāhī army was reinforced by a contingent from Goḷcoṇḍā, commanded by Prince Muhammad Qulī. Muhammad Qulī soon got tired of the stalemate. Sayyad Murtazā, fearing that Sultān Qulī might march back to Goḷcoṇḍā decided to raise the siege of Naḷdurg and proceed to attack Bijāpūr as a diversionary move. The Bijāpurī garrison was, however, alerted by their spies about the movements of the Nizāmśāhī army. They left the fort and marched posthaste to Bijāpūr reaching it long before the Nizāmśāhī troops reached its environs. The Bijāpurīs were now reinforced by the return of the contingent of troops sent by Hājī Kiśvar Khān, son of Kamāl Khān, to eliminate Mustafā Khān. However, in the power struggle at Bijāpūr Kiśvar Khān lost his hold upon the nobility and was expelled from the kingdom[1]. The attempts of Ain-ul-Mulk Kanānī to seize power at Bijāpūr were also frustrated and he had to flee to his *Jāgir* estates. At this time the Nizāmśāhī troops were camping at Śolāpūr. They now marched towards Bijāpūr. A few miles away from Bijāpūr, a general engagement took place between the combined forces of Ahmadnagar and Goḷcoṇḍā and Bijāpūr in which the latter were worsted. The Bijāpurīs were pursued right up to the gates of Bijāpūr by the victorious army.

In the meanwhile news was received of the capture of the fortress of Kaltur by the Qutbśāhī general, Mīr Zaināl Astrābādī and his march to join hands with the Nizāmśāhī troops which had invested Bijāpūr. Ādil Śāh now decided to attack the Qutbśāhī forces before their junction with the Nizāmśāhī troops and sent his general, Mirzā Nuruddin Muhammad Niśāburī, to counter his movements. Niśāburī, however, did not succeed in checking the advance of Mir Zaināl and had to retire to Bijāpūr. The Nizāmśāhī troops were now reinforced

[1] The details about the fall of Kishwar Khan are as under : After Kishwar Khan conspired the death of Mustafa Khan, his relations with Chandbibi took a bad turn. Kishwar Khan arrested her and sent her in confinement to the fort of Satara. He then sent a message with Miyan Buddu to the nobles of Naldurg to offer stiff resistance, threatening them with dire consequences in case of their failure to do so. Miyan Buddu was confined by Ikhlas Khan, Dilawar Khan and Hamid Khan at Naldurg who now marched towards Bijapur to depose Kishwar Khan. There was already discontent in Bijapur due to the highhandedness of Kishwar Khan. Kishwar Khan who came to know of the movements of the nobles left the capital with Adil Shah on the pretext of going on a hunting expedition. After covering a distance of one march he thought himself incapable to oppose the confederacy of nobles and decided to flee the kingdom. He first went to Ahmadnagar and then to Golconda where he was subsequently assassinated by an Ardistani. Ikhlas Khan then assumed the reigns of administration and was appointed the prime minister of Bijapur. He recalled Chandbibi but she contrived the dismissal of Ikhlas Khan and appointed Afzal Khan Shirazi in his place. Ikhlas Khan, however, plotted the murder of Afzal Khan and took charge of the administration. He detested the partiality of Chandbibi towards the foreigners, and forced Shah Fathulla Shirazi, Shah Abdul Qasim, Murtaza Khan Inju and other foreigners out of the capital. The Habshi Muslims thereupon invited *Ain-ul-Mulk* Kanani back from his *Jagirs* but to their surprise when they approached to welcome him, he chained them and proceeded towards Bijapur. But when he was informed of the hot reception that awaited him from the royal bodyguards, he released his prisoners and fled towards his *Jagirs*. The Habshi nobles were again reinstated to their former posts.

**CHAPTER 3.**

**The Nizamshahi of Ahmadnagar.**

MURTAZA NIZAM SHAH.

by the arrival of Mir Zainal in their camp. Kiśvar Khān who had fled Bijāpūr had taken refuge with Murtazā Nizām Śāh. He was ordered to join the Nizāmśāhī troops which had invested Bijāpūr. The Bijāpurīs could not face the combined opposition of Sayyad Murtazā, Kiśvar Khān and Mīr Zainal. Their former general Ain-ul-Mulk now visited Sayyad Murtazā in the Nizāmśāhī camp and stayed in the camp for eight days. The Habśī nobles of Bijāpūr sent him secret messages to come to the succour of Bijāpūr. He responded quickly and deserted the Nizāmśāhī camp in spite of the attacks of the Nizāmśāhī troops upon him. The Bijāpurīs, thus reinforced, prepared to defend the fort of Bijāpūr[1].

The Nizāmśāhī troops now attacked the fort of Bijāpūr. The Bijāpurīs counterattacked them under Mustafā Khān, Śer Khān, Aṅkūs Khān and Jamśīd Khān. The counterattack was beaten back and the Bijāpurīs took refuge in the fort. From the fort they heavily bombarded the besieging army. The stalemate continued for sometime. The Bijāpurīs opened negotiations through Abul Hasan who had friendly relations with Sayyad Murtazā. The negotiations, however, failed and hostilities started again with severity. The Bijāpurīs now collected a large contingent of Marāṭhā light cavalry and used it to harass the besieging army. They cut off the supplies and provisions of the combined troops of Ahmadnagar and Golconḍā and reduced them to severe straits. It was now the turn of the allies to sue for peace. Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh rejected the peace offer. The allies therefore decided to raise the siege and withdraw. However, an attack upon Gulburgā by the Qutbśāhīs and on Naldurg by the Nizāmśāhīs was planned. The plan however, failed as the Nizāmśāhī troops retired to Ahmadnagar by way of Kolhāpūr, Miraj and Qutbśāhī troops sent under Sayyad Zainal Astrābādī, now created Mustafā Khān by Qutb Śāh, were heavily defeated by Dilāvar Khān at Gulburgā[2].

---

[1] The prime minister of Bijapur at this time was Shah Abul Hasan. He requested Murtaza to persuade Baizad-ul-Mulk and Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah to raise the siege. Sayyad Murtaza Sabzavari who was at logger-heads with Baizad-ul-Mulk and Salabat Khan did not want the besiegers to succeed. He upbraided *Ain-ul-Mulk* and Ankus Khan, the Bijapuri generals who had defected to Murtaza Nizam Shah for their disloyalty to their *Sultan*. On this they left the Nizamshahi camp and retired to Bijapur. Ferishta has nothing to say about the attack upon them by the troops of Ahmadnagar.

[2] Sayyad Ali, however, states that the retreating Ahmadnagar army sacked Sholapur and then proceeded to Karhad which they plundered. From thence they marched to Raibag and passed Miraj, devastating the Adilshahi territory in their progress. From thence they advanced to invest the fort of Naldurg. The account of the siege of Naldurg is omitted by Ferishta but given by Sayyad Ali which, briefly, is as under : The fort was besieged in October, 1581. Sayyad Murtaza surveyed the surroundings of the fort and ordered the battery positions to be raised on one side of the fort which had no water filled ditches. On this side was the entrance to the fort. The fort was heavily bombarded from artillery positions which included heavy guns such as *Vaha gaji*, *Laila*, *Majnu* and *Hawai* from Ahmadnagar and *Haidari* from Golconda. (Sayyad Ali does not, however, state where the junction of Ahmadnagar and Golconda troops took place after they separated from Bijapur.). The fort was commanded by *Wajir-ul-Mulk* and was well supplied with provisions and ammunitions. The siege of the fort continued for two months but the garrison fought stubbornly and repulsed the attacks of the besieging army. The attempt of Sayyad Murtaza to win over *Wajir-ul-Mulk* failed. Sayyad Ali the author of *Burhan-i-Masir* who had

MURTAZA NIZAM SHAH.

The rivalry between Sayyad Murtazā of Berār and Salābat Khān, the Ahmadnagar Vazīr, came to the fore at this time. Salābat Khān assumed so much power that he eclipsed Asad Khān, the prime minister of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. To check the growing power of Salābāt Khān, Asad Khān invited Sayyad Murtazā from Berār with his officers and the army of Berār. Sayyad Murtazā arrived at Ahmadnagar when Salābat Khān again took Asad Khān in his confidence and avoided the danger of immediate confrontation with Sayyad Murtazā through his intercession. Sayyad Murtazā then retired to Berār[1]

The truce between the two was, however, shortlived. Salābat Khān now sought an opportunity to destroy Sayyad Murtazā. Sometime after, he sent collectors of revenue to the king's domains in Berār. Sayyad Murtazā refused to co-operate and did not respect the *Sultān's* commands. On this ground Salābat Khān secured an order from Murtazā Nizām Śāh for the arrest of Sayyad Murtazā. In this dispute Asad Khān naturally sided with Sayyad Murtazā but Salābat Khān had so poisoned Murtazā Nizām Śāh's mind about Asad Khān that he refused to listen to him. It was of course difficult to execute the arrest of Sayyad Murtazā. Salābat Khān, therefore, had recourse to a stratagem to divide the nobles of Berār and unite them against Sayyad Murtazā. It was the system in the kingdom to send every year to Sayyad Murtazā dresses of honour for distribution to the nobles of Berār. This time Salābat Khān sent them individually to Berār nobles thinking that this would undermine the influence Sayyad Murtazā wielded over them[2]. It had however exactly the opposite effect and the nobles of Berār stood solidly behind Sayyad Murtazā. Sayyad Murtazā now decided to move against Salābat Khān after the rainy season of 1584. In October, the army of Berār under Sayyad Murtazā collected at Citāpūr. Sayyad Murtazā entrusted the defence of Berār to Mirzā Husain and Cugtāī Khān. He himself marched towards Ahmadnagar. Salābat Khān too, made preparations to meet Sayyad Murtazā. Many of his nobles, the chief among them being Mirzā Yādgār and Śāhavardī Khān, defected to Sayyad Murtazā who had now

*contd.*

then arrived from Irak informs that he was present when the besieging armies of Ahmadnagar and Golconda came to grips with the fort garrison which wrought heavy destruction among the besiegers by its accurate fire and killed many from among them. In the meanwhile news was received that, Hindia, an officer of Bijapur was advancing towards Naldurg with reinforcement of Maratha cavalry. Sayyad Murtaza now decided to raise the siege and advanced towards Bijapur. Accordingly, the allies withdrew and arrived on the banks of the Bhima. Here Quli Qutb Shah expressed his weariness of the campaign and his desire to retire to his own country. Qutb Shah then left the camp for his capital. Sayyad Murtaza was also tired of the campaign and retired to Berar, his fief. On their way the Qutbshahis were attacked by the Bijapuris and heavily defeated. From this account it appears that Sayyad Ali got confused in his narrative and perhaps repeats the description of the second siege of Naldurg when Irahim Qutb Shah was still living.

1 It was at this time that Ahmadnagar was visited by an envoy from Emperor Akbar, Khwaja Fathullah Kashi.

2 It was at this time that Murtaza Nizam Shah who was residing in *Bag-i Hasht-Bihisht* left the place and shifted to *Bag-i-Farahbaksh*. From here he left for a place called Manjreshan (Manjarsumbha) and from there shifted to Ahmadnagar fort. After the return of Murtaza, Salabat Khan secured from him orders dismissing Asad Khan from the post of the *Wakil* of the kingdom.

**CHAPTER 3.**

**The Nizamshahi of Ahmadnagar.**

MURTAZA NIZAM SHAH.

camped in the Jeur pass (8th December 1584). Salābat Khān attacked the army of Berār on the following day and in the hard fought battle completely routed them. Jamśīd Khān, a noble of Berār, was made a prisoner and Sayyad Murtazā and Khudāvand Khān were forced to flee the battlefield. A contingent of Koḷīs was sent in their pursuit. Mirzā Husain who was detailed along with Cugtāī Khān by Sayyad Murtazā for the defence of Berār was attacked by the commandant of the Gāvīlgaḍ fort and defeated. Both of them thereupon fled to Burhāṇpūr where they were imprisoned by the *Sultān* of Khāndeś. Sayyad Murtazā now halted at Paiṭhaṇ and soon a force of 10,000 gathered round him. The Koḷī contingent was on his heels. Sayyad Murtazā could do nothing against them and fled towards Burhāṇpūr. Sayyad Murtazā now camped on the borders of the Khāndeś kingdom. He tried to seek refuge with the *Sultān* of Khāndeś but was refused asylum. On the contrary the *Sultān* of Khāndeś sent an army against him. With no alternative left, Sayyad Murtazā, now a man well over eighty years, marched north and entered the services of Emperor Akbar[1].

The arrival of Sayyad Murtazā gave the emperor Akbar another opportunity to interfere in the affairs of the Deccan. He appointed Mirzā Aziz Kokā, the governor of Māḷvā, to command the expedition against the Deccan and placed under him Sayyad Murtazā and other nobles who had defected to the Moghals. Murtazā Nizām Śāh's brother, Burhāṇ, was also dispatched with the Moghal army which now moved from Mālvā and reached Haṇḍiā[2]. On receipt of the news of this movement of the Moghal army, Salābat Khān alerted the Nizāmśāhī army

[1] There is every reason to believe that the opposition of Sayyad Murtaza was directed not only against Salabat Khan but also against the Nizamshahi rule over Berar. With his growing power and the hold he had over the nobles of Berar, it was not difficult for Sayyad Murtaza to aspire for an independent Berar. Unfortunately for him he did not succeed.

[2] Details of this event are given below.—*Burhanu-l Mulk* was the younger brother of Murtaza *Nizamu-l Mulk*. When Husain *Nizamu-l Mulk* died, the *Nizamu-l Mulki* Kingdom descended to his eldest son, but in reality the government fell into the hands of the young prince's mother. He, like his father before him, preferred Burhan to all his friends. In course of time, designing persons stirred up strife between him and his relations, so that he seized and sent to a fortress both his mother and his brother. His ignorance and vicious propensities kept him aloof from the loyal and good, and threw him into the company of evil persons, whose bad advice quite perverted his mind. He raised a low fellow, a cock-fighter named Husain, to be his companion, and foolishly gave him the title of Asaf Khan. **This lowborn fellow stirred up a war against Bidar, and a fierce struggle went on in Kandhar. The news of these foolish proceedings soon spread abroad, and Burhan, having escaped from prison by the aid of his keeper, began to raise disturbances; but his mind was in fetters, and his fortune asleep. He cast his eyes upon the wealth of others, and began to oppress them. When *Nizamu-l Mulk* was informed of this outbreak, he hastened back, and reached Ahmadnagar on the day he desired. **Numbers of men deserted Burhan, and he was obliged to fly without fighting. He then went to Adil Khan at Bijanagar (*sic*). Not being able to effect anything there, he went in the disguise of a *jogi* to Ahmadnagar. There he lived in secret, and endeavoured to raise a party among the evil-disposed. Being discovered, he hastened to the governor of Bagalana, and not being able to effect anything there, he went to Kutbuddin Khan, at Bidar. From thence he proceeded to the Imperial Court, where he met with a gracious reception. (*Akbar-Nama* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI, pp. 70-71.)

and putting it under the command of Mirzā Muhammad Taqī dispatched it towards the frontiers of Berār. The army camped on the banks of the river Tāpī. It was joined by the nobles of the *Sultān* of Khāndeś. They had decided to side with Ahmadnagar against the Moghals. The combined armies moved towards Haṇḍiā. However, Mirzā Aziz Kokā, thinking himself incapable of facing the strong opposition, took a long detour *via* Goṇḍvana and attacked and plundered Ellicpūr. In retaliation Mirzā Taqī, sacked Haṇḍiā and the neighbourhood and marched back towards Berār. In a quick encounter, the Moghals suffered a reverse and Mirzā Aziz Kokā, without risking a further trial of strength, retired towards Māḷvā.[1]

In the same year the marriage of prince Mirān Husain with the sister of the *Sultān* of Bijāpūr was arranged. The princess was brought to Ahmadnagar. The marriage was, however, postponed due to the refusal of Ādil Śāh to cede the fort of Śolāpūr as dowry. At this time Murtazā developed an obsession for a dancer named Fatteh Śāh[2]. This person began to abuse his power by obtaining large grants of lands and gifts of the palace jewels. Murtazā ordered that Fatteh Śāh be presented with the two most valuable necklaces obtained in the plunder of Vijayanagar after the battle of Tālikoṭa. Salābat Khān did not like the transfer of the priceless palace treasure to a worthless dancer and substituted the two necklaces by equally beautiful, but artificial ones. When this news was conveyed to Murtazā by Fatteh Śāh, Murtazā ordered all the palace jewels to be brought before him for inspection and seeing the two necklaces missing threw them all into a large fire. The palace servants with great difficulty saved the jewellery from total destruction. From this time Murtazā Nizām Śāh was considered mad. Murtazā now got into his head that his son Mirān Husain desired to dethrone him. He, therefore, attempted to put him to death. Salābat Khān watched over the safety of prince Mirān Husain. At this time, irked at the refusal of Salābat Khān to celebrate the marriage of Mirān Husain with his sister or to return her to Bijāpūr unless Śolāpūr was surrendered, Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh declared war on Ahmadnagar and laid siege to the fort of Ausā. Murtazā, upset at the conduct of Salābat Khān, now called his minister and charged him with treachery. He declared that he had got weary of the minister's control over him. Salābat Khān, without any remonstrance, offered his resignation and begged Murtazā Nizām Śāh to appoint any place for his confinement. Murtazā named Daṇḍa Rājapurī. Salābat Khān was immediately put under guard and carried to the prison at Daṇḍa Rājapurī[3]. Murtazā Nizām Śāh now appointed Mirzā

[1] Sayyad Ali gives the name of the dancer as Tulji. According to him Fattu or Fatteh Shah was another dancer who became Murtaza's favourite subsequently.

[2] This account is entirely based upon the narrative of Sayyad Ali in *Burhan-i-Masir*.

[3] Sayyad Ali states that Murtaza first ordered Salabat Khan to proceed to the fort of Darb and not to return from that place without specific orders. Salabat Khan, however, shortly returned to Ahmadnagar. Secondly Murtaza sent Salabat Khan towards Junnar to make arrangements for his visit there. Salabat Khan left

**CHAPTER 3.**

**The Nizamshahi of Ahmadnagar.**

MURTAZA NIZAM SHAH.

Sādiq and Bahizād-ul-Mulk jointly to the post of *Peśvā* and *Vakīl-i-Mutalaq* of the kingdom. However, soon after, Bahizād-ul-Mulk incurred the displeasure of Murtazā. He was dismissed and imprisoned at Pareṇḍā (February 1587) and Mirzā Sādiq appointed as the prime minister of the kingdom.

Ibrāhīm Ādil now invaded the Ahmadnagar kingdom. When this was conveyed to Murtazā he ordered the recall of Salābat Khān and Bahizād-ul-Mulk and restoration of their respective *Jāgirs* to them. He also instructed the army to march towards the Bijāpūr frontier. However, thinking that the recall of Salābat Khān would be construed as weakness on his part, Murtazā rescinded his orders. Salābat Khān, however, disobeyed and reached Ahmadnagar. Bahizād-ul-Mulk now aspired to work jointly with Mirzā Sādiq as prime minister. The latter complained to Murtazā about it. Murtazā thereupon instructed Mirzā Sādiq to put Bahizād-ul-Mulk under arrest. Mirzā Sādiq advised that when the Bijāpurīs had invaded the kingdom it would be improper to arrest Bahizād-ul-Mulk. Murtazā lost his patience with Mirzā Sādiq and now ordered Bahizād-ul-Mulk to confine both Salābat Khān and Mirzā Sādiq in the fort of Rājurī. These orders were carried out. Bahizād now requested Murtazā to appoint him as the *Peśvā* and *Vakīl* of the kingdom. But Murtazā refused and appointed Kāsim Beg Hakim to that post on 13th February, 1587. Kāsim Beg now opened negotiations with Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh who had attacked Pareṇḍā and persuaded him to withdraw, convincing him that Salābat Khān who was the cause of all this had been imprisoned. The marriage between Mirān Husain and the sister of Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh was now celebrated at Patori. Murtazā now invited Prince Mirān Husain to stay with him but becoming suspicious of him decided to destroy the Prince. He set fire to the bed clothes of Mirān Husain when he was asleep and fastened the door of the bedchamber. Fatteh Śāh who heard the cries of the prince for help rescued him and carried him safely to Daulatābād. When Murtazā failed to find the remains of the prince's corpse he enquired of Fatteh Śāh who disclosed the truth of the matter. Murtazā then sent Ahmad Khān as commandant of the fort of Daulatābād in place of Muhib Khān, secretly ordering the former to murder Mirān Husain. But Ahmad Khān, who had an affection for the prince, did not carry out the orders. Under instructions from Kāsim Beg he sent the severed head of a person similar in looks to Mirān Husain. When ultimately the truth was discovered, Murtazā dismissed Kāsim Beg as prime minister and appointed Habib Khān, a former finance minister as prime minister. He too, soon incurred the disfavour of

*contd.*

for Junnar but returned again to Ahmadnagar without Murtaza's orders. Thirdly Murtaza declared his intention to visit Patori. Again Salabat Khan was sent to make adequate preparations for the visit. At that place Murtaza fell sick and was treated by Hakim Kasim Beg and Hakim Kashi. They poisoned Murtaza's mind about Salabat Khan. This time also he had returned to Ahmadnagar without Murtaza's orders. Murtaza now called Salabat Khan to his presence and thought of killing him but on Salabat Khan's submission pardoned him. He was ordered to be confined to the fort of Parenda. Later he was transferred to the fort of Ausa.

Murtazā and was dismissed. Murtazā now formed a council of ministers composed of Habibullāh, Sultān Husain *alias* Mirzā Khān and other noblemen. Habibullāh was appointed as prime minister[1].

MURTAZA NIZAM SHAH.

When these events were taking place at Ahmadnagar a letter was received from Rājā Baharjī of Bāglāṇa soliciting help against his brother Nārāyaṇ. Murtazā agreed and sent Nur Khān, Saif Khān, Abhaṅg Khān, Jahāṅgīr Khān and Saif-ul-Mulk under the command of Farhād Khān. In the meanwhile Nārāyaṇ had defeated Baharjī and usurped the throne. The Nizāmśāhī troops halted on the borders of Bāglāṇa and conveyed the news of the happening to Murtazā Nizām Śāh. A serious rivalry now developed between Habibullāh and Mirzā Khān which ultimately led to the dismissal of the former. Murtazā now enjoined upon Mirzā Khān to destroy Mirān Husain. Mirzā Khān outwardly showed his acquiescence. He had decided to espouse the cause of the prince. He recalled the officers who had proceeded to Bāglāṇa and persuaded them to join him in the conspiracy against Murtazā. He also secretly corresponded with Ādil Śāh, requesting him to send a detachment to support the cause of Mirān Husain. Ādil Śāh agreed to send a force. Mirzā Khān moved from Ahmadnagar and camped at Rānurī. Ferishta, the noted historian had command of a platoon of guards. He was sent to enquire about the movements of Mirzā Khān by Murtazā Nizām. Mirzā Khān, however, bribed Fatteh Śāh to persuade Murtazā to recall Ferishta. He thought that his movements and his conspiracy would be conveyed to Murtazā by Ferishta as the latter was greatly attached to Murtazā Nizām Śāh. Mirzā Khān now wanted to prevent Ferishta's return from the camp. Suspecting foul play Ferishta made good his escape. Mirzā Khān now marched to Daulatābād to bring back Mirān Husain and seat him on the throne. Getting panicky, Murtazā sent orders for the release of Salābat Khān on the advice of Ferishta. Murtazā, however, did not leave the palace for fear of being imprisoned by the guards. Perceiving the imbecility of the *Sultān*, the troops marched to Daulatābād. Mirzā Khān also hastened towards Ahmadnagar so as to reach it before the arrival of Salābat Khān from the fort of Rājurī[2]. When Mirzā Khān

[1] Ferishta states that Murtaza appointed Mirza Muhammad Sadiq Urdubadi to succeed Kasim Beg. But when Sadiq refused to destroy prince Miran Husain, he was dismissed and Sultan Husain Sabzavari *alias* Mirza Khan was appointed as *Wakil* and *Peshwa* of the kingdom.

[2] Sayyad Ali states that when Murtaza received the news of the invasion of Adil Shah, he sent his officers to oppose the invader. They camped at Patori (Pathardi). Murtaza also left Ahmadnagar and moved towards Patori when the officers moved their camp and marched to Dhanora. Most of the officers in the army were against Murtaza Nizam Shah. Murtaza contrived to arrest Mirza Khan with the help of Ismail Khan, who was one of the favourites of Murtaza Nizam Shah. Mirza Khan, however, secured his release by deceiving Ismail Khan. He marched with other officers to Daulatabad where Miran Husain was kept in confinement. Murtaza then marched from Patori to Malakasi and from thence to Ahmadnagar. The commandant of the fort of Daulatabad now declared for Miran when Mirza Khan reached Daulatabad. Miran appointed Mirza Khan as the prime minister

**CHAPTER 3. The Nizamshahi of Ahmadnagar.**

MURTAZA NIZAM SHAH.

arrived at Ahmadnagar the palace guards under the command of Ferishta deserted him. He was left with Fatteh Śāh and a few domestics to protect Murtazā Nizām Śāh. Mirzā Khān and Mirān Husain surrounded the palace with 40,000 troops and put many to death. Ferishta escaped, as he had, once been a tutor to prince Mirān Husain. Mirān Husain now approached the wretched Murtazā and insulted him in every conceivable manner. Murtazā gazed at his son with silent contempt and sighed when Mirān drew the naked sword across the breast of his helpless father. Mirān put his father in a bath and closing the doors and windows lighted a great fire underneath. Murtazā was speedily suffocated and died a horrible death (14th June 1588).

MIRAN HUSAIN NIZAM SHAH.

Mirān Husain, a headstrong and cruel youth, succeeded Murtazā Nizām Śāh. When the news of the revolt in Ahmadnagar had reached Ibrāhīm Ādil, he had proceeded towards Ahmadnagar to support the cause of Mirān Husain, his brother-in-law. When he was informed in his camp at Pāthardī, of the terrible events that had shaken Ahmadnagar, he wrote a strong letter to Mirān Husain condemning him for murdering Murtazā and left for Bijāpūr without congratulating Mirān Husain on his accession to the throne[1].

Mirān Husain now confirmed Mirzā Khān in the post of prime minister. He was also appointed as the commander-in-chief of the army. Mirān, however, rarely paid any heed to his advice. He promoted several youths to high ranks and made them the companions of his pleasures and excesses. Mirzā Khān had, however, his enemies among the ranks of foreigners They conspired against Mirzā Khān, informing Mirān Husain Śāh, that Mirzā Khān proposed to put on the throne Mirān Qāsīm whom he had brought to Junnar[2]. Mirān Husain immediately imprisoned Mirzā Khān. After enquiry, finding the minister innocent, he restored him to his post of prime minister[3] Mirzā Khān, however, resigned and advised Mirān Husain to entrust the office to Kāsīm Beg, Sayyad Mīr Śarif Jilānī and

*contd.*
and Mir Muhammad Saleh Nishaburi as *sarnobat* creating him Khan Khanan. Then he moved to Ahmadnagar. Confusion prevailed at Ahmadnagar where all the officers had deserted Murtaza Nizam Shah. Finding the situation beyond his control Ismail Khan sent the royal canopy to Miran Husain and himself went over to him. Miran Husain who had now arrived in Ahmadnagar transferred Murtaza from Bagdad Palace to the *Hamamkhana* of Haidar Khan. He then ordered the execution of his father which was carried out by Mirza Khan.

1 Sayyad Ali states that Ibrahim Adil had left Bijapur and camped at Pathardi with the object of invading Ahmadnagar. Miran Husain also prepared to meet him. When Ibrahim Adil came to know of this he wrote to Miran that he (Miran) had misunderstood his (Adil Shah's) movements. Actually he (Adil Shah) had arrived at Jayachand to participate in the death rites of Murtaza Nizam Shah. But now he (Adil Shah) had no desire to take part in the proceedings and was therefore retiring to Bijapur. Sayyad Ali also blatantly tells that Ibrahim Adil on his way suffered heavily when the flooded Bhima swept away his camp equipage, horses, elephants and men.

2 Sayyad Ali gives the name of the place as Sinnar.

3 Ferishta informs that Mirza Khan advised Miran Husain to execute Miran Qasim. Miran agreed and accordingly Miran Qasim, his sons and brothers were executed at Sinnar on a single day.

Sayyad Muhammad Samnānī. However, these three always consulted Mirzā Khān who raised many of his friends such as Sayyad Murtazā, Khān Khānān, Jamśid Khān, Sayyad Hasan, Farhād Khān, Bahādur Khān Gilānī, Amin-ul-Mulk and others to high posts. Mirān Husain spent his time in the company of his depraved friends and as Sayyad Ali states, wandered through the streets of Ahmadnagar in search of pleasure. Among his friends were Aṅkūs Khān, Aṁbar Khān and Yākut Khān. An enmity developed between Mirzā Khān and Aṅkūs Khān. Aṅkūs Khān, who had the backing of Mirān Husain decided to destroy Mirzā Khān. Mirān Husain in one of his drunken bouts declared that he would behead Mirzā Khān or have him trod to death by elephants. A party was arranged at the residence of Aṅkūs Khān to which Mirzā Khān and his associates were invited. At this party, Mirān Husain conspired to kill them. Mirzā Khān who suspected treachery did not attend. He managed to bring out safely his associates Khān Khānān, Jamśīd Khān, Sayyad Murtazā and others who had gone to the party. All of them then went to the fort of Ahamadnagar. Sayyad Murtazā feigned sickness and Mirzā Khān sent a message to Mirān Husain that Sayyad Murtazā was dying and wanted to see him[1]. Mirān Husain believed in the message. He went to the fort with a few attendants. He was arrested and thrown into prison. The noblemen conferred among themselves and decided to bring to Ahmadnagar, Śāh Ibrāhīm and Śāh Ismāīl, the two sons of Burhān Nizām Śāh, who had been confined at Lohogaḍ. When the princes were brought into the palace by Mustafā Khān, Mirzā Khān called the assembly of the nobles of the kingdom and declared that Mirān Husain was deposed and Śāh Ismāīl was appointed his successor. This was not to the liking of the Deccani and Abyssinian noblemen headed by Jamāl Khān. They assembled at the gates of the fort and demanded to see Mirān Husain, their lawful sovereign. Jamāl Khān proclaimed to the citizens of Ahmadnagar the story of what had happened and warned them that if Mirzā Khān was allowed to get away with what he had done, the native nobles and people of the country would soon be slaves to foreign adventurers. A crowd of 5,000 armed people soon gathered round Jamāl Khān. Mirzā Khān sent Jamśīd Khān and Sayyad Hasan to negotiate with Jamāl Khān but to no effect. Mirzā Khān even beheaded the *Kotvāl* of the city, Ināyat Khān, and appointed his own confidant Bulbul Khān. The mob surrounding the fort now grew furious and hurled stones and arrows in the direction of the fort. Mirzā Khān now decided to assassinate Mirān Husain. After this deed, the head of Mirān Husain was placed on a pole and planted on one of the bastions. This infuriated the besiegers still more who collected piles of wood and straw at the fort gates and set them on fire. The gates were burnt down and the mob rushed into the fort,

[1] Ferishta says that Mirza Khan sent his friend Agha Mir in his place to the party. On the dinner table he pretended to be seized with violent pains and declaring that he was poisoned left the house.

**CHAPTER 3.**

**The Nizamshahi of Ahmadnagar.**

MIRAN HUSAIN NIZAM SHAH.

in spite of the resistance offered by Mirzā Khān. A horrible massacre followed. Mirzā Khān escaped to Junnar where shortly afterwards he was arrested and brought back to Ahmadnagar. He was carried through the city on an ass. His body was mangled. The massacre of the foreigners continued for a whole week in which thousands, both guilty and innocent, were killed[1]. After the gloom of death had settled over the city, Jamāl Khān placed Ismāīl Nizām Śāh on the throne. He appointed Yākut Khān as commander of the army and gave him the title of Khudāvand Khān. He also raised to high ranks Śāh Abu Turāb, Amjad-ul-Mulk Mehedvī, Khānmalik, Nizām Khān Niśāburī, Basunat Khān, Kāmil Khān, Aminullāh Burhāṇpurī and Etimād Khān.

ISMAIL NIZAM SHAH.

At this time Muhammad Khān *Sarnobat* was the *Amir-ul-Umrā* of Berār. Most of the foreigners who had escaped the massacre took refuge with Muhammad Khān, or entered the service of Bijāpūr. Ferishta, the noted Persian historian, migrated to Bijāpūr and entered the service of Ādil Śāh. Jamāl Khān now confiscated the property of all the foreigners who had quitted the Ahmadnagar kingdom. The foreigners who had assembled in Berār decided to release Salābat Khān who had been confined in the fort of Khedlā and march against Jamāl Khān and his Mehedvī followers under his leadership. An approach was made to Muzaffar Khān Māzindarāṇī, the commandant of the fort of Khedlā, to release Salābat Khān. He agreed. Accordingly Salābat Khān moved from the fort and marched along with the foreign nobles towards Ahmadnagar. Jamāl Khān also moved from Ahmadnagar and reached Paiṭhaṇ. He succeeded in seducing many officers of Salābat Khān over to his side by promising them rewards. He then engaged Salābat Khān in battle and inflicted a crushing defeat upon him. Salābat Khān, Bahirī Khān and Māzindarāṇī fled to Rājā Ali Khān, the *Sultān* of Khāndeś. Taking advantage of the factions prevailing in Ahmadnagar, Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh sent his general Dilāvar Khān to invade Ahmadnagar. Jamāl Khān marched to meet him. Both armies halted at Aṣṭā without making any hostile movement. Ultimately Jamāl Khān thought himself incapable of offering resistance to Dilāvar Khān and sued for peace. Dilāvar Khān agreed on condition that Khadijā Sultānā, the wife of Mirān Husain should be surrendered and war indemnity of 75,000 *hons* be paid. Jamāl Khān then returned to Ahmadnagar[2].

---

[1] Sayyad Ali gives the names of those killed in this massacre as follows:-Kaj Nuruddin Ispahani, Mir Muhammad Husain Tabataba, Mir Husain Gilani, Maulana Najmuddin Shustari, Kasim Beg, Mir Muhammad Taki, Mir Sharif, Mir Sadiq, Mir Ijuddin Astrabadi, Mirza Khan, Khan Khanan, Amin-ul-Mulk, Sayyad Murtaza, Bahadur Khan Gilani, Babu Khan, Sayyad Muhammad Samnani, and Aka Malik Mazindarani. Ferishta adds the following names to the list :- Baini Khan, Nustahir Alavi, Aka Mir, Shahabaj Khan Dakhani and Ismail Khan.

[2] Sayyad Ali says that Jamal Khan called back Salabat Khan from Burhanpur and on his arrival treated him respectfully. Salabat Khan expressed his desire to retire to Tisgaon which Jamal Khan now gave him in *Jagir*. He built palaces and gardens at that place. Shortly after he fell sick and returned to Ahmadnagar

CHAPTER 3.

**The Nizamshahi of Ahmadnagar.**

ISMAIL NIZAM SHAH.

The commotions in the kingdoms of the Deccan invited the attention of emperor Akbar. He decided to take advantage of the troubles. Burhāṇ, the father of Ismāīl Nizām Śāh, had fled from the wrath of his brother Murtazā Nizām Śāh and been given a *Jāgir* by Akbar at Haṇḍia[1]. Akbar now encouraged him to invade the kingdom of Ahmadnagar and wrest it from his son Ismāīl Nizām Śāh. Akbar also offered to support Burhāṇ with material help. Burhāṇ wisely refused the assistance offered by Akbar fearing that it would antagonise the Deccan nobility. Akbar finally permitted him to proceed to the Deccan along with a few of his followers. He also wrote to Rājā Alī Khān to support Burhāṇ. Burhāṇ proceeded to the Deccan. He was convinced of strong support as he had received overtures of assistance from many of the Deccan nobility. When he received the news of the march of Burhāṇ in Berār, Jamāl Khān made preparations to oppose him. However, Burhāṇ was defeated by Jahāṅgīr Khān Habśī, an officer of the Berār army[2]. A Moghal officer, Cugtāī Khān, who had accompanied Burhāṇ died of a bullet wound. Burhāṇ fled the battlefield and retired to Haṇḍiā. From Haṇḍiā he took refuge with Rājā Alī Khān of Khāndeś, and camped at Kandoha (Khāṇḍava)[3].

Burhāṇ now renewed his attempts to wrest the throne from his son Ismāīl Nizām Śāh[4]. When he approached Rājā Alī

*contd.*

for medical treatment. He, however, could not survive and died soon. Some say that he was poisoned by Jamal Khan. Ferishta states that Salabat Khan retired to Yankapur where he died in 1590.

[1] Ferishta gives the following antecedents of Burhan Nizam Shah II:

Boorhan Nizam Shah II, during the reign of his brother, Moortaza Nizam Shah, was confined in the fort of Lohgur, but had a large estate allowed him for his support, so that he passed his days not without many comforts. At the time when Sahib Khan, disgusted with Moortaza Nizam Shah, left the capital, and the King followed him to Bidur to induce him to return, a party at the court besought Boorhan Nizam Shah to put forth his claim to the throne, on the plea that his brother was mad, and unfit to reign. Allured by promises of support, Boorhan Nizam Shah gained over the governor of Lohgur, and appeared in arms at the head of six thousand horse, with which force he moved towards Ahmudnuggur. Moortaza Nizam Shah, upon intelligence of this insurrection, hastened back from Bidur to Ahmudnuggur. On passing through the streets to the palace, he stopped his elephant at the shop of a druggist, and asked him if he had any medicine that would cure madness, saying, that he did not know who required it most, himself, who wished to live the life of a recluse, and yet to rule a kingdom, or his brother, who with the enjoyment of ease, was plunging himself into the cares of public life. The man replied, that his brother was the mad-man, who could ungratefully rebel against so kind a protector, and would not prosper in his treason. The next day, Boorhan Nizam Shah was defeated, and fled to Beejapoor. Two years afterwards, he made another attempt, but with no better success, and sought protection with the Emperor Akbur, with whom he continued till the accession of his son to the throne, of which he dispossessed him as above related. (Brigg's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, pp. 282-83).

[2] Burhan had made overtures to Jahangir Khan and had succeeded in winning him over to his side. When, however, Burhan entered Berar, Jahangir Khan shifted his position and attacked him.

[3] Sayyad Ali states that Burhan sent orders to Jamal Khan declaring his arrival and offering him promises of favour. He also wrote to Salabat Khan who was then at Burhanpur. Both however, disregarded the overtures made by Burhan.

[4] The details of this are as follows: When *Burhan-ul-Mulk* made his first attempt on the territory of the South, and was unsuccessful, he returned to his estates. Now that Khan-i-Azam had gone to Gujarat, and Shahbaz Khan was dead, he be took himself to Raja Ali Khan the ruler of Khandesh, who, in compliance with the imperial commands, was eager to assist him. He had also agreed with Adil Khan,

**CHAPTER 3.**

**The Nizam-shahi of Ahmadnagar.**

ISMAIL NIZAM SHAH.

Khān, the latter advised Burhāṇ against seeking the help of the Moghals. He informed him that his purpose would be better served if he appealed to the *Sultāns* of the Deccan. Accordingly Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh wrote to Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh. Ādil Śāh consented and sent a large force from the south to invade the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. Jamāl Khān had instructed Sayyad Ajmad-ul-Mulk of Berār to oppose Rājā Alī Khān and Burhāṇ Nizām on the northern frontier. He himself marched to counter Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh. He was accompanied by 10,000 Mehedvīs. He reached the village of Karinārī where he learnt of the defection of the Berār nobles to Burhāṇ Nizām. His own second in command Abhaṅg Khān also deserted him and joined Burhāṇ Nizām. Jamāl Khān was now attacked by Dilāvar Khān, the Bijāpurī commandant, who had led the main Bijāpurī army under Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh. A hand to hand battle was fought in which Jamāl Khān's artillery positions were destroyed. The other two Bijāpurī generals Aṅkūs Khān and Ain-ul-Mulk broke the rear of Jamāl Khān. Dilāvar Khān's army now fell upon the camp of Jamāl Khān and started looting it, leaving their commandant with only a few soldiers. Dilāvar Khān fled the field and with him his army, leaving the entire baggage in the hands of Jamāl Khān. This included 300 elephants[1]. Flushed with this victory, Jamāl Khān marched towards Berār. Burhāṇ and Rājā Alī Khān urged Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh to attack constantly the rear of Jamāl Khān's army. Ibrāhīm detached

---

*contd.*

of Bijapur, that a force should be sent from thence when they approached Ahmadnagar; and accordingly a contingent was sent to the frontier, to await the arrival of Raja Ali's army. Jamal Khan, the governor of Ahmadnagar, resolved to prevent the junction of the two forces. Before *Burhan-ul-Mulk* came near, Jamal Khan defeated his son Ismail, and then hastened to attack the forces of Bijapur, and defeated them with little difficulty. When, after this, *Burhan ul-Mulk* entered Berar, *Muhammad-ul-Mulk* and ** other chiefs joined him. Jamal Khan, inflated with his previous victory, marched out rashly to oppose him. ** Raja Ali Khan placed *Burhan-ul-Mulk* in charge of the *amirs* of Birar, and gave battle to Jamal Khan. A sharp fight ensued; but Jamal Khan was killed by a musketshot, and his army was broken up. A great victory was gained. Soon after, Ismail Khan, the son, was brought in a prisoner, and was placed in confinement. The ruler of Khandesh then led a detachment to Ahmadnagar, and soon made himself master of the whole country.

When *Burhan-ul Mulk* got possession of Ahmadnagar, he had a fine opportunity of showing his gratitude and fidelity, and of making himself an example to other rulers. But the intoxication of success got the mastery over him. He forgot the many and great favours he had received, oppressed the people under him, and sought his own advantage in the wrongs of others. The Emperor determined to send first an envoy to Raja' Ali Khan, who had raised Burhan to the position he held, to consult with him and the other rulers of that quarter, as to whether they would invade his territories. If they agreed, the ambassador was to return; if not, an Imperial army was to be sent. Shaikh Abul Faiz Faizi, "the prince of poets," was accordingly sent to Raja Ali Khan and *Burhan-ul Mulk.—Akbar-Nama* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI, p. 87-88.

[1] This account is based on *Burhan-i-Masir*. Ferishta gives a slightly different version. He informs that the Bijapuris marched upto Naldurg and Dharashiv. Jamal Khan encamped a few miles to the north of Dharashiv with Ismail Nizam Shah. It was then that Dilawar Khan who had detached himself for Ibrahim Adil Shah approached Jamal Khan's encampment. He, however, received a message from Ibrahim Adil instructing him not to attack Jamal Khan. Dilawar Khan with 30,000 troops under his command was confident of victory over Jamal Khan. He sent his Maratha cavalry to cut off the supplies of Jamal Khan. The other Adil Shahi nobles including Ankus Khan and *Ain-ul-Mulk*, thinking that Dilawar Khan had incurred the displeasure of Ibrahim Adil Shah and was fighting against his

ISMAIL NIZAM SHAH.

his Marāṭhā cavalry to follow Jamāl Khān. It cut off his supplies from his camp at Pāthrī. Jamāl Khān was now deserted by most of his troops. He relied on his Mehedvī followers to win the day for him. In the meanwhile Burhāṇ had occupied the Rohan Kheḍ pass and was advancing further. Jamāl Khān was now thoroughly exhausted by his long march. He decided to attack Burhāṇ near the frontiers. Both the troops faced each other and a general action soon ensued. Sayyad Alī says that most of the army of Jamāl Khān got stuck up in the mud and was repulsed by the accurate artillery fire from Burhāṇ Nizām's army. Jamāl Khān, however, fought grimly. The battle would have ended in his favour when he was killed by a chance shot. The fall of Jamāl Khān signalled the victory of Burhāṇ over his son Ismāīl Nizām Śāh. The army of Jamāl Khān led by Dastur Khān fled the field of battle. They took Ismāīl with them. Ismāīl was, however, captured in a village and confined by his father. He had reigned for a short period of two years. Burhāṇ now ascended the throne under the title of Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh II. His first act was to annul all orders favouring the doctrines of the Mehedvī sect and by threatening with death those who persisted in the heresy. Thus, he practically banished the sect out of his dominions. The *Śiāh* religion was restored and many of the foreigners who had left the kingdom due to the persecution of Mirzā Khān returned. In his war of succession with his son Ismāīl, Burhāṇ was assisted by Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh. Ibrāhīm's general Dilāvar Khān had been defeated by Jamāl Khān. He incurred the displeasure of his master and now entered the service of Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh. Ibrāhīm Ādil protested against the employment of his ex-general to which Burhāṇ sent a cool and insulting reply. This brought on war with Bijāpūr, when at the instigation of Dilāvar Khān, Burhāṇ invaded that kingdom. He advanced as far as Maṅgaḷveḍhā without opposition. Fearing some sort of stratagem by the Bijāpurīs to ambush him he declined to move further. But Dilāvar Khān allayed his fears and Burhāṇ continued to advance. He arrived as far as Bhīmā. Finding a ruined fortification there, Burhāṇ ordered its repairs. Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh, who uptill now had not taken any cognizance of Burhāṇ's movements decided to intervene. He sent a message to Dilāvar Khān to return and take charge of his former post. Dilāvar Khān easily fell into the trap and inspite of the advice of Burhāṇ took his leave to rejoin his former master. No sooner had Dilāvar Khān reached Bijāpūr, than he was blinded by Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh and sent as a prisoner to the fort of Sātārā. Ibrāhīm now sent 10,000 horse under Rumī Khān Dakhanī and 3,000 household troops under Eliās Khān to oppose Burhāṇ

BURHAN NIZAM SHAH II.

*contd.*

orders, marched towards Ibrahim Adil Shah's camp. Dilawar Khan thus became an easy target for Jamal Khan. When Dilawar Khan attacked him, he inflicted a crushing defeat upon him and forced him to flee the battlefield. Dilawar Khan fled to Naldurg. Ferishta was one of those who fled the field of battle. He was severely wounded and left behind at Dharashiv. He was made a prisoner by Jamal Khan but made good his escape.

CHAPTER 3.

The Nizamshahi of Ahmadnagar.

BURHAN NIZAM SHAH II.

Nizām Śāh. Burhāṇ's forces were several times defeated by the Bijāpūr army. Burhāṇ then personally took the field against them and drove them across the Bhīmā. They could not be pursued due to the river being in flood. Burhāṇ was, however, reduced to miserable straits due to lack of supplies. A terrible pestilence now broke out. He therefore withdrew a few marches towards Ahmadnagar. He replenished his exhausted army and moved towards Śolāpūr. The pestilence had slightly abated. He was, however, routed by the Bijāpurīs and lost some 100 elephants and 400 horse. His troops had gone weary and started deserting him. There was also a rumour that his officers were conspiring to depose him and put his son on the throne. His retreating army was constantly harassed by the pursuing Bijāpurīs. This forced Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh to sue for peace. Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh agreed. Peace was concluded only after protracted negotiations lasting well over a month. Under the terms of the treaty Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh agreed to demolish all constructions raised by him on the Bijapūr territory. He then retired mortified and frustrated to Ahmadnagar.

After his return from the unsuccessful campaign against Bijāpūr, Burhāṇ marched against the Portuguese possessions of Revdaṇḍā. He had received a report that a ship belonging to Ahmadnagar and carrying pilgrims from Mecca which had sunk near Bassein, was held by the Portuguese. The Portuguese took possession of all the goods in the sunken ship with the help of divers[1]. Burhān now wrote to Fahim Khān, the *Subhedār* of Caul[2] district, to recover the goods appropriated by the Portu-

1. In this connection Danvers says that Burhan attacked Revdanda in spite of an agreement reached between him and the Portuguese. Burhan pointed out that some complaints were received against Mathias Da Albuquerque, the Governor of Revdanda. He made it a pretext to attack that port.

2. A brief description of the fort is given below :—

Ceul lies about seven miles to the south-east on Alibag-Revdanda road. Nearing the Roha river, on the left, two lines of high stone walls mark the north and west faces of the great fort of Portuguese, which is also known as the Agar Kot or Palm garden fort. The space enclosed by the walls is a mass of green palms. Near the north-west corner of the walls a grey mound of sea sand is heaped to the battlements by the strong northerly breezes of the dry season. The west wall is breached by the sea at many places. At the mouth of the river the channel keeps to the right close under the Korle, which with steep bare sides rises to the south, its narrow northern slope being flanked with walls and crossed by three lines of fortifications between the sea and the central fortified top. Near the centre at the Seat Gate rise the massive ruins of the citadel or Ceul castle.

The walls of the Portuguese or Agar Fort had a circuit of one and a half miles and an average height of about twenty feet, with a parapet about twelve feet broad and a curtain wall about six feet high. They enclosed a fifteen-sided space about 220 yards from north to south and 330 yards from east to west. There were two double gateways, the Land Gate on the north and the Sea Gate on the south. A third gate was added later by opening a passage for the Alibag road through the north wall. All of these but the sea gate to the south are in dilapidated condition. Besides the curtain wall which was pierced for musketry, there are the remains of nine semicircular towers. On the north or land face there were two large corner towers and two great outworks about thirty feet high which flank the north or Land Gateway.

As rulers of the sea the Portuguese had little to fear from an attack from the west or the south. The walls and towers along those two sides, except at the south entrance gate, were therefore of no great strength. The east being sheltered by the salt marsh, very massive fortifications were required. It was from the north that

guese. He wrote to Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh detailing the atrocities of the Portuguese and their policy of harassment and persecution. He was called to Ahmadnagar. Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh asked for the details about the territory over there and ordered his officers to prepare precise maps of Revdaṇḍā, Caul and Korlā[1]. He then decided that a fort should be built at Korlā with battery positions to block the way of passage to Portuguese ships going to Revdaṇḍā. The army was put under the command of Farhād Khān[2] Habśī. Etimād Khān *Sarnobat* was appointed his second in command. The army was accompanied by the following officers: Śūjāt Khān, Tāj Khān, Bijli Khān, Bahādur Khān, Nasir-ul-Mulk, Aṇṇerāv, Kāmil Khān, Suśatabā Khān and Śaikh Farid Rājā. The army marched towards Revdaṇḍā on 4th May, 1593. Farhād Khān arrived before Korlā and put Bahādur Gilānī in command of all the foreign troops. He appointed him governor of Korlā. He was ordered to blockade Revdaṇḍā. The Portuguese, however, received reinforcement of 300 men from Bassein and 200 men from Surat under Dom Alvaro Da Abranches. The Portuguese had now an overall force of over 3,000 composed of both Europeans and Natives. On July 17, 1593 they made an attack on Korlā with a contingent of over 1,000 soldiers. Bahādur Gilānī was alert. The attack was beaten off, the Portuguese suffering 300 casualties in the fighting[3].

*contd.*

an enemy must attack. To protect the north side a great moat, about seven feet deep and seventeen paces wide, was dug across from the sea to the north-west corner of the Ceul creek; two massive corner towers strengthened the east and west ends of the north wall; and two great works, parallel to the north wall, flanked the north or Land Gateway.

These walls meant to defend the fort from the attacks of enemy have fallen down at many places. The damage done is so extensive that looking to the heaps of stones, one is liable to overlook the work they have done of braving the attacks of Muhammedans.

Though the dates of the building of the different parts of the fortifications of Ceul are not all known, inscriptions and other records show that the buildings extended over more than 200 years, from about 1520 to 1721. The earliest piece of work was the fortifying of the factory or citadel between 1521 and 1524.

[1] A brief description of the fort is given below:

Korlai (Murud Peta; 18° 30′ N, 72° 50′ E; p. 1,494; RS Khopoli 96 m.) lies opposite Revdanda, at the west point of the left or south bank of the Roha creek. It is almost an island, a narrow rocky ridge about 300 feet high which stretches north-west half across the river. Inside of the ridge, hid in a grove of coco-palms, lies the large village of Korlai. From the top of Korlai hill, which is 271 feet high, to the level of the beach in the extreme north, the crest of the ridge is flanked by walls, defences strengthened by an outwork on the rocks just above sea level, and by three cross walls and towers between the outwork on the sea and the main fortifications on the top of the hill. These walls are almost dilapidated at present. Mr. Nairne considered it the most interesting Portuguese fortification in British Konkan.

[2] As in *Burhan-i-Masir*: Portuguese accounts give the month of the siege of Chaul as April, 1592. From this it appears that even before the appointment of Farhad Khan to lead the expedition against the Portuguese, hostilities must have started between the Portuguese and Ahmadnagar. According to Ferishta, before Farhad Khan took command, the Portuguese had launched night attacks twice or thrice upon the Ahmadnagar troops besieging Chaul and killed two to three thousand Deccani troops of Ahmadnagar every time. The siege operations were first in charge of Toldar, an eunuch. He was killed in action. Another Turki Officer, was then put in command. He too was killed. It was then that Farhad Khan was sent with 10,000 troops to carry on the siege." Ferishta remarks that Burhan Nizam Shah privately expressed joy when he heard of the massacre of the Deccanis at the hands of the Portuguese in the initial stages of the siege of Chaul.

[3] The Portuguese account makes no mention of this defeat.

**CHAPTER 3.**

**The Nizam-Shahi of Ahmadnagar.**

BURHAN NIZAM SHAH

The fort of Revdaṇḍā was now closely besieged and all attempts to reach reinforcements to it were stopped. The Portuguese were on the point of capitulating when the tyranny of Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh at Ahmadnagar induced many of the officers to quit the camp and proceed to Ahmadnagar. At this critical juncture the Portuguese received unexpected reinforcements. A fleet of sixty vessels full of men and stores passed close to Korlā. Under cover of darkness the fleet anchored at the harbour of Revdaṇḍā and landed a force of 4,000 men under arms. On the following morning (13th September 1593) the Portuguese moved on Korlā with 4,000 men. They attacked the Nizāmśāhī troops outside the fort under the command of Tāj Khān and Aṇṇerāv. They fled to the fort to seek refuge, and were closely pursued by the Portuguese. In the confusion the Portuguese entered the fort through the gates that were opened to take the fleeing Nizāmśāhī army inside. The Nizāmśāhī Officers Farhād Khān, Asad Khān and others were all asleep and were surprised to find the Portuguese rushing in upon them when they awoke to the situation The portuguese now started a wholesale massacre and killed upwards of 12,000 soldiers, losing only 21 men in the process[1]. Farhād Khān and his daughter were imprisoned, converted to Christianity and sent to Portugal. The Portuguese collected heavy booty. Surprisingly enough Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh was happy over the shattering defeat the Deccani Muslims had suffered at the hands of the Portuguese. He was not sorry at the loss of his prestige in the Deccan. Free from the influence of the Deccanis who had suffered martyrdom at Korlā, he raised many foreigners to high posts in the administration of the State[2]

---

[1] Some accounts place the figure of Muslim soldiers killed at well over 60,000

[2] Following is the account of Burhan Nizam Shah's campaign against the Portuguese as given by Ferishta:—

A.H. 1001. A.D. 1592 In the year 1001, Boorhan Nizam Shah marched his army against the Portuguese of Reevadunda; and despatching a large force to the sea-port of Choul, ordered that a fort should be built to prevent the entrance of the Portuguese into the harbour of Reevadunda, and this fort he called Korla. The Portuguese sailing during the night effected their escape, but they returned with reinforcements from many other ports which had also fallen into their hands; after which, they made two night-attacks on the Mahomedans, and on each occasion killed between three and four thousand Deccanies. Boorhan Nizam Shah now sent a body of about four thousand men, under Furhad Khan, to reinforce Korla; and as other troops were expected from Duman and Bassein, he appointed one Bahadur Khan Geelany, at the head of all the foreign troops, governor of the fortress of Korla, to blockade Reevadunda. The Mahomedans were now so watchful, that they could not again be surprised; and in an attack which the Portuguese made on Reevadunda they lost one hundred Europeans and two hundred native Portuguese. After this, Reevadunda was so closely besieged, and the harbour so commanded by the fort of Korla, that no assistance could reach it by sea; and the enemy was on the point of capitulating when the tyranny of the King at Ahmudnuggur induced many of the officers to quit the camp and proceed to court. At this time, a fleet of sixty vessels belonging to the Portuguese, full of men and military stores, passing close to Korla, under cover of the night, anchored safely in the harbour of Reevadunda, where they landed four thousand men, and on the following morning, at daylight, proceeded to attack Korla. Many of the Mahomedans, on the approach of the Europeans, fled in confusion to the fort, whither they were so closely followed by the Portuguese that they rushed in at the gates with them, and commenced an indiscriminate slaughter of the King's troops, who, though two to one, made little resistance, and upwards of twelve thousand Mahomedans were put to the sword. The Portuguese subsequentl reduced the fort to ashes. (Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, pp. 84—86).

BURHAN NIZAM SHAH II.

In the following year, in order to assist Ismāīl in deposing his brother Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh, Burhāṇ marched from Ahmadnagar to Belgāṅv. He had advanced to Pareṇḍā where he learnt that Ismāīl had been defeated and put to death by Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh. Covered with mortification, he returned to Ahmadnagar where he was taken dangerously ill. Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh now decided to take revenge upon Ahmadnagar for the support Burhāṇ had extended to his brother Ismāīl. He ordered his army to lay waste the territory of Ahmadnagar. Burhāṇ now entered into a compact with the Vijayanagar ruler Veṅkaṭādri who had established himself at Penukoṇḍā. It was decided that Veṅkaṭādri should invade Bijāpūr from the south and take the fortress of Baṅkāpūr, and Burhāṇ should attack the fortress of Śolāpūr from the north and reduce it. Accordingly, the Ahmadnagar forces marched under Uzbek Bahādur and besieged the fortress of Śolāpūr. In the action which took place, Uzbek Bahādur was killed and his forces were defeated. This news increased Burhāṇ's disorder and he was confined to bed. He sent for his son Ibrāhīm and appointed him his successor, passing over the claims of Ismāīl who was known to be a strict Mehedvī and an enemy of the Śiāhs. Shortly before Burhāṇ's death, a rumour spread that Ismāīl was to succeed his father. Out of fear, the foreigners fled to Bijāpūr. Ikhlās Khān, one of the partisans of Ismāīl even raised a force in support of Ismāīl and marched to Ahmadnagar along with Ismāīl. In spite of his serious illness Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh marched at the head of his troops in a palanquin and defeated prince Ismāīl at Humāyūnpūr. The prince fled to Pareṇḍā. Completely exhausted, Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh returned to Ahmadnagar and died on the following day after a reign of four years and sixteen days.

IBRAHIM NIZAM SHAH.

Ibrāhīm Niẓām Śāh succeeded his father. He appointed Miyān Mañjū Dakhanī as his prime minister as had been desired by his late father. Ikhlās Khān who had supported Ibrāhīm's brother, Ismāīl, now sought pardon. This was granted to him by Ibrāhīm Niẓām Śāh. But no sooner he had arrived in Ahmadnagar, than he began to collect Abyssinians and Muvallids[1] about him. Miyān Mañjū too began to collect adherents. Within a short time there were two parties in Ahmadnagar, one headed by the prime minister and the other headed by Ikhlās Khān. There was utter confusion and civil war appeared inevitable. The possibility of invading the kingdom of Bijāpūr was considered. Mīr Safvī, the Bijāpūr ambassador, who had come to condole and congratulate Ibrāhīm Nizām Śāh was insulted. When Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh heard of these proceedings at Ahmadnagar he declared war on Ahmadnagar and marched to Śāhadurg. Opinion was divided on the question of the policy to be adopted towards Bijāpūr. Ikhlās favoured war with Bijāpūr and made preparations accordingly. Miyān Mañjū advocated peace with Bijāpūr. He proposed that the forces of

[1] The term signified a foreigner born in India.

**CHAPTER 3. The Nizam-Shahi of Ahmadnagar.**

IBRAHIM NIZAM SHAH.

the two kingdoms should join together to meet the threat posed by the proposed invasion of the Deccan by the Emperor Akbar. Ikhlās Khān obtained the concurrence of Ibrāhīm Nizām Śāh to his proposal, while Miyān Mañjū maintained a discreet silence, Ibrāhīm sent his army to the Ahmadnagar frontiers. As the Ādilśāhī forces had not as yet made any attack upon the territory of Ahmadnagar any action against the Bijāpurīs was ruled out. Miyān Mañjū again suggested that overtures for peace be made to Bijāpūr. Ibrāhīm who was engaged in a fit of debauchery, would not hear of retreating. He crossed his frontiers into Bijāpūr and levied contribution in the Bijāpūr territory. Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh sent his general Hamid Khān to counter Ibrāhīm Nizām Śāh. Miyān Mañjū again interceded and informed Hamid Khān that the conduct of the *Sultān* was the result of his vicious habits and, the evil influence on him of designing and wicked men. He, therefore, prayed Hamid Khān not to precipitate matters by attacking Ibrāhīm Nizām Śāh. Hamid Khān agreed and encamped at a distance of two miles from the Nizāmśāhī troops. Considering this manoeuvre as proceeding from weakness, the young Nizāmśāh resolved to attack Hamid Khān on the following day. In spite of the endeavour of Miyān Mañjū and other officers to restrain him, he attacked the Ādilśāhī army on the following day[1]. He was shot in the head in the action that followed and his troops fled to Ahmadnagar.

AHMAD NIZAM SHAH.

On arriving at Ahmadnagar Miyān Mañjū took possession of the treasury and fortress. He invited Ikhlās Khān and other officers to the fortress to consider the best means for conducting the Government. Most of the Abyssinians declared for Bahādur, the infant son of Ibrāhīm Nizām Śāh and proposed a regency to be constituted under Cānd Bibi, the aunt of the late Ibrāhīm Nizām Śāh. Miyān Mañjū, however, did not agree to the plan. It was, therefore, decided that Ahmad, the son of a certain Śāh Tāhir, who claimed to be the son of Muhammad Khudābandā should be placed on the throne[2]. Ahmad was in

[1] The account of this action as given by Ferishta is as under : The two armies consisted of nearly fifty thousand cavalry, besides infantry. A severe action ensued but a most extraordinary occurrence took place. The right wing of the Nizamshahis broke the left of the Adilshahis, while those on the right wing compelled the enemy's left to give way pursuing them to a distance of six miles from the field of action. Ibrahim Nizam Shah who was with the right wing still kept his ground during the night which closed the action. On the morning, the opponents were mutually astonished to find his enemy still on the ground, and Ibrahim Nizam Shah adding some strong doses of liquor to the former's night debauch, ordered his troops under arms, many of whom were absent in pursuit of the fugitives of the Adilshahi left wing, while others were employed in plunder. Suhail Khan, the second in command in the camp, now took command of the Adilshahis and sustained the onset of the Nizamshahis headed in person by their King, who receiving a shot in the head was killed and his troops fled to Ahmadnagar with his body. (Briggs's *Ferishta* III, 290-91).

[2] Muhammad Khudabanda was the brother of the late Husain Nizam Shah I. He had fled to Bengal when Husain assumed royalty thinking that he would fall victim to the jealousy of the king. In the latter half of Murtaza Nizam Shah's reign a person calling himself Shah Tahir arrived at Daulatabad giving out that he was the son of Muhammad Khudabanda who had died in Bengal and that being reduced to distress he had come into the Deccan. The facts were not then satisfactorily

confinement at Daulatābād. He was brought to Ahmadnagar and crowned on August 6, 1594. Prayers were read in the name of the twelve *Imāms*[1]. The chiefs now divided almost the whole kingdom among themselves and sent Bahādur to the fortress of Cāvaṇḍ after removing him forcibly from the charge of Cānd Bibī. Shortly afterwards, Ahmad Śāh was proved to be an imposter. Hence Ikhlās Khān, along with the Muvallids and Abyssinians deserted his cause. Miyān Mañjū, with his Deccanies, encamped in a large body on the plain of the *Kālā Cabutrā* near the fort of Ahmadnagar. He sent his son Miyān Hasan with 700 horse to disperse the troops under Ikhlās Khān. An action was fought between the two parties. For long, the result seemed doubtful. A chance shot then hit the canopy raised over Ahmad Nizām Śāh causing great confusion in the fort. A report spread that Ahmad was dead. Miyān Hasan took to flight and threw himself into the fort. This unexpected turn gave confidence to Ikhlās Khān who advanced and laid siege to the place. He sent orders to the commandant of Daulatābād to release Nehaṅg Khān Habśī and Habaś Khān Muvallid who had been confined since the reign of Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh II. He also sent instructions to the commandant of the fort of Cāvaṇḍ to deliver prince Bahādur unto him. The commandant, however, refused to comply without special instructions from Miyān Mañjū. On this Ikhlās procured a child of the same age and proclaimed it as the descendant and lawful heir of the late Ibrāhīm Nizām Śāh. By this means he collected a force of about ten to twelve thousand cavalry. Miyān Mañjū was alarmed at the growing strength of Ikhlās Khān. He wrote in a fit of desperation, a letter to Sultān Murād, the son of Emperor Akbar, and governor of Gujarāt, to march to his assistance promising to give him the revenues of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar[2]. Murād, who had been deputed by Emperor Akbar for the eventual purpose of taking advantage of the first opportunity to invade the Deccan promptly accepted this invitation[3]. But even before the letter could reach Murād, events had moved swiftly in Ahmadnagar. A large body of Deccanies deserted

*contd.*

cleared owing to the distance of Bengal and the time which had passed. But as Shah Tahir claimed royal descent and might one day set up pretensions to the throne he was confined in a fortress. Burhan Nizam Shah II who was for sometime at Agra before he came to the throne wrote refuting Shah Tahir's story by stating that Khudabanda, his uncle, died in his house and that his family was still living with him. Shah Tahir not to give cause for future trouble was imprisoned for life. He died some years afterwards leaving a son whose name was Ahmad.

1 The account given by Abu Talib, the son of Sayyad Ali, as an appendix to *Burhan-i-Masir*, does not differ substantially from Ferishta. More reliance is, however, placed in giving the details on the narration of Ferishta.

2 Abu Talib, the son of Sayyad Ali, in his appendix to *Burhan-i-Masir* states that at this time one of the principal nobles of the Ahmadnagar kingdom was Sadat Khan. Miyan Manju had sent him towards the provinces of Kalna and Nasik which were given to him in *mokasa*. When the Moghals descended into the Deccan at the invitation of Miyan Manju he found it extremely difficult to oppose them. This gave easy passage to the Moghals.

3 Among the principal officers in the invading Moghal army were Mirza Shahmulkh, Shahbaz Khan, Sadiq Muhammad Khan and Sayyad Murtaza (Abu Talib).

CHAPTER 3. The Nizam-Shahi of Ahmadnagar.

BAHADUR NIZAM SHAH.

Ikhlās Khān and went over to Miyān Mañjū. Gaining confidence, Miyān Mañjū issued out of the fort and attacked Ikhlās Khān in the neighbourhood of the *Idgāh* on 18th September, 1594 and completely routed him. Among the prisoners was the boy whom Ikhlās Khān had created *Sultān*. About a month after this, Sultān Murād, accompanied by Rājā Alī Khān of Khāndeś and Khān Khānān, the Moghal general, appeared to the north of Ahmadnagar with 30,000 Moghal and Rajput horse. When Murād reached the *Idgāh* a few shots passed between his lines and the fort. The Moghal army encamped in the *Haśt-i-Behiśt* garden, about four miles to the north-west of the fort[1]. Miyān Mañjū who had gained in strength after the defeat of Ikhlās Khān and could have things his own way now repented of having made overtures to Sultān Murād. He decided to resist any attack by the Moghals on the capital. He supplied the fort with provisions required for a long siege and put it under the command of one of his trusted lieutenants Ansār Khān[2]. He then appointed Cānd Bibī as regent. He himself took the route to Ausā to implore the assistance of Ādil Śāh and Qutb Śāh[3]. He took the young *Sultān* Ahmad along with him. After Miyān Mañjū left the fort, Cānd Bibī took over the siege operations and procured the assassination of Ansār Khān. She then proclaimed Bahādur Śāh, *Sultān* of Ahmadnagar. Aided by Muhammad Khān she took charge of the affairs of the kingdom and induced Samśer Khān, the Abyssinian and Afzal Khān Boriśī with many of their adherents to join her in the fort[4]. Sultān Murād sent off a strong guard to protect the inhabitants of Burhāṇābād[5] in the vicinity of Ahmadnagar with orders to treat them with consideration. He also ordered the troops to proclaim protection to all the natives so that they could rely unhesitatingly on the good disposition of

1 According to Abu Talib the deployment of the Moghal army was as follows: To the east of Ahmadnagar fort at Bhingar, Shah Murad; to the south of fort in the Farahbakhsh garden at Shaitanpura village, Khan Kharan; to the west of the fort towards Ahmadnagar town in front of the main gate Shahbaz Khan and Mirza Shahmulkh and to the north of the fort near Burhanabad and Namajgah, Raja Ali Khan of Khandesh.

2 Abu Talib says that Samsher Khan Habshi attempted to encourage Miyan Manju in his determination to resist the Moghals. Miyan Manju, however, was not convinced and retreated towards Bid. He appointed Samsher Khan as the *Sarlashkar* and *Amir-ul-Umra* of Ahmadnagar.

3 The officers who backed Chand Bibi were Shamsuddin Muhammad Lari, the Bijapur envoy, Haji Muhammad Ispahani, the Golconda envoy, Habib Khan, the Home Minister of the kingdom, Mir Muhammad Rajvi, and Sayyad Ali Tabataba, the author of *Burhan i-Masir*.

4 At this time besides the government in the fort headed by Chand Bibi, there were three other parties who had put up their nominees as the claimants to the throne. The first was headed by Miyan Manju and his nominee who were encamped on the borders of Bijapur, soliciting the help of Ibrahim Adil Shah. The second was headed by Ikhlas Khan who had gone to Daulatabad after his defeat by Miyan Manju and declared another child called Moti, as the rightful heir to the crown. He was backed by *Aziz-ul-Mulk* and Bulbul Khan. The third was headed by Nehang Khan, the Abyssinian who went to the Bijapur territories and induced Shah Ali, the son of Burhan Nizam Shah I then upwards of seventy years of age, to leave his retirement and assume the royal canopy. Abu Talib calls him Abhang Khan.

5 Founded by Burhan Nizam Shah II.

the Moghals towards them. On the following day Murād personally supervised the operations of marking out the ground for trenches against the fort and allotted to each division of the army its separate post round the garrison. On 17th December, 1595 Śāhbāz Khān, one of the Moghal generals, under pretence of hunting, marched towards Burhāṇābād and encouraged his men to plunder, himself setting the example. In consequence in the course of an hour, the towns of Ahmadnagar and Burhāṇābād were completely sacked. When Murād heard of these happenings he ordered several of those actually taken with plunder to be hanged in front of the lines. The inhabitants now no longer trusted the promises of Murād. They deserted both the towns during the night.

In the meanwhile Ikhlās Khān, who had marched from Daulatābād with a force of twelve thousand men towards Ahmadnagar was engaged by Daulat Khān Lodī with 6,000 Moghal cavalry on the banks of the Godāvarī. Daulat Khān defeated Ikhlās Khān. Following up his success, Daulat Khān arrived at the flourishing town of Paiṭhaṇ and sacked it.

At this moment Cānd Bibī thought it wise to make overtures to Nehaṅg Khān and Śāh Alī. Bahādur, for whom she had declared, was still in confinement at the fort of Cāvaṇḍ. Miyān Mañjū, with *Sultān* Ahmad, was still on the Bijāpūr frontier with a force. Nehaṅg Khān responded and arrived within twelve miles of Ahmadnagar with his force of 7,000 men. He sent messengers to find out the deployment of Moghal forces about the fort and the ways of possible entry into the fort. He was informed that the eastern face of the fort was not invested and it was the only road by which he could make his entry into the fort. Nehaṅg Khān marched during the night and arrived within three miles of the fort of Ahmadnagar. There he saw a part of the Moghal camp. This consisted of a piquet of three thousand men under Khān Khānān sent there only the morning before as Murād, in one of his reconnaissance visits had noticed this part of the fort to be uninvested. Nehaṅg Khān decided to force his way into the fort. He attacked the piquet unexpectedly and killed a number of Moghals. And though reinforcement arrived for the piquet, Nehaṅg Khān dashed into the fort with a few of his followers. Śāh Alī was less successful than Nehaṅg Khān and had to retreat with a loss of seven hundred of his men killed by Daulat Khān Lodī. When Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh heard of this defeat he sent his general Suhail Khān with 25,000 horse to Śāhadurg on his frontiers to await further orders. Here he was joined by Miyān Mañjū with Ahmad Śāh. Ikhlās Khān joined Miyān Mañjū. They decided to bury the hatchet of enmity to save the country from utter ruin. This force was soon joined by Mehdī Qulī Sultān Turkomān with a contingent of 6,000 horse dispatched by Qutb Śāh of Goḷcondā[1]

[1] Abu Talib states that the besieging Moghal army, was ceaselessly harassed by Venkoji Koli and Sadat Khan who had returned from Nasik Chandor on 4th January, 1596. Sayyad Raju, a Moghal officer, attacked Venkoji but was easily

CHAPTER 3.

The Nizam-Shahi of Ahmadnagar.

BAHADUR NIZAM SHAH.

When Sultān Murād came to know of the movement of the troops of Bijāpūr and Golconḍā, he assembled a council of war. A decision was taken to attack the fort before the allies could relieve it. In a few days five mines were carried under the bastions, on one side of the fort. They were all charged with gunpowder and built with mortar and stones excepting where the train was to be laid. It was resolved to explode them on the morning of February 20, 1596. During the night, however, Khvājā Muhammad Khān Śirāzī, admiring the courage of the garrison and loath to sacrifice them, approached the walls and informed them of the danger they were faced with. The garrison got alerted and at the instance of Cānd Bibī started countermining operations[1]. By daylight two mines were destroyed by the garrison. They were searching for the others when Murād, without communicating with Khān Khānān ordered out the line and resolved to storm the fort. The garrison had located the third and the biggest mine. They were in the process of uncharging it when Murād ordered it to be exploded. The explosion killed many of the counterminers and a large breach was made in the wall. Many of the besieged prepared for flight. Cānd Bibī put on armour and with a naked sword in her hand flew to the defence of the breach. Her exemplary behaviour brought back the fugitives. They rallied round her. In the meanwhile the besiegers were waiting for the other mines to explode. This gave the fort garrison an opportunity to throw rockets, powder and other combustibles into the ditch and to bring guns to bear upon the breach. The Moghals now advanced to storm the breach. They were obstinately opposed by the piquet at the foot of the breach. The Moghals suffered heavy casualties due to continuous gun fire. The ditch was filled with the bodies of the dead. The Moghals sent storming parties in waves from four O'clock till nightfall. They were successfully repulsed. Both the camps were filled with admiration for the heroic defence put up by Cānd Bibī. The respite which the night gave was utilised by the fort garrison to repair the breach. By morning, seven to eight feet of the wall was built up under the personal supervision of Cānd Bibī. Cānd Bibī, now sent urgent messages to the allied armies which were then at Bīḍ, to hasten to the succour of the fort whose garrison, she wrote, had been reduced to miserable straits. These dispatches fell into the hands of Murād. He sent the dispatches to

*contd.*

overwhelmed, defeated and killed by Venkoji Koli. On the other hand Sadat Khan attacked a Moghal party under Sayyad Alam bringing treasure and ammunition from Gujarat. Sadat Khan defeated and killed Sayyad and looted the treasure. Sadiq Muhammad Khan Ataliq, Raja Ali Khan, Sayyad Murtaza and Jagannath were sent to counter him but they had to retreat in the face of strong resistance by Sadat Khan. On their way back they plundered and sacked the *pargana* of Sangamner

[1] Abu Talib says that when the siege operations were going on, Raja Ali Khan wrote to Chand Bibi imploring her to surrender the fort of Ahmadnagar. She was promised any other fort in the Deccan by Raja Ali Khan. To this Afzal Khan, the Nizamshahi officer, wrote a spirited reply informing Raja Ali Khan that the *Sultans* in the Deccan would never forget his (Raja Ali Khan's) treachery. That by God's grace the Moghals would be forced to raise the siege and then the *Sultans* of the Deccan would take their revenge upon him (Raja Ali Khan).

their destination adding his personal note that they should hasten as he was most anxious to meet them "the sooner", he said, "the better".

On receiving these letters the allies marched by the Māṇik-daunḍ hills to Ahmadnagar. In spite of their superiority in the field of war, the Moghals were much distressed by the scarcity of provisions in their camp. The approach of the allies added to their worries, as they taxed the resources of the besiegers. Murād, therefore, decided to make overtures to Cānd Bibī. He informed her that the Moghals would quit the country if Berār was ceded to them. At first Cānd Bibī refused to accept the terms. But considering that the position of the fort garrison was none too happy and that if the allies were defeated, the terms would be far more exacting, she accepted the terms[1]. She signed the peace treaty in the name of Bahādur Śāh. The Moghals withdrew by the route of Daulatābād and the Jaipūr Kotlī ghāṭ.[2]

Within three days of the signing of the peace treaty, the allied forces arrived in the city. Miyān Mañjū expected allegiance from all to his protege Ahmad Śāh. The nobles in the fort disagreed. Nehaṅg Khān shut the gates of the fort and sent a force to bring back Bahādur Śāh from the fort of Cāvaṇḍ. Anticipating internal strife, Cānd Bibī appealed to Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh to come to her assistance. In response to her appeal, Ibrāhīm sent a force of 4,000 horse under Mustafā Khān. At the same time he implored Miyān Mañjū to desist from pressing the claims of Ahmad Śāh and to repair to Bijāpūr. Miyān Mañjū obeyed the summons and repaired to Bijāpūr with Mustafā Khān and Suhail Khān. At Bijāpūr, Ibrāhīm duly ascertained that Ahmad was not a lineal descendant of the Nizāmśāhī family. He, therefore, gave him a handsome estate for life and enrolled Miyān Mañjū among the nobles of his kingdom.

In the meanwhile, Bahādur Śāh had been brought from Cāvaṇḍ. He was proclaimed *Sultān*. Cānd Bibī appointed her friend and adviser Muhammad Khān to the office of the *Peśvā*. In a short time Muhammad Khān assumed full powers. He appointed his relatives and adherents to the principal offices of the government. Thinking that his actions would be resisted by those who had distinguished themselves in the war with the Moghals, he seized and confined Nehaṅg Khān and Śamśer Khān. The rest of the chiefs, fearing a similar fate fled the kingdom. This gave Muhammad Khān unrestrained power and influence in the kingdom. Fearing for the worst, Cānd Bibī again wrote to Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh to send a large force to her assistance to enable her to destroy the influence of Muhammad

1 The Moghals deputed *Bakshi Mir* Hashim as their envoy to Ahmadnagar. Chand Bibi sent the following persons as her envoys: *Umdat-ul-Mulk*, Afzal Khan Kumi *alias* Chengiz Khan to *Sultan* Murad; Mir Muhammad Jamal Raivi Mashahadi to Khan Khanan and Shah Bahram Astrabadi to Shahbaz Khan.

2 Briggs's *Ferishta*, III, p. 304.

**CHAPTER 3.**

**The Nizam-Shahi of Ahmadnagar.**

BAHADUR NIZAM SHAH.

Khān and restore her authority in the kingdom. Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh responded with a large force under Suhail Khān. He was ordered to act according to the wishes of Cānd Bibī. Suhail Khān arrived in the year 1596. His entry was however, blocked by Muhammad Khān. Suhail Khān, therefore, invested the fort and blockaded it for well over four months. Muhammad Khān, finding a strong party against him, wrote to Khān Khānān the commander-in-chief of the Moghal army, then in Berār, to join him. He promised to hold the kingdom of Ahmadnagar in vassalage to the emperor of Delhi. When the news of this treachery leaked out, the enraged garrison seized Muhammad Khān and made him over to Cānd Bibī. The downfall of Muhammad Khān restored her authority. She now released Nehang Khān and appointed him to the post of the prime minister. She then granted audience to Suhail Khān, and honouring him with a robe gave him leave to depart for Bijāpūr. On his way Suhail Khān camped at Rājāpūr. There he heard that the Moghals, after occupying Berār, had laid hands upon Pāthrī which was not included in the Berār cession. He, therefore, halted at Rājāpūr and wrote to Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh about these happenings. Cānd Bibī also related the circumstances in her letters to Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh and Qutb Śāh. Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh ordered Suhail Khān to march toward Berār to fight the invaders. Suhail Khān was joined by a contingent from Qutb Śāh and a force of 20,000 from Ahmadnagar. The total force under his command now consisted of 60,000 men. He encamped at Sonpet. Khān Khānān who was camping at Jālnā also marched forward. He was joined by Rājā Ālī Khān of Khāndeś, Rājā Jagannāth and several other officers of distinction. He encamped on the banks of the Godāvarī taking up position close to the allies. For a fortnight only partial skirmishes took place between the opposing armies. On January 26, 1597 the Moghals, deployed their forces in battle order and at nine O'clock in the morning the battle commenced. The engagement became general in the afternoon. Rājā Ālī Khān and Rājā Jagannāth were killed by gun fire from the Bijāpūr artillery. But the allies were unable to withstand the onslaught of Moghal cavalry and fell back before sunset. Suhail Khān, however, stood his ground and the Bijāpūr cavalry breaking through the Moghal lines drove them as far back as Śāhapūr. Khān Khānān, however, still fought desperately to hold his line. The Deccanies thinking that they had won the battle started plundering. Suhail Khān could not prevent the happenings. The Deccanies then retired. The true position was revealed when some hours of the night had passed and Khān Khānān and Suhail Khān faced each other within a musket shot distance. Both now started regrouping their forces. Khān Khānān made overtures for peace but Suhail Khān refused and opened his artillery fire against the Moghals. The battle which now began continued for the whole day resulting in the defeat of the Bijāpurīs. Suhail Khān was compelled to retreat with a few retainers to Śāhadurg[1]. After

[1] As in Ferishta, III, pp. 308-09.

this victory, Khān Khānān dispatched the greater part of his army to reduce the forts of Narnāḷā and Gāvīl in Berār. He himself encamped at Jālnā. Differences now developed between Murād and Khān Khānān. Whereas Murād insisted on the follow up of the victory by an invasion of Ahmadnagar, Khān Khānān advised the conquest of the forts in Berār first to be followed by the conquest of Ahmadnagar in the following year. Murād complained about Khān Khānān to Akbar who in the end recalled Khān Khānān and deputed Śaikh Abul Fazl in his place.

In the meanwhile, at Ahmadnagar, Nehaṅg Khān had gained unlimited power. He decided to seize Cānd Bibī and to take upon himself the management of the *Sultān* and the government. Cānd Bibī came to know of these designs. She secured the possession of the Sultān and locked herself along with him in the fort. She refused admittance to Nehaṅg Khān informing him that he might transact the public business in the town and not in the fort as hitherto. For a few days Nehaṅg Khān submitted quietly. He then threw off the mask and attacked the fort. Several skirmishes took place between the royalists and the rebels. Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh made overtures to effect a reconciliation. The offer was rejected as nothing less than complete submission of their rivals would satisfy either party. Nehaṅg Khān now took advantage of the absence of Khān Khānān and also of the rainy season which had made the river Godāvarī unfordable. He sent a detachment to retake the town of Bīḍ from the Moghals. Śer Khvājā, the governor of Bīḍ, moved from Bīḍ to a distance of twelve miles to oppose this detachment. He was wounded in the action and defeated. He retreated towards Bīḍ. The town of Bīḍ was now invested by the force sent by Nehaṅg Khān. Śer Khvājā wrote to the emperor to send reinforcements. The Emperor Akbar sent his youngest son Dānial Mirzā and Khān Khānān to the governor's relief[1].

---

[1] *Sultan* Murad died of extreme dissipation. When Akbar received this news he appointed Daniel Mirza to the Government of the Deccan.

The details of the Moghal invasion of the Deccan beginning from the year 1594 till the arrival of Emperor Akbar at Asir are as follows :—

**Preparations for the Invasion of the Dakhin**

The expostulations and advice addressed to *Burhanu-l Mulk* made no impression upon him; so the Emperor resolved to proceed to Agra to organize a force for service in the Dakhin. On the 25th *Mihr*, Prince Daniyal was directed to march thitherwards. Khan-khanan, Rai Singh, and many other nobles, with treasure, artillery, and elephants, were ordered to accompany him. Shah Rukh Mirza, Shahbaz Khan, and other chiefs of Malwa, were ordered to join with their forces. *Raja* Man Singh was also directed to march from Bengal, if that province could be safely left. Prince *Sultan* Murad was instructed to prepare to take part in the campaign. **At the town of Shaikhupur, Khan-khanan was summoned to an audience, and he then represented that the most favourable time for an invasion of the Dakhin was after the end of the rains when grain and fodder might be procured in abundance. So Prince Daniyal was recalled, and the Emperor resolved to head the expedition himself at the conclusion of the rains. **Khan-khanan was directed to proceed to Agra, there to collect and organize the forces, and the Emperor returned homewards.

**War between Ahmadnagar and Bijapur.**

Since the time when the Emperor withdrew his gracious attention from the Dakhin, fresh misfortunes had fallen upon that country, and discontent grew rife. *Nizamu-l Mulk* Burhan was dead, and his son Ibrahim, who succeeded him, took to evil courses.

CHAPTER 3.

The Nizam-Shahi of Ahmadnagar.

BAHADUR NIZAM SHAH.

However, on an earnest appeal from Abul Fazl, Akbar marched in person to the south. He arrived at Burhāṇpūr. He besieged the fort of Asir. When Nehaṅg Khān received this news he immediately raised the siege and marched with 15,000 horse and foot to occupy the Jaipūr Kotli pass, to meet the Moghals there. Dānial was, however, alerted of this movement. He,

*contd.*

An army marched from Bijapur against him, and on the 16th Amurdda a battle was fought about forty miles from Ahmadnagar, in which he was killed by an arrow. The Bijapur army returned triumphant, and the *Nizamul Mulki* forces were scattered abroad.

**Invasion of the Dakhin**

Prince (Murad), in pursuance of orders, now prepared for the invasion of the Dakhin ; but Khan-khanan was delayed by the tardy gathering of his men. Before he joined, some little dissension had sprung up between them. The Prince's desire was that the heads of the army should all join him, and proceed by that road (from Gujarat) to the Dakhin. It was the opinion of the commander-in-chief (Khan Khanan), that he should advance from Malwa. As their opinions did not agree, the Prince, on the 20th *Aban*, marched from Ahmadabad, and rested a while at Broach, in expectation of getting more men. On the 22nd Khurdad, he left Broach. Khan-khanan remained for some time at Bhilsa, which was in his *ikta*, to assemble his forces. On the 9th Amurdad, he marched for Ujjain. This greatly incensed the Prince, who sent him an angry message. He wrote in reply, that he would join the Prince's army as soon as he had received the promised contingent from the ruler (*marzban*) of Khandesh ; the Prince might meanwhile enjoy the pleasures of the chase in Gujarat. The Prince was enraged with this reply, and his flatterers fanned his anger. He marched with his army towards Ahmadnagar.

The chief nobles, and Raja' Ali Khan, were inclined to the Prince, and when Khan-Khanan became aware of this, he left his army, artillery, and elephants with Mirza Shah Rukh and other *amirs*, while he started off express with Raja Ali Khan (to meet the Prince). On the 19th *Azur*, he met the Prince at the fort of Chand, thirty *kos* from Ahmadnagar. The meeting was not cordial. After a great deal of talk, a *darbar* was held. When the army moved, there was no unity of feeling. Khan-Khanan, with his numerous force, was offended, and kept aloof from the management of the business. Sadik Khan brought up an old grievance which he had against Shahbaz Khan, and rarely went to the *darbar*. On the 8th *De*, the army encamped half a *kos* from the city, and on that day Khan-khanan and Shahbaz Khan went to the city (*ba shahr raftand*). Through their negligence an attack was made upon the baggage of the army, which was with difficulty repelled, and the people of the city were encouraged by the evident signs of dissension. On the 8th, fortress was invested. Chand Bibi, sister of Burhan, prepared for resistance. As they had carried off Ahmad, the son, Ikhlas Khan came to Ahmadnagar with Moti, and being defeated, fled to Pattan.

When the royal army approached, Manjuh (the *wazir*) carried of Ahmad, with a portion of the treasure and some of the elephants, to Bijapur ; but he was nearly taken prisoner. From want of proper munitions, the siege was protracted. Chand Bibi was afraid of being taken prisoner ; but being informed of the condition of the assailants, she was encouraged to defend the city. On the 9th, Shah Ali and Abhang Khan made a night attack in force upon the battery of Khan-Khanan ; but the defenders fought bravely, killed many of the assailants, and repelled the attack. If the repulse had been followed up, the pursuers might have entered the fort with the fugitives, and the place would have fallen.

The close blockade and scarcity of provisions were taking effect on the garrison. **On the 13th, an unsuccessful attack was made upon the camp. **On the 16th, a caravan from Gujarat came near, and was plundered by Saadat Khan. **On the 19th, Sher Khwaja, Shaikh Daulat, Kamran Beg, and Daulat Khan, were sent with a force towards Pattan. They inflicted a defeat on Ikhlas Khan and secured great booty. Then eager for further plunder they pillaged the inhabitants of Pattan, a city which had received letters of protection. On the 11th *Isfandarmuz*, a portion of the wall was broken down. A mine was carried from the battery of the Prince and a hole cleared out under the wall. It was filled with powder and exploded when it brought down about thirty *gaz* of the wall. The troops were ready for the assault ; but another mine which had been carried under the wall from the battery of Shahbaz Khan was discovered by the garrison and emptied. From fear of a disaster like that which occurred at Chitor, the storming party was held back, and such a delay occurred, that the day light passed away, and during the night the garrison repaired the breach. But the garrison was greatly disheartened by the activity of the besiegers, and now proposed an accommodation.

therefore, marched round by the village of Manuri and avoided the pass. Nehaṅg Khān finding himself outmanoeuvred and unable to withstand the Moghal force, set fire to his heavy baggage and retreated to Ahmadnagar. He now sought compromise with Cānd Bibī. She refused. Nehaṅg Khān thereupon fled towards Junnar. The Moghals now moved forward

*contd.*

They offered to elevate Bahadur, son of the son of *Burhanu-l-Mulk*, to the throne with the title of *Nizamu-l-Mulk*, and as a vassal of the Imperial throne. The territory of Ahmadnagar was to be confirmed to him, and the province of Birar given up to the Emperor. Jewels, the pick of the elephants, and other things were to be sent as tribute to the Emperor. Notwithstanding the desperate state of the place, and the scarcity of provisions these unworthy terms were agreed to, and a treaty was concluded on the 17th *Isfandarmuz*.

### Famine

In this year there was little rain, and the price of rice rose high. Celestial influences were unpropitious, and those learned in the stars announced dearth and scarcity. The kind-hearted Emperor sent experienced officers in every direction, to supply food every day to the poor and destitute. So, under the Imperial orders, the necessitous received daily assistance to their satisfaction, and every class of the indigent was entrusted to the care of those who were able to care for them.

### Defeat of the Dakhin Confederates

The Ahmadnagar affair, and other unfortunate matters, had brought disgrace upon the armies of the Dakhin, and made their leaders desirous of retrieving their fortunes, by contending against the Imperial forces. Shah Murad was at the head of the royal army, and was desirous of giving battle, but the experienced *amirs* objected, and continued their opposition, until Mirza Shah Rukh was appointed commander-in-chief, and Khan-khanan and other distinguished officers were named for different duties. The military chest, the elephants, and the artillery, were carefully looked after, and everything properly arranged. Mirza Shah Rukh and Khan-khanan commanded the centre. **The army marched from Shahpur, and took up a position twelve *kos* from Pathari.

The enemy also prepared for battle. The army of *Nizamu-l-Mulk* was in the centre; the 'Adil Khanis were on the right, and the army of *Kutbu-l Mulk* on the left. On the 28th *Bahman*, after the first watch of the day, the river Gang (Godavari) was passed, and the battle began by an attack on the right wing of the enemy. But they held their ground firmly in a strong position, and kept up a heavy fire. Great bravery was exhibited on both sides, and a long and desperate struggle was maintained. The enemy was numerous, and the superiority of his fire checked the Imperial ranks and made them waver. Jagannath and several other Rajputs drew rein, and did not move, while the 'Adil Khani troops made an onslaught upon Raja Ali Khan of Khandesh. He made a stubborn resistance, and fell fighting bravely, with thirty-five distinguished officers and 500 devoted followers.

Mirza Shah Rukh and Khan-khanan had been successful in their part of the field, so also had Saiyid Kasim and other leaders. The enemy was under the impression that the ruler of Khandesh was in the centre, and thought that Mirza Shah Rukh and Khan-khanan were involved in his defeat. During the darkness of the night, the opposing forces remained separate from each other, each supposing that it had gained a victory. In the course of the night many, of the scattered troops rejoined their standards. Under the impression that Raja Ali Khan, of Khandesh, had gone over to the enemy, the Imperial troops plundered his baggage. Dwarka Das of the advance and Said Jalal of the left, retired to Nilawi. Ram Chandar, who had fought bravely, and had received twenty wounds with the forces under Raja Ali Khan, remained among the wounded during the night, and died a few days after.

When morning came, the Imperial forces, 700 in number, found themselves in face of 25,000 of the enemy. They had all night suffered from thirst, and they now carried the river Sugam. The enemy was only half-hearted, and being dismayed by this demonstration took to flight, and made but little resistance. **Worn out by the protracted conflict, the Imperial forces were unable to pursue. At the beginning of the campaign, the Imperial forces numbered only 15,000, while the enemy were 60,000 in number. Still they had gained this great victory and had captured forty elephants and much artillery.

### Abu-l Fazl sent to the Dakhin

On His Majesty's return from the Panjab, he formed the design of marching direct to the south without visiting his capital. But his mind was disturbed by the non-arrival of the Princes and many idle stories were reported to him. On the 25th of the month, the author of this work received orders to proceed to the Dakhin, and to bring

CHAPTER 3. The Nizam-Shahi of Ahmadnagar.

BAHADUR NIZAM SHAH.

and reached the fort of Ahmadnagar without opposition. They invested the fort and started mining it. Fearing to place reliance upon any person about her Cānd Bibī turned for advice to Hamid Khān, an eunuch, and an officer of rank in the fort. Hamid Khān advised that they should fight and defend the place against the Moghals. Cānd Bibī, however, declared that from what she had seen of the conduct of many officers about her during the last few years, she could place no reliance upon them. She considered it most advisable to negotiate for the evacuation of the fort on condition of obtaining security for the lives of the garrison and private property and then to retire to Junnar with the young *Sultān*. On hearing this Hamid Khān went out into the street declaring that Cānd Bibī was intriguing with the Moghals for the surrender of the fort to them. In a short time a mob of Deccanies gathered about Hamid Khān. Hamid Khān then rushed into Cānd Bibī's private apartment and put her to death. In the meanwhile, the Moghals who had started mining operations, exploded the mines in a few days time and succeeded in breaching the walls at several places. They now stormed the fort and carried it by assault on August 18, 1600. Bahādur Śāh along with all the members of the royal family was taken prisoner and sent to emperor Akbar at Burhāṇpūr. He was sent to the fortress of Gwalior for confinement. The fall of Ahmadnagar put an end to the second of the succession states of the Bahamanī kingdom. Berār, which Ahmadnagar had annexed in 1574, was already ceded to the

---

*contd.*

Prince *Sultan* Murad to Court. If the *amirs* of the Dakhin were willing to undertake the management of the country, the author was to leave it in their hands, and return with the Prince; but if otherwise, he was to send the Prince to Court, and to remain and associate himself with the other officers in supporting Mirza Shah Rukh. A banner and kettle-drums were given to the Mirza, and the province of Malwa was assigned to him, so that he might be able to raise and equip an army in his own province, and return to the Dakhin when called upon.

**Daulatabad**

At the beginning of *Isfandarmuz*, the fort of Lohgarh, at Daulatabad in the Dakhin was taken. Mirza Ali Beg Akbarshahi besieged it for a month, and want of provisions and water compelled the garrison to surrender and give up the keys.

**Kherla and Nasik**

In this year the fort of Kherla, in Birar, lying between Birar and Gondwana, was obtained by capitulation on the 13th *Aban*, the garrison being short of provisions. The fort of Nasik, near Ahmadnagar, was taken soon after.

**Death of Prince Sultan Murad**

Alas, that wine should be burdened with suffering, and that its sweet nectar should be a deadly poison. **On the 17th *Urdibihisht*, near Dihbari, on the banks of the Purta, twenty *kos* from Daulatabad, Prince *Sultan* Murad's fits took a grave character and on the 22nd he became insensible and died.

**Asir**

On the 22nd *Isfandarmuz*, *Khan-i Azam*, A'saf Khan, Shaikh Farid, and the writer of this work were directed to invest the fortress of Asir, and to construct batteries round it. But the force which was sent on this service under the command of Shaikh Farid, was very small compared with the numbers of the enemy; so it was deemed prudent to halt at three *kos* from the fortress. Some inexperienced and mischievous persons excited the Emperor's anger at this resolution. But the writer went to visit him, and explained the true state of affairs, and his anger was soon appeased. On the same day the author was appointed to take charge of the province of Khandesh. Thereupon he established twenty-two stations in the province, and to each he appointed a responsible officer. To one he appointed his brother Shaikh Abu-l

Moghals, in 1596. Now it was the turn of the Nizāmśāhī kingdom of Ahmadnagar to become the prey of the expansionist designs of the Moghals. It was not that the Deccan Sultanates together would not have been in a position to resist the Moghal onslaughts. But their internecine quarrels and fratricidal wars had made them too weak to realise the danger with which they were faced. Perhaps they realised it too late when the situation had become explosive and slipped out of their hands. Though Ahmadnagar fell, the remnant of the nobility made a common cause to defend the kingdom under the leadership of Malik Ambar. The grit and determination with which Malik Ambar fought the Moghals for well over a quarter of a century makes very interesting reading. But its only worth to a historian is that perhaps it delayed the complete occupation of the territory of the Ahmadnagar kingdom by the Moghals for a short while[1].

---

*contd.*

Barakat, with some experienced subordinate officers; to another his son Shaikh Abdu-r Rahman. In a short time the refractory were brought to obedience, and many others gladly became subjects of the Emperor. The soldiery submitted peacefully, and the peasantry applied themselves to the work of cultivation. *Akbar-Nama* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI, pp. 91-98.

1. A few more details of the Ahmadnagar campaign of the Moghals are as follows :—

The operations against Ahmadnagar were protracted, and the royal army was in difficulty about supplies. Evil-disposed persons in all parts began to move. So, on the 4th of the month, Mirza Rustam was sent to Prince (Daniyal) with a lac of *mohurs*. Nasik fell into the hands of the Imperial officers about this time.

After the rains the Emperor set his heart upon the reduction of Ahmadnagar. He sent directions for using every effort, and he himself proceeded to Burhanpur. Chand Bibi was for keeping the treaty which she had made with the writer of this work; but Abhang, at the head of a large force of Abyssinians and Dakhinis, was fighting against her. On the 26th *Farwardin*, the royal army arrived, and suspicion seized upon the Dakhini forces. One man whispered to another that their leaders had made terms with the Imperial army; so this force of Abhang's lost heart, and dispersed without making any resistance. On the 2nd *Urdibihisht*, the various intrenchments were assigned to the various *amirs*. Chand Bibi was for abiding by the treaty. Several of the leading men in the fortress then took matters into their own hands, and made several unsuccessful sorties. Under the direction of the Prince, great efforts were made to form a *khak-rez* to fill the ditch and reach to the walls. This was from thirty to forty *gaz* broad, and seven *gaz* deep (*zharfa*). The wall was of bluish stone, and twenty-seven *gaz* high. Mines were formed from the trenches of the Prince and Mirza Yusuf Khan; but the besieged broke into them and filled them up again. They even formed a counter-mine from the inside, and exploded it; but it was smothered by the *khak-rez* and did no damage there. The shock split a bastion of the fortress. When this was discovered, efforts were made to clear out the chasm, and this being effected, 180 *mans* of gunpowder were placed therein. On the 6th *Shahryur*, it was exploded. The bastion and thirty *gaz* of the wall was blown into the air. The garrison suffered from the falling stones; but not a particle of stone fell on the besiegers. Through the breach rushed the assailants, and another party made their way in from the intrenchments of Mirza Yusuf Khan. Fifteen hundred of the garrison were put to the sword; the rest were saved by the solicitations of their friends. Bahadur, son of Ibrahim and grandson of Burhan, who had been set up as *Nizamu-l Mulk*, was taken prisoner. Very valuable jewels, embossed arms, a splendid library, fine silks, and twenty-five elephants, were among the booty. The guns and ammunition exceeded all compute. The siege was carried on during the rainy season; but by great good fortune there was no flooding to interrupt the construction of the *khak-rez*. The day after the victory, heavy rain commenced. The siege lasted four months and four days. (*Akbar-Nama* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI, pp. 99—101.)

सत्यमेव जयते

# CHAPTER 4—PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENTS ON THE WESTERN COAST



ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL EUROPEAN POWERS TO HAVE SETTLEMENTS ON THE WESTERN COAST OF MAHARASHTRA during the 16th century was the Portuguese. They secured firm footholds in the coastal belts of the districts of Kolābā and Ṭhāṇā and extended their authority over Goā, Dīv and Damaṇ. In doing so they followed a policy of political and religious expansionism. They clashed with the *Sultāns* of Gujarāt who wielded authority over the territory extending up to Māhīm in Ṭhāṇā district in the first half of the 16th century. Later they came in contact with the *Sultāns* of Ahmadnagar and Bijāpūr. The occasions for their confrontations with these Muslim Sultanates proved to be one sided affairs. Though less in number, they were fired with a religious and political zeal. They enjoyed superiority in arms and ammunition and deployed and manoeuvred their forces with easy facility. This gave the Portuguese a distinct advantage and edge over their numerically superior Muslim rivals and enabled them to defeat the latter. It will be interesting to detail here briefly the Portuguese conquests on the western coastal belt of Ṭhāṇā and Kolābā districts in the early half of the 16th century[1].

It may be recalled here that by the close of the 15th and the early years of the 16th century, Gujarāt extended its sway over the Koṅkaṇ coast. In 1495 the Koṅkaṇ was divided by Mahmūd Begāḍā of Gujarāt into five districts of which Ṭhāṇā was the head[2]. He also effected his designs against Bassein (Vasaī) and Bombay. He established a garrison at Nāgoṭhṇā and sent an army to Caul[3]. At this time, according to *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Damaṇ, Bassein and Bombay were included within the Gujarāt kingdom. Among the ports which yielded revenue to the Gujarāt kings were Āgāśī, Daṇḍa, Sorab (probably Sopārā), Bassein, Bhivaṇḍī, Kalyāṇ, Bombay and Panvel[4]. The early Portuguese accounts as well as the accounts of the Italian traveller Varthema support the claim of Gujarāt to a large area of the north Koṅkaṇ coast. The Portuguese make the Bet or Kalyāṇ river the border line

1. The confrontation of the Portuguese with the kingdoms of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur in the 16th century has been dealt with in the respective chapters pertaining to those Sultanates.

2. Briggs's *Ferishta*, III, 191-92.

3. Bird's *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 214.

4. All of these ports were not necessarily under Gujrat as in the same list are included Dabhol, Goa, Kalicat, Kulam or Quilon and the Maldives. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 129-30.

**CHAPTER 4. Portuguese Settlements on the Western Coast.**

between Gujarāt and the Deccan and notice that in 1530 there was a Gujarāt governor at Nāgoṭhṇā and that in 1540 there were Gujarāt commandants of the hill forts of Karnāḷā in Panvel and Sāṅkṣī in Peṇ[1]. Varthema places Caul in Gujarāt[2].

At the end of the 15th century, when the coast line from Goā to Bassein had passed to Bijāpūr and Gujarāt, the Portuguese rounded the Cape of Good Hope and appeared on the Calicut coast. The first Gujarāt ships which were taken by them were restored unharmed with a friendly message[3]. In 1510 Goā was captured by them from the *Sultān* of Bijāpūr. Ferishta says that the Portuguese, observing their treaty had made no further encroachment on the Ādilśāhī territory[4]. With the Nizāmśāhī kingdom of Ahmadnagar they maintained cordial relations. They attacked them only on three occasions, and on each occasion in self-defence[5]. Mahmūd Begāḍā, however, could not tolerate an alliance with the Portuguese. Being a staunch Muslim, he formed an offensive treaty with the Egyptian Mameluke Soldan. The allies defeated the Portuguese at Caul but the Portuguese retaliated soon after (2nd February 1507) by destroying the joint Gujarāt, Calicut and Egyptian fleets off Dīv. The Portuguese viceroy on his way to Cochin tried to befriend Ahmad Nizām Śāh but demanded immediate payment of 30,000 cruzodos and an annual subsidy of 10,000 cruzodos. Perhaps, intimidated by the recent Portuguese victory, Ahmad Nizām Śāh accepted their friendship by agreeing to pay 2,000 cruzodos to the Portuguese. A Portuguese factor was later (1514) appointed at Caul. The Portuguese tried to instigate the Hindu chiefs on the Ṭhāṇā coast against Mahmūd Begāḍā and Mahmūd is described as putting out disturbances at Bassein and effecting his designs against Bassein and Bombay. In the same year the Portuguese secured supplies from the fort of Mahīm on their way to Dīv. The garrison at Māhīm fled[6]. On the return of the victorious Portuguese fleet the governor of Caul agreed to pay a yearly tribute[7]. A few years later the southern boundary of Gujarāt had shrunk from Caul to Bombay. In 1516 the Portuguese under Dom Joao de Monoy entered Bandra creek and defeated the commandant of Māhīm fort. In the same year they established a factory at Caul and built a fort after securing the permission of Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh I[8] who had

1. *Faria-e-Souza* in Kerr's *Voyages*, VI, 83.

2. Badger's *Varthema*, 114.

3. In 1502 Vasco-da-Gama's orders were that the ships of Cambay were to be let pass.

Da-Gama's *Voyages*, 376.

4. Briggs's *Ferishta*, III, 34.

5. In 1530 when the Gujrat King forced Ahmadnagar to break with the Portuguese ; in 1572 when the *Sultans* of Bijapur, Ahmadnagar and Calicut joined against the Portuguese ; and in 1594 when Burhan Nizam ShahII of Ahmadnagar attempted to fortify Korle hill at the mouth of the Chaul river.

6. *Faria* in Kerr, VI, 117.

7. *Ibid*, 120.

8. *Ibid*, 191, 192.

succeeded his father Ahmad Nizām Śāh. The Portuguese governor entered into a treaty with Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh and immediately commenced building the fort on the northern margin of the creek about half a league to the South. Among the stipulations of the treaty was the one concerning the importation of horses for the use of Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh who agreed to assist the Portuguese against the Gujarātis[1]. Malik Eiaz, the Gujarāt governor of Dīv sent a fleet to stop the building of the fort but had to withdraw[2]. The Portuguese could now freely sail to Bombay. In 1526 the Portuguese established their factory at Bassein[3]. In 1528 an action was fought between the Gujarāt fleet under Alī Śāh and the Portuguese fleet under Sampayo in the Bombay harbour. All Gujarāt ships except seven were captured by the Portuguese. Putting Da Sylveira in command Sampayo returned to Goā. Da Sylveira, after resting his men at Bombay, attacked Nāgoṭhṇā and burnt six Gujarāt towns. He then went up to Bassein and plundered that port. He defeated Alī Śāh who had come at the head of 3,500 men, with great slaughter. Now Ṭhāṇā came under Portuguese protection when the lord of Ṭhāṇā, a Hindu chief, agreed to become their tributary. In 1530, Da Sylveira, on his way back from plundering Surat and Rander, destroyed the towns of Damaṇ and Āgāśī and carried successful raids on the coastal possessions of Ahmadnagar.

In 1531 the Portuguese made great preparations for the capture of the Gujarāt possession of Dīv. They gathered 400 ships and an army of well over 20,000 men. This expedition made no impression on the strong fortifications of Dīv. Nuno, who was in command, left for Goā, leaving Saldhana to plunder the Cambay ports. On his way south he destroyed Balsār, Tārāpūr, Keḷvā Māhīm and Āgāśī[4]. In 1532 the Portuguese attacked Bassein. Though it was defended by 12,000 men under arms, the Portuguese dashed against it and took it by assault. The coastal towns between Bassein and Tārāpūr were burnt. In the same year Nuno again requested the Gujarāt king to allow the Portuguese to build a fort at Dīv. Bahādur Śāh of Gujarāt refused. His difficulties with Humāyūn, however, enabled the Portuguese to capture Damaṇ by entering into negotiations with Humāyūn. Bahādur Śāh, in order to wean away the Portuguese from Humāyūn, entered into a humiliating treaty with the Portuguese, one of the terms of which was the cession of Bassein and its dependencies. It may be mentioned here that when Bahādur Śāh was engaged in war with the Moghals, Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh taking advantage of his difficulties decided to capture the fortresses of Sāṅkṣī and Karnāḷā on the southern frontiers of the Gujarāt Kingdom. Accordingly he marched against them and captured them. The commandants

1. *History and Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein*, pp. 36 (n).
2. Da Cunha's *Chaul and Bassein*, 36, 37.
3. *Ibid*, 171.
4. *Faria* in Kerr, VI, 223.

**CHAPTER 4.**

**Portuguese Settlements on the Western Coast.**

of the forts sought the assistance of Dom Francisco, the Captain of Bassein on condition that they would hold them in the name of the Portuguese. Accordingly Francisco marched with 3,000 Portuguese and other native soldiers and by escalating the walls captured the forts. Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh sent troops to devastate the adjoining territory and besieged the fort of Sāṅkṣī. But he was repulsed with heavy losses and was forced to conclude peace with the Portuguese. The forts remained in Portuguese possession for some time but the Portuguese governer Dom Estavao considering that Burhāṇ Nzām Śāh was their ally ordered the reluctant Dom Francisco to hand over the forts to Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh in lieu of an additional subsidy of 5,000 pardos in gold.

The defeat of Bahādur at the hands of Humāyūn forced him to agree to the Portuguese condition of building a fort at Dīv. The Portuguese in return are said to have helped Bahādur to free Gujārāt from the Moghals. Bahādur Śāh, however, repented for his concession and invited the *Sultān* of Turkey and the Chief of Aden to attack the Portuguese. In 1536 he went to Dīv and paid a visit to the Portuguese governor Nuno Cunha. There, Bahādur was treacherously murdered. In 1540 Mahmūd Śāh III, the Gujārāt *Sultān* besieged Bassein but was defeated and forced to withdraw. A few years after, in 1546, the *Sultān* of Gujārāt again tried to capture Dīv but failed in his attempt. In 1547 on account of the strained relations between the Portuguese and Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh, the former entered into friendship treaties with the *Rājā* of Vijayanagar and Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh (6th October 1547). One of the conditions of the treaty stipulated that there was to be friendship between him (Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh) and the Portuguese who were to help each other, when necessary, against all the Kings of India with the exception of the King of Bijanaga (Vijayanagara). The Portuguese governor of Indian possessions also bound himself not to make peace with the Ādil Śāh without previously giving notice of the same to Iniza Moxa (Nizām Śāh). In the following year the Portuguese viceroy Dom Joao de Castro received envoys from the Zamorin, Canara. Nizamaluco, Cotamaluco and other princes who wished to ratify the former treaties of peace. Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh often employed Portuguese in his services and one Simao Peres, a Portuguese renegade was appointed by him as one of his ministers and a General of his army. In 1556 the Portuguese captured the hill fort of Aśeri and the important station of Manor on the Vaitarṇā river.[1] After the death of Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh, the Portuguese governor Francisco Barreto being not quite sure of the continued friendship from Husain Nizām Śāh, the son of Burhāṇ, decided to secure the promontory of Korlāi and fortify in into an outwork of defence for the city of Caul. To secure the approval of Husain Nizām Śāh, an ambassador was sent to the Nizāmśāhī Court. Husain Nizām Śāh, however, refused to comply with the

1. Nairne's *Konkan*, 44.

request considering that the object of the Portuguese was to levy duties on merchandise leaving or entering the port and deprive him of this important item of revenue[1]. He also imprisoned the Portuguese envoy and sent his General Farhād Khān along with Rumī Khān and Maulānā Śāh Muhammad Ustād with 30,000 men directing them to build as early as possible an impregnable fortress there.[2] The Portuguese governor of Caul was alarmed at these activities of the Nizāmśāhī general. He made representations to the Portuguese viceroy and obtained a fleet under the command of Alvaro Peres to blockade the port till he (the viceroy) arrived to stop the progress of the work begun.

Soon after, the viceroy Francisco Barreto arrived with a well equipped fleet of 4,000 Portuguese troops, besides the natives, and prevented the construction of fortification by a continuous charge of bullets. Husain Nizām Śāh, with a view to stop the conflict sent his envoy to the viceroy with the following message "that he was a friend to the King of Portuguese, having inherited that feeling from his predecessors, who had given them a place where they had already built a citadel, a gift which he certainly never thought of revoking but that he had reasons to apprehend that, allowing them to build a new fort would eventually lead them to place them under his yoke and deprive him of the custom duties which belonged as hitherto to him alone as sovereign of the place"[3].

The Portuguese viceroy was convinced of the argument and concluded peace on the condition that the construction of the fort should be suspended and Korlāī should remain as it was before. In 1560 Cañgīz Khān, one of the leading Gujārāt nobles, ceded to the Portuguese, the belt of coast from the Vaitarṇā to Daman in return for help in taking Surat[4]. In 1569 the Portuguese attacked the Jawhār Koḷīs and passed through their country as far as the foot of the Sahyadris.

It may be mentioned here that after their success in the battle of Talikoṭā, the Muslim Powers decided to turn against the Portuguese. A coalition which took about five years to materialise, was formed between Bijāpūr and Ahmadnagar and the Zamorin of Calicut against the Portuguese. Plans were drawn for the distribution of their expected conquests of the Portuguese territory. Accordingly, in 1570 Ādil Śāh marched to open the siege of Goā and Murtazā Nizām Śāh marched towards Caul to besiege it. The Portuguese viceroy, to reinforce the garrison at Caul, sent a fleet with 600 men under Dom Francisco. He himself left Goā in September 1570. The Nizāmśāhī general, Farhād Khān, who had marched to besiege Caul had an army of

1. *History and Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein*, p. 46.
2. *Ibid*, p. 46.
3. *Ibid*, p. 46.
4. Watson's *Gujrat*, 56.

**CHAPTER 4. Portuguese Settlements on the Western Coast.**

20,000 infantry, 8,000 cavalry and 25 elephants. He moved into the environs of the town sending 4,000 horsemen to cut off the supplies of the enemy and prevent the arrival of reinforcement from Bassein and Karañjā. The Portuguese governor of Caul, raised fortifications to repulse the attack of Nizāmśāhī forces. The position of the Portuguese was strengthened with the arrival of Dom Francisco. They beat back the attack of the Nizāmśāhī forces and inflicted heavy losses upon them. The battle had lasted for three hours. Now Murtazā Nizām Śāh arrived with 74,000 horse, 1,00,000 foot, 16,000 sappers, 4,000 smiths and other artisans, 360 elephants, an infinite number of buffaloes and oxen and 40 pieces of cannon. Farhād Khān, Ikhalās Khān and Zamiri Khān took up positions surrounding the town from all sides, whereas the flotilla sent by Zamorin to assist Murtazā Nizām Śāh was directed to engage the Portuguese in the port of Caul. The Portuguese decided to defend the fort of Caul against heavy odds and the Portuguese viceroy turned down all suggestions to abandon Caul. Zamiri Khān opened the assault on a position defended by Henrique and Fernando, two Portuguese Officers, but was repulsed with the loss of 300 men. An attack against the monastery of Sao Francisco was similarly beaten off by the Portuguese Commander Alexandre de Sousa. On the next day the Nizāmśāhī troops attacked the Portuguese positions with great vigour but the Portuguese fought valiantly sallying forth from the fort and covering the field with the dead bodies of the enemy. The ranks of the defenders had considerably thinned and they had to give up the fort and the monastery of Sao Francisco. The attack on Caul synchronised with that of an attack on Bassein. Once again the Nizāmśāhī army was defeated. It then withdrew towards Karañjā. Commanded by Estevam Perestelo, the Portuguese fell upon the Nizāmśāhīs with such force that they fled leaving behind a number of dead and wounded. At Caul, the Nizāmśāhīs directed heavy fire against the town causing much damage to life and property. The bastion of the cross was levelled to the ground. The contest, however, continued unabated. In the meanwhile, the rainy season was approaching and Murtazā Nizām Śāh decided to continue the siege by raising earth-works. The Portuguese, however, under the command of Alexandre de Sousa and Dom Menezes attacked the Nizāmśāhī encampment and destroyed a part of the earth-works. Murtazā now directed his army to launch a general attack on all the Portuguese possessions. But the attack was beaten back. Preparations for continuing the siege, however, continued and were completed by the Nizāmśāhīs Farhād Khān now made secret overtures of peace to the Portuguese without the knowledge of Murtazā Nizām Śāh. Suspecting that Farhād Khān had accepted bribe, Murtazā imprisoned Farhād Khān and decided to attack the place and effect a large breach in the fortification to enable his soldiers to pass through it. On 29th June 1571, Murtazā Nizām Śāh gave the signal for attack. A furious and hotly contested battle took place. "The days were darkened by the flames of burning buildings, the

slaughter and confusion being great on all sides"[1]. The drunk elephants being scorched and wounded ran madly in the field trampling their own men. Till sunset the battle raged with the Portuguese still entrenched firmly and slaying about 3,000 of the enemy. Both the sides had suffered heavily in this unequal contest and were now eager to conclude peace. Negotiations soon began and a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance was signed between Ahmadnagar and the Portuguese. Murtazā now raised the siege and returned to Ahmadnagar by the end of June 1571. The defeat of the Ahmadnagar forces could be attributed to the hollowness of the alliance forged against the Portuguese and the duplicity and the dubious role of Farhād Khān and Ikhalās Khān, the Habśī officers of Ahmadnagar. The success of the Portuguese enabled them to establish their sway on the western coast. Their trading stations included Daman, Bassein, Caul, Salsette, Dābhol, Karañjā and many other places. In 1583, on his final conquest of Gujarāt, Akbar attempted without success to conquer Bassein and Daman. The Portuguese power was at its zenith now. For a period of fifty years or more they had lost none of their possessions on the Konkan coast. However, the Portuguese received a serious setback with the appearance of the Dutch on the scene. The Moghals with their southward expansion also posed a great threat to the Portuguese.

During the reign of Burhān Nizām Śāh II hostilities again broke out between Ahmadnagar and the Portuguese. Burhān Nizām Śāh was forced to fight the Portuguese when the latter plundered a vessel bringing a large number of pilgrims. Fahim Khān, the Nizāmśāhī governor of the district, failing to recover goods seized by the Portuguese reported the matter to Burhān Nizām Śāh. Burhān Nizām Śāh called for a plan of the villages of Revdaṇḍā and Caul and the hill of Korla overlooking the sea between Caul and Revdaṇḍā. He decided to build a fort at Korla with a view to close the way of supplies to the Portuguese. The Portuguese, however, obtained their supplies from other forts and continued to harass the Muslim population by resorting to terror and massacre. Burhān Nizām Śāh showed great concern at the tragedy which was occurring at Caul[2]. He declared a holy war against the Portuguese in spite of most of his troops being away in Berār, and in spite of his strained relations with Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh of Bijāpūr. A force commanded by Farhād Khān and consisting of officers such as Itimād Khān, Śujat Khān, Tāj Khān, Bijlī Khān, Bahādur Khān, Nasir-ul-mulk, Aṇṇe Rāv, Kāmil Khān, Mustāfā Khān and Śaikh Farid Rāja set out towards Caul. Bahādur Gilānī was appointed governor of Korla and ordered to blockade Revdaṇḍā. A Portuguese attack on Revdaṇḍā was repulsed with a loss of 300 men. Elated at the success of his officers, Burhān Nizām Śāh, instead of a follow up action, engaged in revelry and buried

1. *History and Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein*, p. 55.
2. *Briggs*, III, p. 284.

**CHAPTER 4.**

**Portuguese Settlements on the Western Coast.**

himself in wine and women at Ahmadnagar, not sparing even the families of his nobles. The officers, resenting the behaviour of Burhān Nizām Śāh, neglected their duties and looked for an opportunity to retire to the capital to save the honour of their families and depose the King. This gave the Portuguese time to store supplies into the fort at night. A convoy carrying 4,000 men soon arrived. On the next morning the Portuguese proceeded to deliver an attack on the fort. On the approach of the Portuguese, the Nizāmśāhī army fled in confusion towards the fort. They were closely followed by the Portuguese who gained entrance into the fort and slew 12,000 of the Nizāmśāhī army. They set fire to the fort and destroyed it completely[1]. Now Burhān Nizām Śāh appointed Fahim Khān, the governor of the district, to assist Farhād Khān in besieging the fort of Caul. Troops under Bakhtiyār Khān, Asad Khān and Rumī Khān, three experienced officers were also sent as reinforcement. In April 1592, the Nizāmśāhī army opened the siege of Caul. The Nizāmśāhī troops plundered the environs of Caul and continuously bombarded the walls of the fort. The Portuguese had now a strength of 1,500 men. They sallied forth, attacked the besiegers, and defeated them with heavy losses. The besiegers had, therefore, to abandon the siege. In 1594 Burhān Nizām Śāh again assembled an army to attack the Portuguese but the invasion was postponed because of the rebellion of Ismāil Ādil whom Burhān wanted to support against his brother Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh II. The period that followed the death of Burhān Nizāh Śāh was full of turmoil and confusion in the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. This gave the Portuguese a respite and an opportunity to pursue their own course of action in their possessions on the western coast. The Moghals now stepped in the Deccan and the Portuguese, whose position had become as critical as that of Ahmadnagar, tried unsuccessfully to forge an alliance between the Deccan powers against the Moghal invaders. The perpetual discord prevailing among the Deccan Sultanates, however, blinded them to the fate which lay in store for them. The occupation of Ahmadnagar by the Moghals did not finally extinguish the Nizāmśāhī Kingdom. It was given a fresh lease of life by Malik Ambar. Malik Ambar did not ignore the past history of the Portuguese nor their recent attitude towards the Nizāmśāhī Kingdom in its struggle with the Moghals. Guided by the instinct of self-preservation the Portuguese sought an alliance with Malik Ambar and obtained from him the right of collection of half of the land revenue in the vicinity of Caul. However, the highhanded behaviour of the Portuguese towards the *rayats* caused rack-renting, violence and bloodshed. Traders as well as peasants fled to Revdaṇḍā, Dābhoḷ and other adjacent villages. Mānur Khān, the local officer, brought the matter to the notice of the Portuguese captain who agreed to return the excess revenue collected from the peasants. Conditions soon returned to normal. In 1605 the Portuguese again made heavy

1. *Briggs*, II, p. 286.

exactions from the *rayats* and spread violence and terror. Disgusted at their obnoxious behaviour, Abdul Karim, the provincial governor of Caul, with the assistance of the Dutch fitted out a fleet of thirty sails against the Portuguese and plundered all their ships that came their way[1]. The Portuguese retaliated by attacking many villages, killing the inhabitants and burning houses. An attack on Caul was planned by the Portuguese and a force of 350 men marched towards upper Caul. The Muslim garrison drew up in battle array but was defeated and put to flight. The Portuguese Captain Dom Francisco Rolim then set fire to the residence of Abdul Karim and devastated the surrounding country. Both sides now made preparations for a full scale war. Several skirmishes took place but the issue could not be decisively fought. The impending campaign of Khān Jahān Lodī, however, forced both the parties to conclude peace.

During the conflict between the Moghals and the Deccan powers the Portuguese directed all their energies to knit the Deccan powers into a close bond of friendship against a common enemy and opened negotiations with Bijāpūr and Ahmadnagar to confirm the alliance which they had formerly entered into. Nevertheless minor incidents did continue to occur.

Trouble also arose at Caul in 1612-13 when the *ṭhāṇādār* of Caul brought about the assassination of Balthsar de Almeida, the commander of the fort of Caul. The Portuguese in retaliation, opened the gates and put all Muslims to the sword. Thereupon Abbās Khān, the Nizāmśāhī general, marched with a body of troops to Karañjā which he plundered. When the Nizāmśāhī army was busy in collecting their booty, the Portuguese fell upon them and killed a number of them. Enraged at this, Malik Ambar decided to attack the Portuguese strongholds of Salsette, Bassein and Āgāśī. He, however, failed to capture them. The following year, the Moghals besieged Daman, Dīv and Caul and desolated the country. They had to be bought off[2].

In 1615 the Portuguese, Burhān Nizām Śāh III and Ādil Śāh concluded a treaty ratifying the terms of the treaty of 1571. The relations between the Portuguese and Ahmadnagar continued to be cordial till 1625 when trouble again arose in Caul resulting in the annexation of Dābhol by Ahmadnagar. After the death of Malik Ambar, the political fabric of the Nizāmśāhī kingdom of Ahmadnagar began to crumble. The Moghal advance now began to imperil the safety of the Portuguese. In 1634 the Portuguese concluded a favourable treaty with the Moghal emperor. For the next 35 years, though they suffered heavily at other places, they stuck on to their possessions on the Konkan coast, without loss in area. In November 1664 the island of Bombay passed from the Portuguese to the English. It was ceded to the English by the king of Portugal as part of the dower of his sister Katherine who was given in marriage to the

1. Nairne's *Konkan*, p. 47.
2. Nairne's *Konkan*, p. 36.

CHAPTER 4.

**Portuguese Settlements on the Western Coast.**

king of England. The English and the Portuguese now combined to fight the growing menace of the Dutch, but the friendship that worked so well in Europe, could not succeed in India. The main reason was the anger of the local Portuguese for the cession of Bombay to the English. The friendship, therefore, soon turned into deep hatred and enmity. The period that followed saw the keenest rivalry between the English and the Portuguese and also the rise of the new naval powers. The Marāthās and the Siddīs entered the fray for supremacy over the sea. The Portuguese lost heavily in this struggle for supremacy and their power declined completely from the western coast in the early forties of the eighteenth century.

The identification of the Portuguese authorities with the proselytising activities of the missionaries created a strong feeling among the rulers and the population of the Deccan. But their downfall was primarily due to the rise of the English and the Dutch on the West coast.

सत्यमेव जयते

# CHAPTER 5—THE ADILSHAHI OF BIJAPUR



BACKGROUND.

YUSUF ADIL KHAN, ONE OF THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS UNDER THE BAHAMANIS and a protege of *Malik-ut-tujjār* Mahmūd Gāvān was the founder of the Ādilśāhī dynasty of Bijāpūr[1]. The Ādilśāhī dynasty ruled well over one sixth of the present Mahārāṣṭra. It would be interesting to trace the career of Yusuf Ādil, and the manner in which he worked his way up to become the founder of a dynasty. The Ādilśāhī dynasty thrived for nearly 200 years till its final extinction by Aurańgzeb. It was in the reign of Śamsuddin Muhammad III when the Bahamanī power had reached the zenith of its glory, that Yusuf Ādil came into limelight. Historians say he was like a son to Khvājā Jahān Mahmūd Gāvān. When Gāvān became the *Vakīl-i-Saltanat* of the Bahamanī kingdom he tried to forge unity among the Deccanis and foreigners. It was then that Yusuf Ādil, one of the ablest of the Turkish nobles was appointed *Sarlaṣkar* of Daulatābād, Junnar and Cākaṇ. Daryā Khān, Qāsim Beg, Śāh Qulī Sultān and other Turkish and Moghal nobles were appointed as his subordinates. Yusuf Ādil Khān participated in most of the campaigns undertaken and directed by Mahmūd Gāvān. In the war with Māḷvā, parts of the North western provinces of the Bahamanī Kingdom were occupied by local Marāṭhā Chiefs, headed by Jānsiṅg Rāi of Virkheḍā. *Sultān* Muhammad ordered Yusuf Ādil Khān, who had taken over recently as the governor of Mahārāṣṭra provinces to put down and liquidate the Marāṭhā chiefs. Yusuf Ādil marched against them, defeated them, and overran the territory occupied by them. The *Sultān* granted the posts of Antur and Virkheḍā along with the country surrounding as *Jāgir* to Yusuf Ādil. Yusuf Ādil returned to the capital with a huge booty. Under the orders of the *Sultān* he was entertained by Mahmūd Gāvān for a whole week. The accounts relate that the *Sultān* himself

---

1. ABDUL MOOZUFFUR YOOSOOF ADIL SHAH, the founder of the Adil Shahi dynasty, was the son of one of the emperors of Room, of the Ottoman family, His father, Agha Morad, dying in 854 he was succeeded by his eldest son Mahomed; on which occasion the ministers observed, that as in the beginning of the late reign, a person named Moostufa, calling himself a son of Elderim Bayezeed, occasioned great commotions in the empire, it was desirable that in future only one prince of the family should be suffered to live. Sooltan Mahomed, assenting to the suggestion, gave orders for his brother Yoosoof then a child, to be put to death; and the executioners came to demand him from his mother, in order that, having strangled him, the body might be publicly exposed. The Queen entreated them to spare the infant; or, if state policy demanded so cruel a sacrifice, to indulge her by deferring the execution for a day, that she might prepare her mind for so melancholy an event. The ministers having consented, the Queen improved the time to save her son's life. She accordingly sent for Khwaja *Imad-ood-Deen*, a merchant of Sava, with whom she had been in the habit of making purchases of the products of Persia, and enquired if he then had any male slaves for sale. He replied,

CHAPTER 5.

The Adilshahi of Bijapur.

BACKGROUND.

went to stay with Mahmūd Gāvān and allowed many liberties to Yusuf in his own presence. In the campaign against Parketa, the chief of Belgāṅv, led by the *Sultān* himself, Mahmūd Gāvān, assisted by Yusuf Ādil and *Imād-ul-mulk,* managed the operation of mining the ramparts of the fort wall, and led the final assault. With the expansion of the Bahamanī Kingdom, Mahmūd Gāvān reorganised the provincial administration. The whole kingdom was divided into eight administrative divisions instead of the former four. A *tarafdār* was appointed to each division. Yusuf Ādil Khān was now put in charge of the new province of Daulatābād. In the year 1480-1481 the *Sultān* led the campaign against Narsimha of Vijayanagar. *Nizām-ul-mulk* and *Khān-i-Āzam* Ādil Khān operated under his command. They stormed the town of Kāñcī with ten thousand horse and a hundred and fifty picked men from the Royal Body guard. It was at this time that the conspiracy against Mahmūd Gāvān was formed. Yusuf Ādil used to safeguard the interest of Mahmūd Gāvān at the court and keep him posted of all the happenings there. The conspiracy resulted in the execution of Mahmūd Gāvān at Koṇḍāpalli. The news of the assassination was conveyed to Yusuf Ādil by Fathullāh *Imād-ul-mulk* and Khudāvand Khān. Yusuf Ādil arrived post haste to Koṇḍāpalli. He advised his colleagues, *Imād-ul-mulk* and Khudāvand Khān to keep away from the royal presence. After mutual consultation they decided to go in force to the royal camp. Accordingly, they met the *Sultān.* He was forced to confirm *Imād-ul-Mulk* and Khudāvand Khān in their respective *Jāgirs* and appoint Yusuf Ādil to the province of Bijāpūr, which was formerly held by Mahmūd Gāvān. Yusuf Ādil then moved with the royal camp. He, however, always kept at a safe distance. A few day after arriving at Bidar, Yusuf Ādil left for Bijāpūr.

---

*contd.*

he had five Georgians and two Circassians. Among these was a Circassian who on the whole, bore some resemblance to the Prince, and him she purchased, at the same time committing Yoosoof to the merchant's care ,together with a large sum of money, entreating him to convey him to a place of security, out of the Emperor's dominions. The Khwaja, for the sake of the money, accepted the commission, and began his journey, with the infant Prince, the same night. The next morning, the ministers coming to the door of the Queen's apartments, demanded her son; when having admitted one of them, on whom she could rely, candidly informed him of the deception, and bound him to favour it by large gifts. The Circassian slave was accordingly strangled, and the body being brought out, wrapped in a shroud by the minister, whose integrity was not suspected, it was interred without examination.

Khwaja *Imad-ood-Deen* carried the young prince to Ardbeel, where he enrolled him among the disciples of the venerable Sheik Suffy, after which he conveyed him to the city of Sava. When he was seven years of age the Khwaja made known to him the secret of his birth, and placed him at school with his own children. The next year the Queen sent a person to Sava to enquire after her child, and the messenger, after an absence of nine months, departed homewards, but was taken so ill at Alexandria, that he remained there a year and a half; after which he returned to the Queen, and presented her with a letter written by Yoosoof, giving her pleasing accounts of himself. The princess bestowed alms to the poor in gratitude for the preservation of her son; and shortly after sent his nurse, with her son Ghuzunufur Beg and her daughter Dilshad Agha, to Sava accompanied by her former messenger, as also a large sum of money for the use of the Prince. Yoosoof remained at Sava till he was sixteen years old, when his nurse imprudently divulged the secret of his birth, which having come to the ears of the governor, a Toork of the tribe of Akkooinloo, he made the Prince pay him four hundred *tomans* to permit him to quit the

After a few months, when the *Sultān* was touring the western provinces, news was received of the preparations made by Virupākṣa of Vijayanagar to attack Goā. The *Sultān* ordered Yusuf Ādil to proceed to relieve Goā. The *Sultan*, however, died on 27th March 1482. When he heard of the death of the *Sultān*, Yusuf Ādil returned to the capital with Mallu Khān, Daryā Khān, and *Fakhr-ul-Mulk*, accompanied by a thousand Moghal and Turkish troops. He proceeded to the palace to pay respects to the new *Sultān*. *Nizām-ul-Mulk*, who had now been appointed as prime minister, suspected foul play. He went to the palace in full strength. The meeting passed off peacefully. Each side realised the strength of the other and the dangerous consequences which would flow from an armed conflict in the capital at this critical juncture. Yusuf Ādil camped outside the city. He was met there by *Malik Nāib Nizām-ul-Mulk*. The latter invited him to help him run the administration. Yusuf Ādil replied that he was a soldier. He refused to take part in the civil administration of the kingdom. *Nizām-ul-mulk*, who was by no means happy over the presence of Yusuf Ādil, decided to destroy him. In his capacity as prime minister he appointed Ādil Khān Dakhani to his charge of Bijāpūr. He then issued orders to Yusuf Ādil and *Imād-ul-mulk* under the name of the Sultān that the Sultān would be pleased to review their provincial levies. When these two arranged their forces for review before the *Sultān*, they were told that their Turkish entourage was restive and that the *Sultān* was not at all pleased with them. *Nizām-ul-mulk* then ordered Ādil Khān Dakhani to carry out a general massacre of the Turkish population. More than four thousand people were killed. It was then that Yusuf Ādil, ignoring the appointment of Ādil Khān Dakhani to his charge, marched towards Bijāpūr.

---

*contd.*

place in safety. Yoosoof intended to remain at Koom till the governor of Sava should be removed, but after some time, having left Koom, he proceeded to Kashan, Isfahan, and eventually to Shiraz, where a story is told that the prophet Khizer appeared to him in a dream directing him to quit Persia and go to Hindoostan where he should attain to sovereign power. Yoosoof accordingly left Shiraz, went to the seacoast, and embarking at Gombroon for India, reached Dabul in the year 864. On his arrival there he became acquainted with Khwaja Mahmood Goorjistany, a merchant who had come to that port on business. Yoosoof's appearance and manners (being at that time only seventeen years of age) were at once striking and engaging, for he had received a liberal education at Sava. The Khwaja prevailed on him to accompany him to Ahmudabad Bidur, where he was sold, as a Georgian slave, to the minister Khwaja Mahmood Gawan for the royal bodyguard. This account the author received from Mirza Mahomed of Sava, the son of Gheias-ood Deen prime minister of Yoosoof Adil Khan at the time he declared his independence at Beejapoor, under the designation of Yoosoof Adil Shah. The same story is related by Shah Jumal-ood-Deen Hoossein, the son of Shah Hoossein-Anjoo, in his history, as also by Khwaja Nuzr, a member of the Bahmuny family. At the period of the marriage of Beeby Musseety to the Prince Ahmud at Koolburga, that Princess took her seat above all the other ladies and on remonstrance being made to her afterwards, she replied, as the daughter of Yoosoof Adil Shah, and the niece and granddaughter of two emperors of Room, she certainly considered herself inferior to no lady in the Deccan. Ameer Bereed of Bidur was afterwards at the trouble of sending persons to Constantinople to endeavour to falsify this statement; but the corroborating facts were so strong that the subject was not again agitated. Yoosoof Adil Khan is said to have derived the appellation of Savaee from the circumstance of his having been educated at Sava. (Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III pp. 4—8.)

CHAPTER 5.

The Adilshahi of Bijapur.

BACKGROUND.

It was shortly after this that *Nizām-ul-mulk* was assassinated at Bidar. The circumstances of his assassination have been narrated elsewhere. Qāsim Barīd-ul-Mamālik who held Kandhār and Ausā in *Jāgīr* marched to the capital and forced the *Sultān* to appoint him *Vazīr* or prime minister. After the death of *Nizām-ul-mulk*, his son Malik Ahmad assumed his father's titles and conquered most of the fortified places in Koṅkaṇ and western ghāṭs. At the instance of Qāsim Barīd, the *Sultān* sent orders to Yusuf Ādil to march against Malik Ahmad along with Khvājā Jahān of Pareṇḍā and Yusuf Talaś of Cākaṇ. Yusuf Ādil refused to comply with these orders. He informed Malik Ahmad of the royal conspiracy against him. Malik Ahmad was more than a match in his contest with the Bahamanī rulers. He defeated all attempts to subdue him. After he felt completely secure of his position, he invited Yusuf Ādil to assume royalty and declare independence. Yusuf Ādil readily agreed and thus came into existence the Ādilśāhī dynasty of Bijāpūr.

YUSUF ADIL SHAH.

The declaration of Independence by Yusuf Ādil was not as absolute as that of Malik Ahmad Nizām Śāh. Long after Yusuf Ādil's death, his successors till the fourth generation styled themselves *Majlis-i-Rafi* Ādil Khān in their tablets and inscriptions and struck coins in the name of whoever was nominally seated on the throne of Bidar by the Barīdśāhīs.

Qāsim Barīd, who had become powerful at Bidar decided to reduce Yusuf Ādil. He incited the Rājā of Vijayanagar to attack him. The minister of that State, Narasa Nāyak sent a strong army against Yusuf Ādil and captured the coveted possessions of Rāichūr and Mudgal. Yusuf Ādil now decided to attack Bidar and threaten Qāsim Barīd. Qāsim Barīd appealed to Malik Ahmad and Khvājā Jahān of Pareṇḍā to assist him. Malik Ahmad refused and Yusuf Ādil easily defeated the combination of Qāsim Barīd and Khvājā Jahān *Fakhr-ul-mulk* Dakhani in the battle fought about five *Kos* from Bidar. He was accompanied by his lieutenants Daryā Khān and *Fakhrul-mulk* Turk. Yusuf Ādil went to Bijāpūr after the battle. He then marched against Vijayanagar and after severe encounters captured the towns of Rāicūr and Mudgal. In the following year, Bahādur Gilānī, rebelled. The Bahamanī *Sultān* sent appeals to his provincial governors to help him suppress the rebellion. Yusuf Ādil responded by sending a force under Kamāl Khān Dakhani. This force captured Belgāṅv after a siege lasting for three months. Sultān Qulī *Qutb-ul-mulk* had also joined the royal forces. He captured the rebel possession of Jamkhiṇḍī and handed it over to Yusuf Ādil.[1] *Sultān* Mahmūd left Bidar. He was

1. Yoosoof Adil Khan was preparing to march against Jumkindy, which Bahadur Geelany had taken from him, when Mahmood Shah, in consequence of complaints from the King of Guzerat, resolved to march in person against the latter chief; on which occasion Yoosoof Adil Khan sent his general Kumal Khan Deccany, with five thousand horse to attend the Bahmany monarch. Jumkindy being taken, was delivered over to Yoosoof Adil Khan, and Bahadur Geelany was slain in action when Mahmood Shah returned from this expedition. Yoosoof Adil Khan went forth to meet him; and having conducted him into Beejapoor, then newly surrounded

well received by Yusuf Ādil who made him many valuable presents. The rebellion of Bahādur Gilānī was finally put down. Yusuf Ādil now returned to Bijāpūr. After the victory *Sultān* Mahmūd Bahamanī along with Qāsim Barīd, visited the port of Dābhoḷ. On his return, he halted at Bijāpūr where Yusuf Ādil entertained him for a few days.

In 1495, Dastur Dinār resented his transfer from western Telaṅgaṇa to Gulburgā and rebelled. Mahmūd Śāh Bahamanī again enlisted the help of Yusuf Ādil. The combined forces led by Yusuf Ādil, *Qutb-ul-mulk*, Qadam Khān and Jahāṅgīr Khān defeated Dastur Dinār. He was ordered to be put to death by *Sultān* Mahmūd. Subsequently he was pardoned and reinstated in his fief of Gulburgā.

In 1497, was celebrated the betrothal of the infant Prince Ahmad to Bibi Sitti, the daughter of Yusuf Ādil at Gulburgā. Yusuf Ādil, Qāsim Barīd, Khvājā Jahān, Quli *Qutb-ul-mulk* and *Sultān* Mahmūd assembled at that place. On this occasion the old enmity between Dastur Dinār with Yusuf Ādil broke out. *Qutb-ul-mulk* joined hands with Yusuf Ādil. In the action fought between the two opposing groups Yusuf Ādil emerged victorious. Qāsim and Dastur fled to Āḷand. They were pursued thither by Yusuf Ādil who overtook them at Guñjautī and defeated them. He then got from the *Sultān,* his confirmation over Gulburgā, Guṅjautī and Kalyāṇī and returned to Bijāpūr.[1]

In the following year Yusuf Ādil marched against Dastur Dinār and forced him to flee towards Malik Ahmad Nizām Śāh. Qāsim Barīd again supported Dastur Dinār. After his victory over Dastur Dinār, Yusuf Ādil went to Bidar and complained to the *Sultān* that Nizām Śāh was helping a rebel. But Malik Ahmad remonstrated with Mahmūd Śāh against the wanton attacks by Yusuf Ādil on Dastur Dinār. The *Sultān* admonished Yusuf Ādil who promised to desist from any attacks against

---

*contd.*

with a wall of stone, entertained him for ten days with great splendour. On his departure, he presented him with twenty elephants, fifty horse, four bracelets set with jewels and other rare and valuable articles to a large amount. Mahmood Shah having made choice of one elephant sent back the other articles, with a private message, that as they would be seized by his minister Kasim Bereed, he returned them to be kept for him in trust, till such time as Yoosoof Adil Khan, like a faithful servant, should deliver him from his trammels. (Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, pp. 14-15.)

1. The account of the battle of Gunjowty as given by Ferishta is as under :—

Yoosoof Adil Khan upon this, moved with Mahmood Shah, who was accompanied by Sooltan Kooly Kootb Khan, and Mullik Elias, to reduce Kasim Bereed whom they defeated near the town of Gunjowty, and the fugitives took shelter in various forts. After the victory, a rich carpet of cloth of gold was spread on the field and Mahmood Shah taking Yoosoof Adil Khan by the hand, commanded him to sit, an honour he declined to accept, till after being repeatedly pressed. Here it was determined, that, on the following year, the allies should march and effectually subvert the power of Kasim Bereed. Mullik Elias fell in the action, and Yoosoof Adil Khan conferred his estates upon his eldest son Mahmood, with the title of *Ein-ool-Moolk*, and quitting Mahmood Shah returned to Beejapoor. (Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, p. 18.)

**CHAPTER 5. The Adilshahi of Bijapur.**

YUSUF ADIL SHAH.

Dastur Dinār in future. This formal promise was perhaps the result of the alliance between Malik Ahmad, Dastur Dinār, Qāsim Barīd and Khvājā Jahān which Yusuf Ādil considered too strong for him to resist.

In the same year, irritated at the high handedness of Qāsim Barīd, *Sultān* Mahmūd summoned *Qutb-ul-mulk* and Yusuf Ādil to help him against Qāsim Barīd. Both responded to the summons and with the *Sultān*, besieged Ausā, the *Jāgir* town of Qāsim Barīd. The siege continued for a long time. Yusuf Ādil and *Qutb-ul-mulk* now lost all interest in the campaign and retired to their respective fiefs. Qāsim Barīd once again assumed charge of the *Sultān*. It was, however, later decided by Yusuf Ādil, Malik Ahmad and Qāsim Barīd that they should leave the *Sultān* alone at Bidar. They should pay respects to him by visiting him every year. The Bahamanī territory was now formally distributed among the three when Goā and the neighbouring districts fell to Yusuf Ādil.

The struggle for power during the next few years shifted to the eastern and southern borders of the Bahamanī territory *viz.*, Vijayanagar, which had immensely benefited from the internal strife that plagued the former Bahamanī capital of Bidar. *Qutb-ul-mulk* tried to establish the Bahamanī hegemony over that region. In 1503 *Sultān* Mahmūd led an expedition, and, assisted by Yusuf Ādil with 5,000 Turkish cavalry, 6,000 infantry and 500 elephants forced his terms upon Vijayanagar. Vijayanagar agreed to pay the stipulated tribute and ceded Rāicūr and Mudgal which were restored to Yusuf Ādil. During this campaign Qāsim Barīd, who had lost the favour of *Sultān* Mahmūd, was replaced by *Khān-i-Jahān*. Qāsim Barīd conspired the murder of the new prime minister. This was prevented by Yusuf Ādil, *Dastur-ul-mamālik* and *Qutb-ul-mulk* who marched against Barīd, defeated him and forced him to flee. The victorious three then paid their homage to *Sultān* Mahmūd Śāh and returned to their respective fiefs[1]. Immediately after this, Yusuf

---

1. On the following year, Yoosoof Adil Khan marched against Dustoor Deenar, but Mullik Ahmud Bheiry coming to his assistance, Yoosoof retired towards Bidur where he received assurances of support from Sooltan Kooly Kootb Khan and *Imad-ool-Moolk* of Berar; on which Dustoor Deenar and Mullik Ahmud retired without hazarding an action to their respective capitals. On his return to Beejapoor, Yoosoof Adil Khan sent embassies to Mullik Ahmud Bheiry and to *Imad-ool-Moolk*; observing, that the Deccan was too small a country to maintain so many independent chiefs, that therefore they three should out of regard to their own security unite and endeavour to occupy the whole country. After much discussion it was resolved, that *Imad-ool-Moolk* should have Mahoor, Ramgur, and all the territory then in possession of Khodawund Khan, the Abyssinian; that Mullik Ahmud should have Dowlutabad, Antore, Galna, and the country beyond those forts as far as the borders of Guzerat; that Yoosoof Adil Khan, for his share, might seize the territories of Dustoor Deenar and *Ein-ool-Moolk*; that Kasim Bereed should be allowed to take the country of Sooltan Kooly *Kootb-ool-Moolk*, as an appanage to the capital of Ahmudabad Bidur, and its dependencies. By this treaty it was understood that the contracting powers were not to interfere with the plan now proposed, but on the contrary if necessary, unite to enforce it. (Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, pp. 18-19.)

Ādil marched towards Gulburgā and attacked Dastur Dinār. Dastur Dinār could not withstand the power of Yusuf Ādil. He was defeated and slain in the battle. Yusuf Ādil now added the fief held by Dastur Dinār to his possessions of Bijāpūr.

Yusuf Ādil had now sufficiently established himself as one of the principal contestants to replace the now defunct Bahamanī role in the Deccan. He was a staunch *Śīāh* by profession and the establishment of that faith was one of his cherished dreams. Perhaps his education in Persia had resulted in his conversion to the *Śīāh* faith. His task was not an easy one as a majority of his troops who were Turks, Deccanis and Abyssinians were staunch *Sunnīs*. Most of the neighbouring kingdoms professed the *Sunnī* faith. These factors, however, did not deter Yusuf Ādil from carrying out his plans. He decreed that the *Khutbā* and the call for prayer would henceforward be recited after the *Śiāh* form. As a result there was a general discontent in his kingdom among his subjects. The neighbouring kingdoms of Ahmadnagar, Golconḍā and Bidar used this as a pretext to attack his kingdom. Yusuf Ādil considered himself unable to cope with this alliance. Entrusting the defence of Bijāpūr to his general Kamāl Khān he decided to create a diversion by ravaging the territory of the allies. He reached Berār and requested Imād Śāh to assist him. In spite of his sympathies for Yusuf Ādil, Imād Śāh persuaded Yusuf Ādil to recall his edict and promised, if he did so, to detach Malik Ahmad and *Qutb-ul-mulk* from the alliance[1]. Yusuf Ādil agreed and recalled the edict. He also wrote to Mahmūd Śāh but received an insulting letter from him, no doubt dictated by Amir Ali Barīd. Yusuf Ādil marched from Berār, accompanied by Alāuddin Imād Śāh. He attacked Mahmūd Śāh and Amir Ali Barīd and defeated them at Kalam. Amir Ali fled to Bidar with Mahmūd Śāh leaving his camp and all his effects in the hands of Yusuf Ādil Śāh. The alliance against Yusuf Ādil was put down. On his return to Bijāpūr Yusuf Ādil re-established the public profession of the *Śiāh* form of faith. Till his death in 1510 no attempt was made to disturb him on account of his change of faith[2].

---

1. Some authorities inform that Yusuf Adil went as far as Khandesh and was pursued by *Sultan* Mahmud Shah as far as Gawil.

2. Ferishta gives the following account in connection with the establishment of *Shiah* faith by Yusuf Adil.

Mullik Ahmud Bheiry and Ameer Bereed, who were strict and zealous followers of the *Soonut*, were alarmed at the innovation on the established faith of the Deccan and spoke of it in reproachful terms. At length, forming an alliance, they invaded the territory of Yoosoof Adil Shah. Ameer Bereed seized on Gunjowty, and many districts taken from Dustoor Deenar, while Mullik Ahmud Bheiry sent ambassadors to Beejapoor peremptorily demanding the surrender of the fortress of Nuldroog. Yoosoof Adil Shah, incensed at this wanton attack on his dominions, sent back an answer full of indignation, and marching at once on Gunjowty recovered it forthwith. Mahmood Shah Bahmuny and Ameer Bereed now made application for aid to Sooltan Kooly *Kootb-ool-Moolk*, *Imad-ool-Moolk*, and Khodawund Khan Hubshy. Sooltan Kooly, though secretly of the *Sheea* persuasion, yet in conformity with the spirit of the time and by the advice of his officers, moved towards the camp of Mahmood Shah; but *Imad-ool-Moolk* and Khodawund Khan framed excuses, and did not join the league. Ameer Bereed now despatched his own son Jehangeer Khan to Ahmudnaggur, with such urgent remonstrances, that Mullik-Ahmud Bheiry was

**CHAPTER 5.**

**The Adilshahi of Bijapur.**
YUSUF ADIL SHAH.

It was in the years 1498, 1506 and 1510, that Yusuf Ādil was confronted by the Portuguese. In 1498 the attempt of Yusuf Ādil's governor of Goā to surprise the Portuguese at their stronghold of Añjadiv failed. In 1506 Yusuf Ādil again sent a fleet of sixty vessels under Abdullā against Añjadiv. The Portuguese resisted and beat back the attack. In 1510 the

*contd.*

induced to march with ten thousand horse and a train of artillery which, added to the troops of Ameer Bereed and Sooltan Kooly *Kootb-ool-Moolk*, composed a formidable army, of which Mahmood Shah was nominally the leader. Yoosoof Adil Shah thinking it unsafe to engage in a pitched battle with the inferior force at his command, sent his son Ismael, then an infant of five years old, with all his treasuries and elephants from Alund to Beejapoor, committing the care of that city and the sole direction, of affairs to Kumal Khan Deccany. Having stationed Duria Khan and *Fukhr-ool-Moolk* Toork to protect Koolburga, he himself, attended by *Ein-ool-Moolk* Geelany, and many foreign officers, together with an army consisting of six thousand horse firmly devoted to him, marched towards Beer, burning and destroying the country as he passed. Mullik Ahmud Bheiry, finding his territory thus pillaged, moved with Mahmood Shah Bahmuny and the allies, in pursuit of the enemy. Yoosoof Adil Shah had taken this step to prevent the war being carried into his own country; and though he avoided a general action, he hovered around the allied army, harassed their followers, and cut off their supplies. Finding this plan not sufficiently successful, and his troops being exhausted with fatigue, after first plundering the environs of Dowlutabad, he penetrated into Berar, relying on the friendship of *Imad-ool-Moolk*. This chief was at the time encamped with his army near Gavul, resolved to maintain a strict neutrality, and to attend merely to the protection of his own country. Yoosoof Adil Shah, however, was received with kindness; but *Imad-ool-Moolk*, apprehensive that the allies would invade Berar, if he openly espoused the cause of yoosoof Adil Shah, advised him to retire for the present towards Boorhanpoor, till some plan could be devised of dissolving the league formed against him; he recommended him also, strongly, by way of conciliating his enemies, to order the Soony rites to be re-established in Beejapoor. Yoosoof Adil Shah saw the necessity of compliance, and sent orders to that effect to Kumal Khan. Meanwhile, taking leave of *Imad-ool-Moolk*, Yoosoof Adil Shah proceeded to Boorhanpoor where he was received with due respect by the ruler of Kandesh.

*Imad-ool-Moolk*, on his part, deputed one of his nearest relations to *Mullik* Ahmud Bheiry, and to Sooltan Kooly *Kootb-ool-Moolk*, assuring them that Ameer Bereed had only made religion a pretext to destroy Yoosoof Adil Shah, in order that he might secure Beejapoor for himself, and Imad-ool-Moolk added, that if Ameer Bereed, now master only of a small territory, was enabled to effect so much in the name of the King, the subversion of their own independence in the Deccan would in the event of any great accession of dominion, necessarily follow. He, moreover, observed, that no man had any right to interfere in the religious concerns of another, since every one would be rendered accountable for his actions on the day of judgment. Setting aside, however, this argument, Yoosoof Adil Shah had now formally retracted his profession of the *Sheea* doctrines, and had sent orders to restore the *Soony* rites in Beejapoor, so that no fair pretence now remained for continuing the war. *Imad-ool-Moolk*, therefore, strongly recommended the confederates, instead of weakening themselves and becoming the dupes of an artful minister, to retire to their own dominions. Mullik Ahmud Bheiry and Sooltan Kooly *Kootb-ool-Moolk*, who paid great respect to the advice of this aged and experienced statesman, were convinced by his arguments, and retreated suddenly one night, without even taking leave of Mahmood Shah.

Ameer Bereed not aware of the reason which led to this desertion of his allies, applied to *Imad-ool-Moolk* for his assistance to invade Beejapoor, and suffered himself to be detained some days by idle negotiations, till Yoosoof Adil Shah arrived at Gavul from Boorhanpoor. Ameer Bereed now perceived the danger of his situation, and instantly fled with the King, attended only by a few followers, leaving his camp standing, which was plundered by the Berar troops. Yoosoof Adil Shah, having taken leave of *Imad-ool-Moolk*, returned to Beejapoor after an absence of three months, and being no longer apprehensive of his enemies had renewed the public exercise of the *Sheea* religion, and inclined his mind to the improvement of his country without meditating further conquests. At this time he sent Syud Ahmud Hirvy, with presents and declarations of attachment, to Shah Ismael Sufvy, King of Persia with an account of his success in establishing the *Sheea* religion. (Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, pp. 26—29.)

Portuguese attacked the Bijāpūr stronghold of Goā and reduced it. All attempts of Bijāpūr to recapture Goā failed. Henceforward, Goā, became a Portuguese territory[1].

YUSUF ADIL SHAH.

Yusuf Ādil Śāh died in 1510 of dropsy. He was buried at Śāhapūr, about forty miles east of Bijāpūr. Among the rulers of the five succession states of Bahamanī Kingdom, Yusuf stands high in respect of accomplishments and statesmanship. There was not in his character the bigotry, cruelty and licentiousness which marked the rule of his Bahamanī predecessors and many of the contemporary rulers. Even his declaration of *Śiāh* faith was free from the fanatical excitement and bloodshed which later marked the conversion of Burhān Nizām Śāh to *Siahism*. With the exception of Golconḍā, Bijāpūr outlived all the other Deccan Dynasties. Credit for this goes to Yusuf Ādil Śāh who founded his kingdom on the principles of toleration. Though the chief power in the country was Muhammedan, a large number of Hindus were employed in state service. The garrisons of most of the hill forts were composed of Marāṭhās, Rāmośīs and Bedars and parts of the plain Country were entrusted chiefly to Marāṭhās, Brāhmaṇs and Lingāyats[2].

ISMAIL ADIL SHAH.

Yusuf Ādil Śāh was succeeded by his son Ismāīl Ādil Śāh who was a minor. During the minority of the *Sultān*, Kamāl Khān was appointed regent. He was a staunch *Sunnī* and declared the *Sunnī* faith as the State religion. He now aspired for the throne and decided to remove the possible opposition from the foreign element in the services. He dismissed all the foreigners except 300 in the *Sultāns* bodyguard and enrolled considerable Marāṭhā cavalry[3]. He formed an offensive and defensive alliance with Amir Ali Barīd who had also harboured similar designs against Ahmadnagar where the minor Burhān Nizām Śāh had ascended the throne and where the affairs of the kingdom were in the hands of Mukammil Khān. Kamāl Khān fixed 30th May 1511 as the day for the deposition of the young

---

1. In 1502 an Italian traveller visited Bijapur and has given an excellent description of that Kingdom. Durate Barbosa. a Portuguese traveller who was minutely acquainted with the west coast of India between 1500 and 1514 also records some interesting details about Deccan in general and the kingdom of Bijapur in particular.

2. Grant Duff's *Marathas*, 36—38.

3. On his arrival at Beejapoor, he brought the young King once into *durbar* for form's sake— to receive the compliments of the court. To strengthen his own party he reduced the number of the *Khaskheil*, or royal guards, from three thousand foreign troops to three hundred, commanding the rest to quit Beejapoor in a week, under penalty of death, and forfeiture of their property to the state. The unfortunate exiles hastened with all speed to various parts to avoid such tyranny. The Regent having thus removed the chief obstacle to his accession, next adopted the practice of the court of Nizam Shah, and caused the officers of a thousand horse to be styled commanders of three thousand. He also raised a vast number of *G'hora Rawoot*, till at length, having an army of twenty thousand horse devoted to his service, he called together his creatures on the 1st of *Suffur*, in the year 917, to consult with regarding a lucky day for deposing Ismael Adil Shah, and for causing his own name to be read in the *Kootba* at Beejapoor. After much debate, the first of the ensuing month, *Rubhool-Awul*, was fixed as the time propitious to his designs, he little supposing that the recorders of fate were then penning the concluding pages of the journal of his vainglorious life. (Briggs's *Ferishta*. Vol. III, pp. 37-38.)

CHAPTER 5. The Adilshahi of Bijapur. ISMAIL ADIL SHAH.

*Sultān*. He postponed the occasion on the advice of astrologers. He remained in seclusion in the palace. The *Sultān's* mother Babujī Khānam, took advantage of this delay, and conspired with Yusuf Turk, the *Sultān's* Godfather, to put down Kamāl Khān. On the pretext of seeking the regent's permission to proceed to Mecca, Yusuf Turk visited the regent in the palace. He stabbed Kamāl Khān to death and in the process lost his own life. The news of what had happened leaked out. The dead regent's mother and brother Safdar Khān declared that the regent was only wounded. To save the situation, Safdar Khān put the dead body in the posture of receiving salutation and attacked the palace with a contingent of armed men. The palace guards were encouraged by Yusuf Ādil's foster sister Dilśad Āghā. They were on the point of being overpowered by Safdar Khān's men when a number of loyal troops climbed the palace walls and entered the palace garden. A hand to hand fight now ensued and Safdar Khān was wounded in the eye by a flurry of shots fired against his men from the palace walls. Safdar Khān took refuge by the side of the palace wall on the top of which was seated, the *Sultān*, Ismāīl Ādil Śāh. He rolled over a stone upon the head of Safdar Khān killing him instantaneously. The insurgents were now dispersed and the command of the state troopers was taken over by Khuśrāu Turk. For the prominent part taken by Khuśrāu Turk in the suppression of the insurgents, he was given the estates of Belgāṅv and the title of Asad Khān. On the advice of Asad Khān, the *Sultān* in 1513, restored the *Śiāh* faith which had been forbidden by Kamāl Khān.

There was now trouble in offing for Bijāpūr. The *Sultāns* of Ahmadnagar, Golconḍā and Bidar formed an alliance against Bijāpūr. They invaded its territory with an army of 25,000 taking *Sultān* Mahmūd Śāh Bahamanī with them. They laid waste the Bijāpūr territory as they advanced and reached Allāpūr (Āḷandpūr) about a mile and half from the eastern gate of the city. Ismāīl Ādil issued out with 12,000 of his picked foreign cavalry and defeated the allies. The aggressors left behind Mahmūd Śāh who was wounded in the battle. Ismāīl conciliated the prisoners by his deference and courtesy and delivered his sister Bibi Sitti to her affianced husband Prince Ahmad. The marriage was celebrated with great pomp at Gulburgā. The *Sultān* was taken to Bijāpūr where he expressed his desire to return to Bidar. With an escort of 5,000 cavalry Ismāīl dispatched *Sultān* Mahmūd Bahamanī to Bidar. After some time, Amir Ali Barīd, with the help of Burhān Nizām Śāh, forced the Bijāpūr cavalry to retire[1].

1. Ferishta gives the following account of the battle of Allapur (Alandpur) :—

Ismael Adil Shah deemed it prudent to remain in his capital, permitting the enemy to advance without opposition to Allapoor, a town built by Yoosoof Adil Shah, within a mile and a half of Beejapoor, when quitting the city at the head of twelve thousand horse, all of whom were foreigners, he attacked the allied forces. Notwithstanding the superiority of the enemy in numbers the Beejapoor troops defeated them so completely, that they fled, leaving behind them Mahmood Shah

At this time Śāh Ismāīl Safavī of Iran, a staunch follower of *Śiāhism* sent an ambassador to Bijāpūr with costly presents. He was detained by Amir Barīd at Bidar, perhaps to spite Ismāīl Ādil. He was allowed to proceed to Bijāpūr only when Ismāīl Ādil had strongly protested to Amir Barīd and *Sultān* Mahmūd Śāh. Śāh Ismāīl addressed Ismāīl Ādil as Śāh in an autograph letter sent to him and expressed his pleasure at the conduct of the ruler of Bijāpūr. In recognition of his royal title of Śāh, Ismāīl ordered that his Moghal soldiers would have a twelve peaked cap as a part of their uniform.

Some time after this Ismāīl Ādil was confronted by Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya of Vijayanagar who had extended his kingdom as far north as the Kṛṣṇā and had possessed himself of the Rāicūr *doāb*, after the death of Yusuf Ādil. To recapture the lost territory Ismāīl marched against Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya. He was defeated by the army of Vijayanagar, and managed to escape narrowly. For a long time Bijāpūr did not dare to attack Vijayanagar.

Later, to punish Amir Barīd for fomenting trouble for Bijāpūr, Asad Khān proposed an alliance between Bijāpūr and Ahmadnagar. Accordingly Ismāīl Ādil and Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh met at Śolāpūr in 1524, when Bibi Mariam, the sister of Ismāīl Ādil was married to Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh. Ismāīl Ādil at first promised the fort of Śolāpūr and its five and half districts as dowry for the princess. Later he refused to cede the fort and the districts promised by him. The alliance naturally bred enmity instead of friendship. Burhāṇ returned to Ahmadnagar and invited Alāuddin Imād Śāh and Amir Ali Barīd to aid him in the capture of the fortress of Śolāpūr. The allies marched at the head of 40,000 troops and laid siege to Śolāpūr. Ismāīl advanced to meet the allies with a force of 10,000 foreign troops and three thousand archers. The archers were, however, surprised by a contingent from the allied army and defeated. They retreated. Rallying later they marched towards the allied camp and were allowed to pass. They then attacked the allied camp with great fury. After a dreadful slaughter many effected

*contd.*

and his son, the Prince Ahmud, who both fell from their horses during the action All the baggage of the fugitives fell into the hands of the victors. Ismael Adil Shah on hearing of the situation, of the princes, went to pay his respects to them; he made offerings of horses with furniture set in jewels, and proposed to conduct them in magnificent *palkies* into Beejapoor. and to emancipate them from the oppression of Ameer Bereed. Mahmood Shah, however, not consenting to enter the city, encamped near Allapoor; where he remained some time to recover of the bruises he had sustained in his fall and afterwards requested that Beeby Musseety sister to Ismael Adil Shah might now be married to his son Ahmud to whom she had formerly been betrothed. Ismael Adil Shah giving his consent to the nuptials the ancient city of Koolburga was fixed on for its celebration and both kings repaired thither where the marriage ceremony was conducted with great magnificence; and the bride being delivered to the Prince Ahmud, Ismael Adil Shah sent an escort of five thousand cavalry to attend the royal pair, accompanied by Mahmood Shah, to Ahmudabad, which was deserted by Ameer Bereed on their approach. Mahmood Shah II. for some time, tasted the sweets of liberty, and was released from the control of his minister; but the Beejapoor troops no sooner left Bidur than Ameer Bereed returned, and resumed the charge of affairs as before. (Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, pp. 46-47.)

**CHAPTER 5.**

**The Adilshahi of Bijapur.**

ISMAIL ADIL SHAH

a safe retreat. When the allied camp had not yet recovered from this night attack, Ismāīl marched against them and defeated them. The allies fled the camp and vast riches fell into the hands of Bijāpurīs[1].

1. Waring's *Marathas*, 35-36.

It is asserted, that in the treaty of alliance formed on this occasion Ismael Adil Shah consented to give up, as a marriage-portion to his sister, the fort of Sholapoor with its five and a half districts taken by the late regent from Zein Khan; but it is certain this article was not immediately fulfilled. Boorhan Nizam Shah. or some time, neglected noticing the omission; but in the next year, having secured the co-operation of Imad Shah, King of Berar, and of Ameer Bereed, Regent of Bidur, the confederates marched with forty thousand men to besiege Sholapoor, and to occupy the ceded districts.

Ismail Adil Shah, collecting ten thousand foreign cavalry moved to oppose the invasion ; and both armies continued encamped during forty days between the forts of Sholapoor and Nuldroog, at the distance of four miles from each other without coming to action. Three thousand foreign bowmen of Ismael Adil Shah were sent forth daily to hover round the enemy's camp, and cut off his supplies ; in which service they were very successful. Khwaja Jehan Deccany, governor of Purenda, in consequence, vexed with the inactivity of Boorhan Nizam Shah quitted the camp attended by four thousand select Deccany cavalry, with the resolution of surprising the Beejapoor archers. On the following evening, the foreigners as usual, took up their post for the night on the banks of a rivulet, and having picketed their horses, were unarming and waiting for their servants to dress their food. At this time, when the night had just shut in, Khwaja Jehan Deccany, with a reconnoitring party, came upon them but was discovered at a short distance from the outposts by a sentry, who gave the alarm. The bowmen instantly took to their horses ; but before they were all mounted. Khwaja Jehan fell upon them, and killed about three hundred ; the rest owed their escape to the speed of their horses. Khwaja Jehan's Deccanies, after returning from the pursuit, came to the spot on which the archers had been encamped, and dismounting, employed themselves in plundering and in eating the victuals which had been left in the pots on the fires The Beejapoories, stung by the disgrace of this shameful defeat, determined on turning it to advantage, and concluding the enemy's army might also be surprised, they resolved to make an attack on the camp of Boorhan Nizam Shah. They accordingly moved direct to his lines, and the sentinels, taking them for Khwaja Jehan's detachment returning to camp, permitted them to pass. When in the midst of the camp, the Beejapoor bowmen discharging their arrows made great havoc, and pursued their route direct to the tent of Boorhan Nizam Shah. Confusion soon prevailed in every quarter ; friends could not be distinguished from foes ; and the bowmen when sated with slaughter and plunder, retired with very little loss. On the following morning, Ismael Adil Shah advanced to give battle to the enemy while yet suffering from the terror occasioned by the night-attack. Boorhan Nizam Shah and Imad Shah drew up their line, but in so great disorder and with such precipitation, that they were unable to withstand the assault of the Beejapoor troops. Imad Shah being charged by Assud Khan fled from the field without scarcely making any opposition, and did not halt, except at night, till he reached his fort of Gawul in Berar. Boorhan Nizam Shah was also on the point of giving way ; but being in time reinforced by Ameer Bereed with six thousand fresh horse, continued to oppose for some time longer. At last, Khoosh-Geldy Agha and Ismael Agha, Toorky officers in the Beejapoor service, gained the enemy's rear with two thousand horse, while Assud Khan made a simultaneous attack on the right wing. These assaults threw the enemy into utter confusion ; and Boorhan Nizam Shah, overcome by the weight of his armour, was nearly falling from his horse through faintness. In this stage of the action, some Toorky slaves, observing the condition of the King of Ahmudnuggur—led his horse off the field, and the rout of his army instantly succeeded. About three thousand of the Ahmudnuggur troops were slain in the pursuit, and the royal standard of Nizam Shah fell into the hands of Assud Khan, besides forty elephants, many pieces of cannon, and the tents and baggage of the enemy, which became the reward of the victors. Ismael Adil Shah, after his victory, returned in triumph to Beejapoor, where he made rejoicings for a whole month, and conferred rewards and honours on the officers who had most distinguished themselves. To Assud Khan he gave five large and six small elephants, and on the same occasion he increased the pay of every soldier in his army. To enable him to bear this expense, he appropriated all the lands hitherto allotted for the support of the seraglio to his troops, and gave up half the customs levied at the forts for the same object. Being one day told that some officers were still unprovided for, and on the minister saying, that the treasury could not maintain so many troops on the present pay, he asked what number of districts were set aside for the support of his wardrobe and

In 1526, Ismāil gave his younger sister in marriage to Alāuddin Imād Śāh and helped him, unsuccessfully, in the latter's attempt to regain the fort of Pāthrī from Burhān Nizām Śāh. In the invasion of Ahmadnagar in 1528 by Bahādur Śāh of Gujarāt Ismāīl Ādil sent a contingent of 6,000 horses to the assistance of Burhāṇ. In the same year Asad Khān Lārī, the Bijāpūr general again defeated Burhāṇ Nizām and Amir Barīd. They had attacked the Bijāpūr country. In the following year Ismāīl Ādil Śāh sent his general Asad Khān against Bidar. Asad Khān entered Barīd's camp and made him a captive when he lay in a drunken sleep. Ismāīl defeated a relieving force from Golconḍā and decreed the sentence of death upon Amir Ali Barīd. Alāuddin Imād Śāh pleaded in vain with Ismāīl Ādil to release Amir Ali Barīd. Ismāīl insisted upon the surrender of Bidar. Amir Ali Barīd had no choice left but to accede to the demand and surrender Bidar. Amir Ali Barīd now practically became the vassal of Bijāpūr.[1] Shortly after this, Ismāīl Ādil, with the help of Alāuddin Imād Śāh, invaded Vijayanagar. Taking advantage of the confusion prevailing in that kingdom following the death of its king Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya, Ismāīl succeeded in reducing the forts of Rāicūr and Mudgal. He was, however, prevented from pressing further on account of the reported aggressive movements by Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh and Amir Ali Barīd from the North. Ismāīl now restored Bidar to Amir Ali Barīd on his agreeing to cede the forts of Kalyāṇi and Kandhār. In 1532, Ismāīl Ādil pressed his demand for the cession of these two forts. Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh intervened asking, Ismāīl Ādil to abandon the enterprise. Ismāīl turned fiercely upon him, twitting him with the use of the title conferred by the leader of a gang of Gujarātis and the use of a second hand and soiled Insignia of Māḷvā. War broke out. Amir Ali and Burhāṇ Nizām marched to the frontier of Bijāpūr but were defeated at Naḷdurg by Asad Khān Lārī. Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh fled headlong to Ahmadnagar. Much plunder fell into the hands of Bijāpurīs and the superiority of Ismāīl was established throughout the Deccan.

In the same year, however, the officers of both the kingdoms met to apportion the territory of the Deccan between themselves. Under the scheme Ahmadnagar was to annex Berār, and Bijāpūr,

*contd.*

kitchen and having ascertained they amounted to twenty-four he commanded half to be allotted to the pay of the troops; saying, that it was better for him to suffer some inconvenience than that the soldiers should have reason to complain. (Briggs's *Ferishta* vol. III, pp. 52-55.)

[1] Ferishta gives the following account about the humiliating treatment meted out to Amir Barid by Ismail Adil Shah.

Ismail Adil Shah, on the following morning, being seated on his throne, Ameer Bereed was placed opposite to him, with his head bare, and his hands tied behind his back, exposed to a hot sun. When he had stood for two hours in this situation, the King gave orders for his being put to death, and an executioner advanced to do his duty with a drawn scimitar. Ameer Bereed Shah, perceiving his helpless condition, condescended to beg his life; saying that undoubtedly he had been guilty of many insults to the King and his late father, of blessed memory, and was conscious of smeriting revenge at his hands; but if the King would forget these circumstances, and suffer him to live and repent, he would surrender to him the city of Ahmudabad, with the fortress of Bidur, whose battlement the ladders of an enemy had never yet scaled, and he promised to deliver into his hands the treasures of the Bahmuny royal family.

**CHAPTER 5.**

**The Adilshahi of Bijapur.**

ISMAIL ADIL SHAH.

which had already claimed Bidar was to annex Goḷconḍā. In pursuance of this treaty Ismāīl, in 1534 besieged Nalgunda, about 60 miles from Goḷconḍā and defeated a relieving force sent by Qutb Śāh. When the siege was in progress Ismāīl fell sick and leaving Asad Khān to prosecute the siege he left for Gulburgā. On his way he suddenly died. At the time of the death of Ismāīl, Badāmī and the adjacent regions south of Bijāpūr were still under the occupation of Vijayanagar. Ismāīl Ādil was a just and prudent ruler. He was adept in painting, arrow making and embroidering saddle clothes. He was fond of the company of poets and learned men and dearly loved repartee. No king of the Deccan was his equal in humour.[1]

IBRAHIM ADIL SHAH.

On the death of Ismāīl Ādil Śāh, Asad Khān raised to the throne the eldest son of the dead *Sultān*, Mallu Khān. This was the wish of his master. He was, however, a worthless and a debauched youth hated by commoners and noblemen alike. Asad Khān, also feared the worst from the new *Sultān*. He, therefore, left for Beḷgāṅv leaving the administration of the kingdom in the hands of Babujī Khānam, the grandmother of Mallu Khān. In his short reign of six months. Mallu Khān gave vent to his unabashed passions by molesting ladies of the noble class. Babujī Khānam, seeing that his rule would lead to the ruin of the Kingdom, accepted the nobles advice to depose him. Mallu Khān was deposed and blinded. His younger brother Ibrāhīm was raised to the throne under the title of Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh.

Ibrāhīm was a staunch follower of the *Śunnī* faith. His first act on assumption of power was to replace the current *Śiāh* faith by the *Śunnī* doctrine. This was accompanied by a complete change in the military organization of the state. Ismāīl Ādil, who had sensed the danger of a Deccani rising in the rebellion of Kamāl Khān had dismissed all the Deccanis from the military services and replaced them by foreigners, mostly *Śiāhs*. It was now the turn of these foreigners to be dismissed and make way for the less efficient but more orthodox and conservative Deccanis and Africans. These were staunch *Śunnīs*. Ibrāhīm struck a further blow to the foreign influence by substituting the language of the natives of the Deccan, that is Marāṭhī for which he had developed a liking. Marāṭhī now took the place of Persian as the language of accounts and finance. Under the new administration many Brāhmins and other Hindus rose to high ranks. Marāṭhās held positions of distinction in the Ādil-śāhī army. He entertained 3,000 Deccani cavalry. Instead of the Bahamanī system of self horsed cavaliers or Śiledārs he enlisted men of low position who were supplied with state horses and were called Bārgīrs.[2]

---

1. Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, 72.

2. Grant Duff's *Marathas*, 34 and note.

Ibrahim Adil Shah, on his accession to the throne, having rejected the names of the *Imams* from the *Kootba*, restored the exercise of the *Soony* rites, and commanded that no person should in future wear the scarlet cap of twelve points, which had been

Ibrāhīm's first war was with Vijayanagar. The confused affairs of that state gave him an opportunity to attack it. Bhoj Nirmal, usurper of the throne, sought the aid of Ibrāhīm after putting to death the minor king, while Veṅkaṭrāya, the regent was away on an expedition. Fearing the worst consequences from the Muhammedan invasion of the kingdom, Veṅkaṭrāya marched towards Vijayanagar when, Bhoj Nirmal committed suicide. Veṅkaṭrāya reached Vijayanagar and ascended the throne without opposition. Ibrāhīm regarded this as a breach of faith to his formal ally Bhoj Nirmal and sent Asad Khān Lārī to invest and besiege Adoni. Asad Khān was, however, defeated by Veṅkaṭādri, the brother of Veṅkatrāya. Asad Khān retired after concluding a peace treaty with Vijayanagar.[1]

After the campaign against Vijayanagar, Asad Khān Lārī incurred the displeasure of Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh. This was more due to his profession of the *Śiāh* faith than his recent defeat at the hands of Veṅkaṭādri. Consequently Asad Khān retired to his *Jāgirs* at Belgāṅv. This gave the enemies of Asad Khān a chance to further poison the mind of Ibrāhīm Ādil against Asad Khān. They falsely charged Asad Khān of secret correspondence with Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh who had lately been converted to the *Śiāh* faith by Śāh Tāhīr. Burhāṇ Nizām Śah and Amir Ali Barīd were not slow in taking advantage of the dissensions between the master and the servant. They invaded the Bijāpūr territory from the north, captured Pareṇḍā and reduced Śolāpūr, the possession of which was the most cherished desire of the Ahmadnagar *Sultāns*. Asad Khān, dreading the prospects of plunder and devastation of his *Jāgir* estates, joined Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh and Amir Ali Barīd. The three marched towards Bijāpūr. Ibrāhīm was now convinced of the treachery of Asad Khān. He misconstrued his advance as open rebellion against him. Thinking himself incapable of resisting the allies, he fled

*contd.*

adopted by all the troops of his father, in imitation of the Persians. Instead of foreign troops he enlisted Deccanies in his service, and permitted only four hundred foreigners to remain in his body-guard. All the foreign officers, with the exception of Assud Khan Lary, Khoosh Geldy Agha, Roomy Khan, and Shoojat Khan Koord, were degraded, and Deccanies and Abyssinians were promoted in their stead. All the foreign troops which were thus dismissed entered into the service of different princes. Ramraj, the Hindoo Prince of Beejanuggur, entertained three thousand of them; and in order to reconcile them to the act of making obeisance to him, he caused a *Koran* to be placed before them when they came to pay their respects; which enabled them to do so without a breach of the ordinances of their religion.

Ibrahim Adil Shah, by this new regulation, created an army of thirty thousand cavalry composed of men who rode the King's horses. The customs which prevailed in the reign of Ismail Adil Shah were wholly laid aside; and the public accounts, formerly kept in Persian, were now written in Hindvy, under the management of *bramins*, who soon acquired great influence in his government. Assud Khan was ordered to enlist Deccanies in his service, and to adopt the *Soony* faith. Out of a thousand foreigners, he discharged six hundred, but refused to change his persuasion and both in his camp and on his own *jageer* he publicly exercised the *Sheea* ceremonies, an indulgence the King thought it prudent to allow. (Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, pp. 78—80.)

1. The accounts given by Muslim Chroniclers of a successful night attack by Asad Khan upon the Vijayanagar camp after his defeat by Venkatadri are entirely fictitious and need corroboration.

**CHAPTER 5.**

**The Adilshahi of Bijapur.**

IBRAHIM ADIL SHAH.

to Gulburgā.[1] He was joined there by Daryā Imād Śāh. Asad Khān convinced him of his loyalty to Ibrāhīm. He explained that it was under compulsion that he had joined the invaders. On their march Burhāṇ and Amir Barīd spread fire and slaughter as far as the capital. They then besieged the city. To prevent the junction between the armies of Berār and Bijāpūr they moved towards Gulburgā. When they neared Gulburgā, Asad Khān deserted the allies with his 6,000 troops and joined his master. Thus reinforced, Ibrāhīm Ādil and Daryā Imād Śāh inflicted a crushing defeat upon the allies who were forced to flee towards Bīḍ. The allies were closely pursued and driven to hills in the neighbourhood of Daulatābād. Amir Barīd died in the meanwhile. Burhāṇ who was thus trapped, sued for peace which was granted on his agreeing to cede Śolāpūr and never again to molest Bijāpūr.

In 1546 Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh who was still smarting under his recent defeat and humiliation formed an alliance with Jamśīd Qutb Śāh (who had ascended the throne after murdering his father) and the Rājā of Vijayanagar against Bijāpūr. Burhāṇ attacked Bijāpūr from the north. Jamśīd Qutb Śāh marched from the east, occupying the Gulburgā region and laying siege to Hippergī. The Rājā of Vijayanagar besieged Rāicūr. Ali Barīd Śāh also joined in the fray and besieged Śolāpūr. Ibrāhīm bought off Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh and Sadāśivrāya by flattery and concessions and left Asad Khān free to deal with Jamśīd Qutb Śāh. Asad Khān defeated Jamśīd at the gates of Golconḍā. The confederacy was broken. He was now free to deal with Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh. The action of Burhāṇ, who, roused by Sadāśivrāya, had advanced as far as Arjān on the left bank of Bhīmā gave Ibrāhīm sufficient cause to march against him. He advanced from Bijāpūr and passed the rainy season on the right bank of the river. He then crossed the river and attacked Burhāṇ with a considerable force including 250 elephants and 170 pieces of cannon. Ibrāhīm fought so gallantly in this battle that he killed three antagonists in single combat with his own hands. Burhāṇ tried to revive the confederacy in the following year. He was defeated by Ibrāhīm and driven out of the Bijāpūr territory. However, when Burhāṇ invaded Bidar, all the attempts of Ibrāhīm Ādil to save that kingdom from defeat failed and Burhāṇ captured the fortresses of Ausā, Udgīr and Kandhār, defeating Ibrāhīm in several engagements.

1. The breach between the King and his minister becoming public throughout the Deccan, Boorhan Nizam Shah and Ameer Bereed availed themselves of it to circulate insidious reports that Assud Khan had promised to deliver up Belgam to them whenever they should approach ; and accordingly, in the year 949 A. H. they invaded the territories of Ibrahim Adil Shah, and wresting the five districts dependent on Sholapoor from his officers, gave them up to the servants of Khwaja Jehan Deccany, after which they moved in the direction of Belgam. Assud Khan, though not originally privy to the invasion, deemed it prudent, in order to save his estates from plunder, to join them on their approach with six thousand horse. The allies, inspired with fresh courage by this accession of power, spread desolation through the country to the neighbourhood of Beejapoor ; and Ibrahim Adil Shah, conceiving himself unable to oppose them in the field, retired with his family to Koolburga. (Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, pp. 89-90.)

Ibrāhīm attributed these failures to the treachery of his officers. He became cruel and suspicious. He executed without trial, seventy Muslim and forty Hindu officials. This so enraged his courtiers that they conspired to depose Ibrāhīm and place on the throne his brother Abdullā. Asad Khān, who had fallen under suspicion, tried to enlist the support of the Portuguese of Goā, Burhān Nizām Śāh and Jamśīd Qutb Śāh, from his *Jāgirs* at Belgāṅv, where he had retired. The plot was, however, discovered and Abdullā fled to the Portuguese of Goā. The Portuguese promised to support Abdullā on his agreeing to cede to them some territory of Bijāpūr.

The Portuguese committed great havoc in the Bijāpūr territories between Goā and Bāṇkoṭ[1]. In the meanwhile Burhān Nizām Śāh and Jamśīd Qutb Śāh asked Asad Khān to join them. He, in spite of the treatment he had received at the hands of his master, refused. Withdrawing his support to Abdullā he veered round to his master. Burhān and Jamśīd who had remained at Belgāṅv with a view to secure that fort saw the increasing support which Ibrāhīm was able to muster from his nobles who had followed in the foot steps of Asad Khān. They retired to their respective kingdoms. The Portuguese also relented and withdrew their support to Abdullā. There was, however, a revolt against Ibrāhīm's authority, in the Koṅkaṇ. Ibrāhīm marched with a large force to the Koṅkaṇ and crushed the rebellion. Asad Khān now saw his end approaching. He asked Ibrāhīm to visit him at Belgāṅv. Ibrāhīm respected the wishes of his faithful servant, paid a visit to him on his death bed and returned to Bijāpūr. Shortly after, Asad Khān died (4th March 1546).

The curse of division and conflict, however, never left the Deccan. The two kingdoms of Ahmadnagar and Bijāpūr again came to grips in the following year. Burhān Nizām Śāh now allied himself with Sadāśivarāya of Vijayanagar. Ibrāhīm Ādil formed an alliance with Ali Barīd Śāh. Burhān first besieged Śolāpūr but later decided to punish Ali Barīd. He had till now been his companion in all his defensive and offensive wars so far. He, therefore, raised the siege of Śolāpūr and marched against the kingdom of Bidar. He invested and besieged the fort of Kalyāṇī. Ibrāhīm marched to the relief of the fort. He met with some initial successes but was surprised by Burhān on November 14, 1547, the day of festivities which terminated the month of fasting. He had to flee for his life. Burhān then captured the fort of Kalyāṇī. Ibrāhīm, who had fled from the field of battle reassembled his battered forces and marched to Pareṇḍā. Pareṇḍā was easily captured by the Bijāpurīs who slew many of the garrison, the rest fleeing the fort. Ibrāhīm put one of his officers in command of the fort and retired to Bijāpūr. After the capture of Kalyāṇī Burhān moved on to Pareṇḍā.

[1] Grant Duff's *Marathas*, 35.

CHAPTER 5. The Adilshahi of Bijapur.

The Ādil Śāhī officer at Pareṇḍā, on hearing of the approach of the Nizāmśāhī forces, mounted his horse and without engaging the Nizāmśāhī forces fled from the fort.

IBRAHIM ADIL SHAH.

Hostilities between the two states were again renewed in 1552 when Burhāṇ again joined hands with Sadāśivrāya of Vijayanagar. Sadāśivrāya captured the Bijāpūr possessions in the Rāicūr *doāb*. Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh captured Śolāpūr. Flushed by these successes Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh and Sadāśivrāya marched towards Bijāpūr and besieged that city. Ibrāhīm withdrew from his capital. Burhāṇ, however, had to leave the campaign half way on account of sickness and return to Ahmadnagar where shortly afterwards he breathed his last on December 30, 1553. He was succeeded by his son Husain. Another contestant for the throne, Haider, was unsuccessful and fled to Bijāpūr. A truce now followed between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpūr. It was not destined to last long. The Bijāpūr court became a place of asylum for the enemies of Ahmadnagar. Khvājā Jahān of Pareṇḍā who was attacked by Husain Nizām Śāh fled to Bijāpūr, so also the Ahmadnagar nobleman Saif Ain-ul-mulk who had espoused the cause of Abdul Qādir against Husain Nizām Śāh. Ibrāhīm Ādil bestowed upon Saif Ain-ul-mulk the fiefs of the late Asad Khān Lārī of Belgāṅv and thus made him practically the *Amir-ul-umrā* of Bijāpūr. On the accession of Husain Nizām Śāh, one of his brothers, Ali, had taken refuge with Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh. He was the nephew of Ibrāhīm Ādil. The truce between the two kingdoms was broken when Ibrāhīm Ādil agreed to the suggestion of Khvājā Jahān and Saif Ain-ul-Mulk to support the claims of Ali to the throne of Ahmadnagar. By agreeing to their suggestion he perhaps intended to recover Śolāpūr. Ibrāhīm now equipped Ali with a small force to invade the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. He himself marched from Bijāpūr and besieged the fortress of Śolāpūr. To counter the invasion of Ibrāhīm Ādil, Husain, after repulsing Ali, marched with Daryā Imād Śāh to the relief of Śolāpūr. Ibrāhīm Ādil sent Saif Ain-ul-mulk against the relieving force and closely followed him. Ain-ul-mulk, with the small contingent under his command, attacked Husain and Daryā Imād Śāh. A hand to hand battle started and Aín-ul-mulk succeeded in inflicting severe losses upon Husain Nizām Śāh and Daryā Imād Śāh. However, complete victory eluded Ibrāhīm Ādil, who believed in a fake report made by one of his officers that Ain-ul-mulk had gone over to Husain Nizām Śāh and had been well received. Thinking himself betrayed by Ain-ul-mulk, Ibrāhīm withdrew his support to Ain-ul-mulk and retreated towards Bijāpūr. Husain Nizām Śāh and his ally, who were badly beaten by Ain-ul-mulk, retired to Ahmadnagar. Ain-ul-mulk, now eager to join his master left the battlefield and marched towards the retreating army of Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh. Ibrāhīm once again misconstrued the intentions of Ain-ul-mulk and thinking that he was being pursued by the latter hastened his march towards Bijāpūr. Ain-ul-mulk sent a message of loyalty to Ibrāhīm Ādil

and requested that money should be sent to him from the treasury to reequip his exhausted army. Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh, however would have none of it. He treated Ain-ul-mulk with total discourtesy. He was informed that his services were no longer needed. Orders of his dismissal were sent to him. Ain-ul-mulk now turned a rebel and made himself the master of the tract watered by the Māṇ and of Ulvā, Miraj and other districts in the north-western corner of the kingdom. He collected levies from the cultivators to support his troops. He became powerful enough to defeat a contingent of the Bijāpūr army. He now declared for Abdullā, Ibrāhīm's brother who was still at Goā and inflicted a crushing defeat upon the army led personally by Ibrāhīm Ādil. He pursued his former master right up to Torvā, about four miles from Bijāpūr and proclaimed Abdullā, king. In desperation Ibrāhīm appealed to Sadāśivrāya of Vijayanagar who sent an army of 15,000 to his succour under the command of his brother Veṅkaṭādri. Ain-ul-mulk tried to surprise the relieving force by a night attack upon it. He was heavily defeated and forced to flee the battle field along with his nephew Salābat Khān. Abdullā, who was left behind was imprisoned by Ibrāhīm. Ain-ul-mulk reached the borders of Ahmadnagar. He was treacherously murdered along with Salābat Khān by Husain Nizām Śāh[1]. Ibrāhīm, who had suffered irreparable

[1] Following are the details about Saif *Ain-ul-mulk* given by Ferishta:—

Some time after, Boorhan Nizam Shah dying, peace was concluded between his successor Hoossein Nizam Shah and Ibrahim Adil Shah. The two kings had a friendly meeting on their borders, and parted much pleased with each other; but this good understanding did not last long. Khwaja Jehan Deccany, who had fled to avoid the resentment of his sovereign, Hoossein Nizam Shah, coming to Beejapoor, inspired Ibrahim Adil Shah with hopes of retaking Sholapoor; and for this purpose Ibrahim Adil Shah concluded a treaty with Ramraj, and invited into his service Seif *Ein-ool-Moolk*, commander-in-chief of the army of the late Boorhan Nizam Shah, who had taken refuge in Berar from the oppression of the present sovereign. These overtures were accepted by that distinguished chieftain; and the King of Beejapoor conferred on him high titles, with considerable estates, and an immediate present of money. By his advice Ibrahim Adil Shah soon after espoused the cause of the Prince Ally, son of Boorhan Nizam Shah, who had taken refuge at his court. It was agreed between them, that on Ally Nizam Shah being seated on the throne of Ahmudnuggur, the forts of Kulliany and Sholapoor should be surrendered to the King of Beejapoor. In order to effect these objects, the Prince Ally, accompanied by a body of two thousand horse which had come with him from Ahmudnuggur, marched to the frontier for the purpose of drawing over the nobles of that kingdom to his cause; but in this attempt he met with little success; and Hoossein Nizam Shah having put his army in motion, Ibrahim Adil Shah marched from Beejapoor to support the Prince Ally, having previously distributed large sums among his troops.

Both armies met on the plains of Sholapoor, and drew up to engage. Ibrahim Adil Shah gave the command of his right wing to Seif *Ein-ool-Moolk*, Geelany and Ankoos Khan, and that of the left to Noor Khan and *Imadool-Moolk*, himself taking post with the household troops in the centre. The *hirwul* of advanced picquets was commanded by Seif *Ein-ool-Moolk* who pushed on from the line and began the action with great impetuosity; Ibrahim Adil Shah, disapproving of his separation so far from the main body directed that the picquets should remain nearer the line in order the sooner to receive support if necessary. The general returned for answer, that his Majesty's observation was very just; but that as he had advanced so far, to return would only give spirits to the enemy. Having sent this message, he went on, and seized the enemy's cannon, which he spiked, and drove their picquets back on their main body. Here, however, he was resolutely opposed by Hoossein Nizam Shah, who commanded in person, notwithstanding which the Nizam Shahy army began to give way, and must inevitably have been defeated, had the gallantry of Seif *Ein-ool-Moolk* met with proper support. At this crisis, several Nizam Shahy chiefs, who had been engaged on the left, advanced to the assistance of their sovereign

CHAPTER 5.

**The Adilshahi of Bijapur.**

IBRAHIM ADIL SHAH.

damage in his recent conflict with Ain-ul-mulk, waged unsuccessful wars against the Portuguese in Koṅkaṇ during the last two years of his reign. He died at Bijāpūr in 1558 as a result of intemperate habits. It is said that during his last illness many of his medical attendants were beheaded or trodden to death by elephants. At the time of Ibrāhīm's death, both his sons Ali and Tahmāsp had incurred the displeasure of their father for their devotion to the *Siāh* faith. They had been confined by Ibrāhīm in the forts of Miraj and Belgāṅv, respectively. Ibrāhīm wanted to disinherit Ali. When he found that Tahmāsp was a much more staunch supporter of *Siāh* faith, he allowed the matters to take their own course.

---

*contd.*

and almost surrounded Seif *Ein-ool-Moolk*, whose division was thrown into temporary confusion ; but still seeing the standards of Ibrahim Adil Shah, though at a distance he as was his custom on desperate occasions, dismounted from his horse, resolved to conquer or die. Some of the troops, on seeing him dismount, told the King that Seif *Ein-ool-Moolk*, having gone over to the enemy, had just alighted to pay his respects to Hoossein Nizam Shah. Ibrahim Adil Shah, who from the first entertained suspicions of his fidelity, was now confirmed in them, and fled from the field without halting, till he reached Beejapoor. Seif *Ein-ool-Moolk*, finding the King had fled, nobly fought his way through the enemy with great loss ; and upon his arrival at the capital, sent word, respectfully, to his master, that he had lost all his baggage, and was without tents or any covering for himself or his miserable followers ; he begged, therefore, an advance of cash, to enable him to repair his losses, and appear at court according to his rank and station. The King, who was persuaded his defeat originated in the first disobedience of his orders for the picquets to fall back, replied, that he wanted no such insubordinate and obstinate servants, and that he might provide for himself wherever he could. Seif *Ein-ool-Moolk*, who could not accuse himself of any crime, was overwhelmed with astonishment, and sent another message to represent that he had served the King at the risk of his life with unshaken fidelity, and had sacrificed five hundred brave relations and friends in the battle ; and that in his present miserable situation he could not move. He stated he had no other refuge but the King's threshhold ; and that having quitted his place of refuge at his invitation, he could not repair to any other court. The King conceiving the latter part of *Ein-ool-Moolk's* message to reflect on himself, ordered the bearer of it to be beaten and turned out of his presence.

Seif *Ein-ool-Moolk*, despairing of redress, had recourse to the advice of his friends how to proceed ; and they recommended his going to his *jaggeers*, and raising the collections of the autumn harvest, then just ripe, after which, should the King send a force to expel him, he might retire wherever he should see best. This plan he accordingly adopted ; and having marched from Beejapoor to Man-Desh, collected the revenues, and divided them among his troops. Ibrahim Adil Shah sent one of his officers with five thousand horse to expel *Ein-ool-Moolk* from the country, but the royalists were defeated ; and the chief, thus urged into revolt, growing bolder by success, collected the revenues of many districts, such as Walwa, Mirch, and others. The King now detached against him ten thousand horse and foot, under command of Neeaz Kooly Beg and Dilawur Khan Hubshy. These troops were also defeated ; and so many elephants and horses, with such a quantity of valuable baggage, fell into the hands of *Ein-ool-Moolk*, that he began seriously to think of establishing himself in the country as an independent chief, with which view he levied additional troops.

Ibrahim Adil Shah, at length thought it necessary to take the field in person, at the head of five thousand chosen horse, three thousand foot, and a train of artillery. *Ein-ool-Moolk* encamped on the river Man, and the King arrived, and halted some days on the opposite bank without attacking him. Seif *Ein-ool-Moolk* could not make up his mind to retreat, and resolved not to quit the country without fighting. For three days successively he advanced towards the King's camp, as if to engage, but as often returned; the royal army remaining under arms on each occasion from dawn till sunset, expecting the attack. On the fourth day, *Ein-ool-Moolk* put his troops again in motion ; but the King supposing that his design was only to parade, as on the preceding days, neglected to make preparations for his reception, the common guards of the camp only getting under arms. At length the enemy's standard appearing in sight, Ibrahim Adil Shah marshalled his troops in great haste, and moved out of the camp to give battle. *Ein-ool-Moolk*, averse from engaging the king in person, consulted with his friends ; observing, that it was reason to fight against the royal standard; to which all assented except Moortuza Khan Anjoo who remarked, that

The accession of Ali to the throne was secured by Muhammad Kiśvar Khān, the son of Asad Khān on hearing the news of Ibrāhim's death. He moved to Miraj to Ali's support. On his accession Ali Ādil Śāh again made the *Śiāh* faith the religion of the state. For the support extended to him by Kiśvar Khān, he made him the commander in chief of the Bijāpūr army. Like his father, Ali was eager to recover Śolāpūr. With this object he sent an embassy to Ahmadnagar. He made similar efforts to secure the help of Vijayanagar for the recovery of Śolāpūr. In the latter he was more successful than in the former. Husain on his part formed an alliance with Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh and invading the Bijāpūr territory, besieged Gulburgā. But he was worsted by the joint armies of Bijāpūr and Vijayanagar. Sadāśivrāya succeeded in detaching Ibrāhīm from his alliance with Husain Nizām Śāh. In consequence, Husain Nizām Śāh was forced to raise the siege and retire to Ahmadnagar. Husain Nizām Śāh was now stuck up in his confrontation with the Portuguese. Seizing this opportunity, Ali Ādil Śāh again pressed Husain Nizām into ceding Śolāpūr and Kalyàṇī. Husain, however, remained equally adamant and refused to cede the fortresses. Now Ali Ādil Śāh drew Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh into an alliance against Ahmadnagar. Husain Nizām Śāh, on the other hand, entered into a treaty with Daryā Imād Śāh of Berār. Ali Ādil Śāh, now with the full support of Golconḍā and Vijayanagar, again put forth his demand for the cession of Kalyāṇī and Śolāpūr. On the refusal of Husain Nizām Śāh he attacked Ahmadnagar. The allied armies marched right up to

*contd.*

the standards did not fight, and there was no danger of shedding royal blood. *Ein-ool-Moolk*, satisfied with this casuistry, and finding it too late to hesitate, charged the royalists, and attacking the centre, where Ibrahim Adil Shah was posted, pressed on it so vigorously that it was soon thrown into disorder, and the King fled; upon which his whole line broke, and victory declared in favour of *Ein-ool-Moolk*, who seized the royal canopy, elephants, and artillery, besides all the tents and baggage. The King shut himself up in the citadel of Beejapoor; and so great was the alarm of the people of the town, that the ruin of the royal family was pronounced to be inevitable. Seif *Ein-ool-Moolk*, following up his success, appeared before Beejapoor where he for several days assaulted various parts of the city, and endeavoured to cut off the supplies.

In this exigency, Ibrahim Adil Shah applied to the Hindoo prince Ramraj for assistance, sending him a present of 1,200,000 *hoons*, upon which he despatched his brother Venkatadry, with a considerable force, to expel the enemy. Seif *Ein-ool-Moolk*, in imitation of Assud Khan, thought to surprise the infidel's camp but Venkatadry having intelligence of his designs, ordered his troops to be on their guard, and having procured long faggots, with cloths steeped in oil bound round one end of each commanded his followers, upon the alarm being given, to light them, and holding them up as high as possible, afford the troops a full sight of the enemy. *Ein-ool Moolk*, in prosecution of his intentions having one night chosen two thousand men for the purpose, marched, accompanied by Sulabat Khan, to the enemy's camp, which he was allowed to enter unmolested; upon the preconcerted signal being given, all the brands were instantly lighted up, and Venkatadry, who was fully prepared, fell upon the enemy with such success, that above five hundred of them were slain before the deteachment could clear the camp. *Ein-ool-Moolk* and Sulabat Khan with the greatest difficulty made their escape; and losing the road through the darkness of the night, a report spread through his camp on the return of some of the fugitives that *Fin-ool-Moolk* was killed. The troops became panic-struck at their situation, and separating in all directions during the night, fled to different quarters. *Ein-ool-Moolk* and Sulabut Khan, with two hundred horse, about daylight arriving at their ground, and seeing it deserted, fled by the route of Man-Desh to the dominion of Hoossein Nizam Shah, where they sought protection, but were basely assassinated by his treachery. (Brigge's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, pp. 105—11)

**CHAPTER 5.**

**The Adilshahi of Bijapur.**

ALI ADIL SHAH.

Ahmadnagar which they invested. The whole territory of Ahmadnagar was laid waste by the combined armies of Bijāpūr, Goḷcoṇḍā and Vijayanagar[1]. Husain Nizām Śāh now withdrew from his capital and retired to Paiṭhaṇ where he summoned Daryā Imād Śāh to his aid. He also succeeded in detaching Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh from the alliance. Ibrāhīm left the alliance and straightway marched to Goḷcoṇḍā. He supplied the Ahmadnagar fort with provisions and detailed one of his generals to the assistance of Husain Nizām Śāh. Though the desertion of Qutb Śāh had no material effect upon the strength of the besieging armies the activities of Jahāṅgīr Khān, the Berār general caused great hardships to the allies and forced them to raise the siege of Ahmadnagar. The allies then marched to Aṣṭī and from thence sent a force to besiege Pareṇḍā. Husain Nizām Śāh, who had been reduced to miserable straits, now sued for peace. The allies agreed to peace on their own conditions. Husain Nizām Śāh was forced to cede Kalyāṇī to Bijāpūr. Ali Ādil then marched to Bijāpūr and Sadāśivrāya returned to Vijayanagar. The peace, however, did not last long. Husain Nizām brought Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh over to his side and besieged the fortress of Kalyāṇī. The news again brought Bijāpūr and Vijayanagar together and their armies marched to the relief of Kalyāṇī. They were joined by the armies of Bidar and Berār. Husain and Ibrāhīm raised the siege of Kalyāṇī and marched to meet the armies of the allies. Unfortunately for Husain Nizām Śāh his entire artillery got stuck in marshy grounds. He had to retire to his camp. The advanced guard of Bijāpūr discovered the abandoned guns, captured all of them and then attacked Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh. Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh was routed and fled the battle field. The allied armies now attacked the base camp of Husain Nizām and Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh and sacked it. Ibrāhīm now retired to his country, and

---

1. There is no evidence to support the Muslim historians account of the alleged orgies committed by the Hindu armies of Vijayanagar.

This is how Ferishta gives the details.

Ally Adil Shah's enmity towards Hoossein Nizam Shah daily increasing, he intimated to him, by a message sent through Shah Hoossein Anjoo, that it was clear to the whole world that the forts of Kulliany and Sholapoor belonged to his family by ancient right, though, owing to the misfortunes of his father, they had pa sed into the hands of the Nizam Shahy government, but that now he hoped they would both be restored, or at all events, the former. Shah Hoossein Anjoo failed in every argument in prevailing on Hoossein Nizam Shah to give up either place ; and Ally Adil Shah sent another ambassador to Ahmudnuggur, representing that passion and obstinacy in the discussion of political questions of such importance did not become great kings ; and that to prevent ill consequences, he trusted Hoossein Nizam Shah would see the justice of giving up the forts, when the friendship between their states would increase ; but if not, he might expect the march of an army into his dominions, which should be laid waste without mercy.

Hoossein Nizam Shah, inflamed by this message, sent back reply so indecent as to be unfit to relate ; which increa ed the anger of Ally Adil Shah to such a degree, that changing the colour of his canopy and standard from yellow to green, the colour of Hoossein Nizam Shah, by way of defiance (according to the custom of the Deccan), challenged him to come and reclaim his honour.

In the year 966, A. D. 1558, Ally Adil Shah having invited Ramraj to join him, those two monarchs invaded the territory of Hoossein Nizam Shah, and laid it waste so thoroughly, that from Purenda to Joonere, and from Ahmudnuggur to Dowlutabad, not a vestige of population was left. The infidels of Beejanuggur, who for many years had been wishing for such an opportunity, left no cruelty unpractised. They

Husain Nizām Śāh, hotly pursued by the allies, fled towards Junnar. Ali Ādil Śāh and Sadāśivrāya continued their advance in the Ahmadnagar territory and besieged Ahmadnagar. Ali Ādil, however, advised Sadāśivraya to raise the siege of Ahmadnagar and pursue the retreating Ahmadnagar armies. Accordingly, the siege was raised. The allies closely pursued Husain towards Junnar. Husain had, however, retreated in the hilly regions of the western ghāṭs and was secure. The rainy season was now fast approaching. It was useless to follow the pursuit. The allies, therefore, retreated and again invested the Nizāmśāhī capital of Ahmadnagar. Now the same calamity befell the Vijayanagar camp as had in previous years befallen the armies of Ahmadnagar. Vijayanagar lost heavily. The allies now grew weary of the campaign, raised the siege of Ahmadnagar and retired to their respective countries. Ali Ādil Śāh on his way to Bijāpūr, halted at Naḷdurg and rebuilt that fort.

During all these years the Muslims *Sultāns* had lost heavily to Vijayanagar. Substantial chunks of the territory of Bijāpūr and Golcoṇḍā were annexed by Vijayanagar. Sadāśivrāya had

*contd.*

insulted the honour of the Mussulman women, destroyed the mosques, and did not respect even the sacred *Koran*. Hoossein Nizam Shah, by the advice of Kasim Beg Mukeem, Shah Jafur, and other ministers, declining any opposition in the field, retired to Peitun, and after some time purchased peace by giving up Kulliany to Ally Adil Shah ; but the enemy had no sooner retired than he entered into an alliance with Ibrahim Kootb Shah, and marched in conjunction with him to retake the fort he had just surrendered. Ally Adil Shah on receiving intelligence of this league again despatched Kishwur Khan and Aboo Toorab to Beejanuggur, to solicit aid from Ramraj ; and also invited Ally Bereed Shah to enter into the same confederacy. Ramraj, who knew the character of the King judging that should he refuse his assistance he would make peace with the Mussulman powers, and attempt the recovery of Moodkul and Rachore, marched to join him with fifty thousand horse and a great army of foot. The allies met on the banks of Krishna, and moved immediately towards Kulliany, which was then besieged by the Nizam Shahy and Kootb Shahy forces.

Ibrahim Kootb Shah, according to his usual mode of embracing the strongest party, quitted his ally, and came over suddenly to Ally Adil Shah ; upon which Hoossein Nizam Shah, without delay, retreated to Ahmudnuggur. The allies followed him with the utmost expedition to that city, and he did not think it prudent to remain there, but having thrown a reinforcement and supplies into the citadel, retired to the town of Joonere. The three sovereigns laid siege to Ahmudnuggur, and sent detachments on all sides to lay waste the country. The Hindoos of Beejanuggur committed the most outrageous devastations, burning and razing the buildings, putting up their horses in the mosques, and performing their abominable idolatrous worship in the holy places. The siege was pushed with the greatest vigour, but the garrison held out with resolution hoping that at the approach of the monsoon the enemy would be necessitated to retire. In this they were not disappointed ; for when the rains set in, the floods, the damp, and the want of provisions, caused the utmost distress to prevail in the camp. At the same time, also, Ibrahim Kootb Shah maintained a secret correspondence with the besieged, to whom he privately sent in grain. Ally Adil Shah, suspecting the causes of the obstinacy of the besieged, and, probably, scandalised by the behaviour of his Hindoo allies, persuaded Ramraj to raise the siege, and to march against Sholapoor. Upon their arrival within some miles of that fortress, Kishwur Khan, seeing the danger of the aggrandisement of the Hindoo prince, represented to Ally Adil Shah, that if the fort of Sholapoor should fall, Ramraj would most probably keep it for himself, and extend his views to the neighbouring countries ; it seemed, therefore, advisable to endeavour to reduce the fort of Nuldoorg, and to leave the reduction of Sholapoor to a more convenient time, when there would be no apprehension of any rivalry for its possession. Ally Adil Shah, approving this advice, persuaded Ramraj to alter his views, and move to the place where *Raja* Nul had formerly erected a strong fortress. Here, after throwing up an extensive work of stone, the allies took leave of each other, and returned to their several dominions. (Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, pp. 119-22).

CHAPTER 5. The Adilshahi of Bijapur. ALI ADIL SHAH.

humiliated the so-called mighty *Sultāns* of Ahmadnagar and Bijāpūr on and off the field of battle. This realisation ultimately came to them and they now decided to curb the power of Vijayanagar. It had posed a serious danger to their existence. Bidar and Golconḍā did not matter. The two inveterate foes, Bijāpūr and Ahmadnagar, were brought together by a matrimonial alliance. Ali's sister Hadiyyā Sultānā was married to Murtazā, Husain's heir, and Husain's daughter Cānd Bibī was married to Ādil Śāh. The fortress of Śolāpūr constituted the dowry of Cānd Bibī. The vexed question of Śolāpūr thus appeared to have been ended at least for the time being. It was now not necessary for the allies to seek an excuse for an attack against Vijayanagar. Ali Ādil Śāh demanded the restitution of Bāgalkoṭ and the Rāicūr *doāb*. This demand was met with an insolent reply from Vijayanagar. The Bijāpūr envoy was driven from Vijayanagar. The four *Sultāns* now moved against Vijayanagar and marched to Tālikoṭā which gave the name to the battle fought shortly afterwards between Vijayanagar and the four Muslim Sultanates of the Deccan. Sadāśivrāya of Vijayanagar was also not a mean opponent. He marched to meet his adversaries with a huge force. Ali Ādil Śāh had joined his allies with an army of 80,000, with over 700 elephants. The army of Vijayanagar was camped on the right or south bank of Kṛṣṇā while the allies had camped on the left bank. Sadāśivrāya had raised powerful batteries at places where he expected the allies to cross at Iṅgalgī. On the face of it it was impossible for the allies to cross the ford. They decided to outmanoeuvre the Vijayanagar army by inducing it to leave its positions. According to plan, the allied forces started moving up the river bank as if to ford the river 10 miles higher up from their position at Dhānūr. The Vijayanagar army also started pulling its forces on the opposite bank in line with the allied armies. When the allies saw the defences at Iṅgalgī dismantled by the Vijayanagar army they doubled back during the night and crossed the ford, abandoned so thoughtlessly by the enemy. The allies now took up their positions and moved for a frontal assault upon the enemy. They were, however, met with a flight of rockets. A fierce battle raged between the contestants. The allied centre was commanded by Husain Nizām Śāh. He not only withstood his own ground, but attacked the enemy and gradually succeeded in pushing them back. At this stage Rāmrājā the prime minister of Vijayanagar dismounted from the elephant and entered his palanquin. He was soon surrounded by a contingent of Ahmadnagar army and made a prisoner. He was taken before Husain Nizām Śāh, who ordered his head to be cut off. The army of Vijayanagar became dispirited and fled the field, leaving thousands of dead behind. Heavy losses were inflicted upon them and the victors gained enormous booty. The allies now marched to Vijayanagar and gave themselves up to plunder, loot and arson. The Bijāpuris completed the reconquest of Rāicūr *doāb* and only the mutual jealousies between Bijāpūr and Ahmadnagar prevented the complete division and absorption of the

territories of Vijayanagar by these two kingdoms. The allies then retired to their respective kingdoms. Tirumala, the brother of Rāmrājā established himself at Peṇukoṇḍā.

Husain Nizām Śāh died shortly afterwards and was succeeded by his son Murtazā Nizām Śāh. Ali Ādil now joined Murtazā Nizām Śāh in the latter's invasion against Tufāl Khān of Berār. Both the *Sultāns* attacked the kingdom of Berār and marched up to Ellicpūr, laying waste the whole territory of the kingdom. Ali Ādil had perhaps joined Murtazā to serve as a counterbalancing force against Murtazā. The attempts of Tufāl Khān, who had fled to Gāvīl, to detach him from the alliance succeeded. Tufāl Khān offered Ali Ādil Śāh 50 elephants and the equivalent of 40,000 in cash to which Ali Ādil Śāh easily succumbed. He subsequently left his ally to fight Tufāl Khān alone on the pretext of the approaching monsoon. This perhaps shows the esteem in which the Deccani *Sultāns* held each other. The great alliance which the *Sultāns* of Ahmadnagar, Bijāpūr, Golconḍā and Bidar had formed against the common foe of Vijayanagar broke up. The *Sultāns* now started fighting among themselves. The traditional hostility between the kingdoms of Ahmadnagar and Bijāpūr came to the fore in the year 1567 when Ali Ādil Śāh invaded the territory of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar and captured the fort of Koṇḍāṇā. He sent Kiśvar Khān, one of his generals with a strong force towards Bīḍ. He routed a contingent of Ahmadnagar troops sent against him at Kaij and established his headquarters at Dhārur where he built a strong fortress.

Murtazā Nizām Śāh now took over the reins of the government from his mother. He marched to Dhārur with extraordinary speed and alacrity. He attacked the Dhārur fortress with whatever troops he had. A chance shot from Caṅgīz Khān, his general, instantaneously killed Kiśvar Khān. The panic stricken Bijāpūr garrison fled the fort which was occupied by Murtazā Nizām Śāh. When the news of the investment of Dhārur reached Bijāpūr, Ali Ādil sent his general Ain-ul-mulk with 10,000 troops to the relief of the besieged garrison. He was, however, met half way by Caṅgīs Khān, who had been sent by Murtazā Nizām Śāh against him. Caṅgīz Khān inflicted a crushing defeat upon Ain-ul-mulk throwing his ranks in complete disorder.

Murtazā Nizām Śāh was now ready to invade the kingdom of Bijāpūr. He formed an alliance with Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh of Golconḍā. They met at Wāghdarī. The combined forces moved into the territory of Bijāpūr. Developments were, however, taking place in Bijāpūr. One of the sons of Śāh Tāhīr, the famous minister of Burhan Nizām Śāh, Abul Hasan, was the minister of Ali Ādil Śāh. The aggression against the kingdom of Bijāpūr by Murtazā raised doubts in the mind of Ali Ādil, about the complicity of Śāh Abul Hasan in this invasion. Ali Ādil, threatened Abul Hasan with dire consequences. Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh sent a friendly letter to Ali Ādil assuring him of help.

CHAPTER 5. The Adilshahi of Bijapur. ALI ADIL SHAH.

Abul Hasan pleaded his innocence with Ali Ādil Śāh. He also sent an urgent request to Murtazā Nizām Śāh to retire from the territory of Bijāpūr. He also sent a copy of the letter written by Qutb Śāh, representing to Murtazā the duplicity of his ally. Murtazā now got wild, attacked his ally's camp and sent him in headlong flight to Golconḍā. He then retired to Ahmadnagar.

In 1570 Bijāpūr, Ahmadnagar, the Zamorin of Calicut and the king of Achin in Sumatrā formed an alliance against the Portuguese with a view to conquer their possessions in the east. It was decided that Ali Ādil should take Goā and Ahmadnagar should invest Caul. In 1570 Ali Ādil Śāh, with his general Nuri Khān, opened the siege of Goā with a hundred thousand men, 2,140 war elephants and 350 guns big as well as small. This army occupied several posts near Goā. So confident was Ali Ādil of his victory that he had parcelled out the different offices of Goā among his nobles and had allotted among them certain Portuguese ladies of noted beauty. The Portuguese had hardly 700 men under arms and the defence preparations consisted of indifferently manned and equipped boats. With these defences the Portuguese put up a stubborn fight, under their viceroy Domi Luisle Ataide. They crossed to the mainland several times, carried out several sorties and captured many prisoners. In 1571 the garrison was reinforced by several squadrons of fighting men. The Portuguese now grew bold. They attacked the besiegers, destroyed battery positions, plundered villages and killed many men of the enemy. The continued siege, however, did not dampen the enthusiasm of Ali Ādil. In April 1571 an engagement lasting for four days took place between 5,000 Bijāpurīs under Sulemān Āgā and 2,000 Portuguese under their viceroy in which the Bijāpurīs were defeated. The siege continued till August and the Bijāpurī losses were placed at 12,000 men, 300 elephants, 4,000 horses and 6,000 draught bullocks. The failure of the siege forced Ali to retire. The Portuguese similarly mauled the forces of Murtazā Nizām Śāh at Caul forcing him to sign a humiliating treaty with them. The heavy defeats Ahmadnagar and Bijāpūr received at the hands of the Portuguese had, however, the effect of creating more friendly feeling between the two kingdoms[1]. In the following year the two kingdoms decided that Ahmadnagar should conquer the eastern regions while Bijāpūr should move south. Accordingly Bijāpūr captured Adoni[2] and Bańkāpūr. Its supremacy is said to

---

1. *Faria-e-Souza* in Kerr's *Voyages*, VI 423-429.

2. Following is an account of the capture of Adoni by Ali Adil Shah :—

In the following year Ally Adil Shah marched to Goa, in order to recover it out of the hands of the Europeans ; but he retreated without effecting any object, after the loss of a vast number of his troops. He next moved against the fortress of Adony, which had hitherto resisted all the efforts of the Mahomedans. This fort was now in possession of one of the principal officers of the late Ramraj, who on the death of his master, had assumed independence. Ankoos Khan was despatched on this service with eight thousand horse, a body of infantry, and a considerable train of artillery. Several indecisive actions were fought on the plain ; till at length the chief shut himself up in the fortress, which, though well supplied with stores and provisions, yet, owing to the vigour with which Ankoos Khan carried on the siege,

have been acknowledged along the west coast south of Goā to Barcealor in south Kanara[1]. Murtaza Nizām Śāh, now alarmed by the growing power of Bijāpūr, formed alliance with Goḷconḍā and marched against Bijāpūr. However, hostilities were avoided by the timely intervention of Caṅgīz Khān of Ahmadnagar and Śāh Abul Hasan of Bijāpūr. Ali Ādil now turned his arms against Veṅkaṭādri of Vijayanagar. He invaded his capital of Peṇuconḍā. The city was on the point of falling to Ādil Śāhī forces when Veṅkaṭādri succeeded in seducing Hundia Tamma Naik, the chief of the Marāṭhā cavalry numbering about 9,000 in the Adil Śāhī army to his side. The Bijāpūr army was so harassed by the Marāṭhā cavalry that Ali Ādil was forced to raise the siege and retire to Bijāpūr. Ali Ādil took revenge later by inviting the Marāṭhās to Bijāpūr subsequently and destroying them[2]. In the meanwhile Murtazā Nizam Śāh had completed the conquest of Berār which he annexed to the kingdom of Ahmadnagar (1574 A.D.). Murtazā now turned his arms against Bidar by forming a league with Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh of Goḷconḍā. To save himself, Ali Barīd appealed to Ali Ādil Śāh for help. He obtained it by agreeing to surrender among other possessions, two handsome eunuchs in his service. Ali Ādil had long coveted them. The assistance received from Ali Ādil forced Murtazā to raise the siege of Bidar and retire to his kingdom. There he was faced with the prospects of a rebellion by his brother Burhāṇ. The rebellion was put down. Burhāṇ fled to Bijāpūr. A year before his death in 1580, Ali Ādil being childless, had, appointed Ibrāhīm, the son of his brother Tahmāsp as his successor. As stated earlier Ali Barīd had already dispatched the two eunuchs whose company Ali Ādil so eagerly desired. The eunuchs were loath to leave their master. They had no option. One of the eunuchs was ushered in the palace. He resented the advances made by Ali Ādil Śāh. He quietly drew the dagger hidden about his person and stabbed Ali Ādil Śāh to death. The eunuchs were, however, cut to

---

*contd.*

it submitted to his arms. Adony is situated on the summit of a high hill and contains many ponds and fountains of clear and sweet water, with numerous princely structures. The rays of Beejanuggur, regarding it as impregnable, had all contributed to make it a convenient asylum for their families; and it was fortified with eleven walls, one within another so that it appeared impossible to reduce it by force; and nothing but the close and the long blockade of Ankoos Khan could have effected that object. (Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, pp. 134-35).

1. Rice's *Mysore I*, 235.

2. Ally Adil Shah having settled his new conquests appointed a *Brahmin* to superintend the revenue, and left Moostufa Khan commander-in-chief of the whole army conferring the office of *vakeel* upon Afzul Khan Shirazy; after which he returned to Beejapoor. Moostufa Khan, who was a faithful servant, and anxious to extend the power of his sovereign, sent, not long after, one of his confidential friends to court, proposing to his majesty to march against Penkonda. Ally Adil Shah, approving the suggestion, ordered his forces to assemble and moved to Adony; from whence on the junction of Moostufa Khan with the troops of the Carnatic, he proceeded towards Penkonda. On his approach, Venkatadry, committing the place to the care of one of his nobles, retired with his treasuries and effects to the fortress of Chundurgeery. The King surrounded the city, blocking it up closely for three months; at the end of which time the garrison were nearly submitting for want of provisions, when Venkatadry bribed Hundiatum Naik, the chief of the Bergies with

**CHAPTER 5. The Adilshahi of Bijapur.**

ALI ADIL SHAH.

pieces by the palace guards. It may be mentioned here that towards the close of the reign of Ali Ādil Śāh, ambassadors from the emperor Akbar visited Bijāpūr. The object of this embassy is not stated. Perhaps in the Mogha] court, plans were already under consideration, for the conquest of the Deccan. Possibly the embassy was simply a token of friendly courtesy, as Ali's munificence and patronage of the arts had drawn to Bijāpūr, learned men from Persia, Arabia and Turkey.

IBRAHIM ADIL SHAH II.

Ibrāhīm Ādil, who succeeded Ali Ādil, was nine years of age when he ascended the throne. A regency was formed, with Cānd Bibī, the wife of Ali Ādil and the sister of Murtazā Nizām Śāh, at the head. Kamāl Khān Dakhani was appointed as the prime minister. The first eight or ten years of rule during the minority of Ibrāhīm Ādil witnessed a struggle for power among the leading nobles of the kingdom of Bijāpūr. Kamāl Khān showed utter disrespect for the regent Cānd Bibī. He tried to usurp power. Cānd Bibī took help from another Deccani nobleman Kiśvar Khān. She forced Kamāl Khān to flee the capital. While he was attempting to flee Bijāpūr, he was intercepted by Kiśvar Khān's men and executed. Murtazā saw in this, an opportunity to invade that Kingdom. Salābat Khān, the prime minister of Ahmadnagar sent a force under Bahizād-ul-mulk to besiege Naḷdurg and induced Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh to join him. Kiśvar Khān sent a force against the contingent of 8,000 horse coming from Golconḍā to join Bahizād-ul-mulk. This force defeated the Qutb Śāhī contingent and put it to flight. Another force was sent under Ain-ul-mulk to oppose Bahizād-ul-mulk. Ain-ul-mulk attacked Bahizād-ul-mulk near Dhārāśiv when the latter was completely off his guard and routed him. A huge booty, including 150 elephants, fell into the hands of Bijāpurīs. Kiśvar Khān demanded the elephants as his prize. This was refused by the field officers who forced him to relinquish his regency. Controversy developed among the foreigners and Siddis as to who should succeed Kiśvar Khān, the former demanding the reinstatement of Sayyad Murtazā Ardistānī and

---

*contd.*

twenty-four lacks of rupees and five elephants, to desert with his followers from the King, and harass his camp; which he did so effectually, that Ally Adil Shah was compelled to raise the siege, and to retire to the neighbourhood of Bunkapoor from whence he shortly after marched back to Beejapoor, leaving Moostufa Khan to protect the frontiers.

In the year 986, the Bergies committing excesses in their *jageers* about Beejanug gur, the King sent Moortuza Khan Anjoo against them with three thousand foreign archers, a number of Deccanies and Abyssinians, with whom they carried on skirmishes for nearly a whole year without being at all weakened. Moostufa Khan then represented to the King that it was useless sending troops against them, and he had better prevail upon them by stratagem to come to Beejapoor, when he might punish them in a manner worthy of their treachery. Ally Adil Shah, approving this advice, despatched Yeesoo Pundit, and others of their friends, to invite them to return. Hundiatum Naik in vain represented to them that it was not possible that the King could forgive a treachery which had disappointed him of the conquest of Penkonda; but said they were only invited to court that their destruction might be effected. Most of the chiefs and their followers, however, returned; but Hundiatum Naik retired to Penkonda, where he engaged in the service of Venkatadry. For some time the King treated the Bergies with kindness, but at length put most of them to death. (Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, pp. 141-42).

the latter putting forth the claims of one of their own number. No compromise, however, could be arrived at and the foreign nobility, in anger and disgust, left for their respective fiefs. The Siddis marched to Bijāpūr. Hājī Kiśvar Khān did not remain inactive. He brought about the assassination of his only rival Sayyad Mustafā[1]. This dastardly outrage by Kiśvar Khān brought upon him the odium of all the parties in the kingdom of Bijāpūr. With these disorders at Bijāpūr Salābat Khān, the minister of Ahmadnagar, sent a force to besiege the fort of Naḷdurg. This was put under the command of Sayyad Murtazā. The force was joined by a contingent of 20,000 horse from Prince Muhammad Qulī Qutb Śāh of Golconḍā (1580 A.D.). The confusion prevailing in the court of Bijāpūr rendered the dispatch of any assistance to Naḷdurg impossible. The fort garrison which was, however, well supplied with provisions and ammunition, resisted stubbornly. The siege dragged on, with the besiegers suffering heavily in men and material. Dispairing of quick success, Sayyad Murtazā opened negotiations with the commandant of the fort offering him bribe and a post of high rank in the Ahmadnagar kingdom. The commandant rejected these offers with scorn and contempt and continued the fight, in spite of no help arriving from Bijāpūr.

The affairs at Bijāpūr had taken a turn for the worse. Cānd Bibī felt highly offended at the murder of Sayyad Mustafā. She resented the high handedness of Hājī Kiśvar Khān. To secure his power more firmly Kiśvar Khān imprisoned Cānd Bibi and confined her to the fort of Sātārā. This action made Kiśvar Khān highly unpopular. A group was formed against him headed by the Siddi nobles Ikhlās Khān, Dilāvar Khān and Hamid Khān. They adopted an attitude of open hostility towards Kiśvar Khān, who one day set out of the capital with Ibrāhīm Ādil on the pretext of a hunting tour. The opposition,

1. Following are the details given by Ferishta about the assassination of Mustafa Khan:—

Kishwar Khan, informed of these designs, took steps to prevent them. He sent an order under the royal seal to Meer Noor-ood-Deen, a *Jageerdar* near Bunkapoor, to assassinate Moostufa Khan, promising to reward him for the deed with the estates and honours of that nobleman. Noor-ood-Deen, though he had been patronised by Moostufa Khan, and was indebted to him for his present office, undertook to perform this base action. He sent the bearer of the royal order into the fort, and at the same time private instructions by one Mahomed Ameen, addressed to the principal officers of the garrison, informing them, that Moostufa Khan meditated to put them to death, and to deliver up the fort to the *Raja* of the Carnatic, with whom he had entered into a design to subvert the royal authority; therefore, it was required that they should fulfil the contents of the order intrusted to the hands of Mahomed Ameen, the bearer, and rid themselves of their treacherous governor, for which they would be amply rewarded by the King. Mahomed Ameen, upon his arrival at the gates of Bunkapoor, sent word to Moostufa Khan, that he had brought a letter from the King; upon which he was admitted with great respect, and orders were given for his accommodation. Pretending that it was late, he desired to be excused showing the mandate till the next morning; and Moostufa Khan, unsuspicious of treachery, took no notice of the delay. During the night Mahomed Ameen showed the paper to the officers of the garrison, who seeing the King's order for the death of Moostufa Khan, agreed to put it into execution. Accordingly, while he was at prayers the following morning, a number of them rushed upon him, and strangled him with a bow-string. (Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, pp. 147-48).

**CHAPTER 5.**

**The Adilshahi of Bijapur.**

IBRAHIM ADIL SHAH II.

however, was too powerful for him to resist. He, therefore, allowed the *Sultān* to return to the capital. He himself fled to Ahmadnagar[1]. Of the trio, Ikhlās Khān assumed the regency[2]. He was, however, dismissed by Cānd Bibi who had returned from Sātārā from her confinement. She now appointed Afzal Khān as the regent. The regency of Afzal Khān was, however, short-lived. He was assassinated by the hot headed Siddis. They now assumed power and expelled many leading foreigners from the city of Bijāpūr. Ikhlās Khān now called Ain-ul-mulk Kanānī from his fief. This was perhaps with the object of imprisoning or dismissing him. Ikhlās Khān was frustrated in his objective. Ain-ul-mulk Kanānī descended with his entire force upon the city of Bijāpūr. He arrested all the leading Siddi nobles and hurled indignities upon them, by parading them through the streets of Bijāpūr. It was only a chance rumour that the palace guards were coming to oppose him on behalf of the Siddis that

---

1. Kishwar Khan was, however, not well received at Ahmadnagar and hence he fled to Golconda. At Golconda he was murdered by an Ardistani, a partisan of Sayyad Mustafa whose murder had been compassed by Kishwar Khan.

2. Kishwur Khan, on hearing of this league against him, gave up all thoughts of opposition. To preserve appearances, however, as well as to prevent his being seized by the inhabitants of the city, he invited the young King to a feast at his own house; but as he attended him through the streets, the common people, and even the women, uttered loud exclamations of abuse against him, calling him the murderer of Syuds and the gaoler of Chand Beeby. The Regent, finding the minds of the populace incensed against him, thought it time to prepare for his escape. When he heard the army was arrived within a day's march of the city, he prevailed on the King to go with him, on pretence of hunting, to *Koolabagh*, one of the royal gardens; where, on his arrival, he expressed fears lest the heat of the Sun should hurt his Majesty's health, and begged he would return to the palace, promising to follow himself, as soon as he had taken a view of the gardens of *Shahpoor*. The King returned agreeable to his request; when Kishwur Khan, who had a train of four hundred horse, among whom he had distributed his jewels and money, leaving his women and children behind in the city, took the road of Ahmudnuggur. On his arrival he found that court did not wish to afford him protection; on which he moved towards Golconda, the capital of Kootb Shah, where he was shortly after assassinated by one of the relatives of Moostufa Khan, in revenge for his treachery towards that nobleman.

The Abyssinian chieftains entered Beejapoor without opposition, and were honoured by the young king with dresses and other marks of approbation. Yekhlass Khan assumed the regency; and Chand Beeby, being conducted from her confinement in Satara to the capital, was again intrusted with the cares of the young King's person.

At her request, Afzul Khan Shirazy was appointed *Peshwa*, and Yessoo Pundit, *Moostowfy* of the kingdom; but the new regent, not long after, put the two latter to death, on suspicion of their entertaining designs prejudicial to his interest in concert with Chand Beeby. He banished many officers of rank from Beejapoor, and in conjunction with Humeed Khan and Dilawur Khan ruled the state as his caprice directed. He invited *Ein-ool-Moolk* from his *jageer* to court and on his arrival near the city, the minister, with his two companions, went out to meet him, as a mark of respect. *Ein-ool-Moolk*, seeing the three ministers with but few attendants, treacherously seized them, put heavy fetters on them and the next morning prepared to enter the city with his prisoners upon elephants, in order to secure the government. On his entering the city he found that the garrison had shut the gates of the citadel, and meant to oppose him; upon which, without securing his captives, he withdrew with expedition, and again retired to his *jageer*. Yekhlass Khan and his companions, being thus unexpectedly released, reassumed their authority; but some of the nobility at court opposing them, great dissensions prevailed in Beejapoor, which gave encouragement to enemies to invade the Kingdom. (Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, pp. 149-51).

saved them from further humiliation. No sooner had Ain-ul-mulk heard the rumour than he fled the city of Bijāpūr, leaving his prisoners free. This left the Siddis again in full control of the administration of the state.

The confusion prevailing at Bijāpūr gave the necessary opportunity to the Ahmadnagar and Golconḍā army besieging Naldurg to penetrate deep into the Bijāpūr territory. They raised the siege of Naldurg and advanced towards Bijāpūr, reaching within a short distance from the forts walls of the city. The Siddis were now faced with the problem of defending the capital. The situation was further complicated by the arrival of the foreign noblemen from their respective fiefs with an estimated force of sixty thousand soldiers. Two of the foreign noblemen, Ain-ul-mulk Kanānī and Aṅkūs Khān joined Sayyad Murtazā Sabzāvarī, the Ahmadnagar commandant of the besieging army, with their troops. The rest of the foreign nobles remained without the city walls. They neither expressed their willingness to make a common cause with the Africans in the defence of the capital, nor did they, like Ain-ul-mulk and Aṅkūs Khān, openly declare for Sayyad Murtazā Sabzāvarī. "This was not treachery according to the code of the Deccan. It was merely a justifiable precaution on the part of the leaders to ensure the ascendancy of their party. Their apparent defection convinced the people that the Siddis could not save the city. The Siddis tendered their resignation to Cānd Bibī". Once their purpose was achieved, the foreigners got ready to defend the capital[1]. Skilled contingents of the Marāṭhās and Canarese cavalry were summoned from the outlying districts to fight a guerilla war and cut off the supplies of the besieging armies. Ain-ul-mulk now convinced the foreigners in the armies of Ahmadnagar and Golconḍā that continuation of the siege operations would be fruitless in the face of the superior strength of the Bijāpūr armies. Further, the arrival of fresh reinforcements from the distant parts of the kingdom of Bijāpūr would

[1] Chand Beeby, relying on their declarations, conferred the robes of *Ameer Joomlagy* on Shah Abool Hussun, son of Shah Tahir, who immediately sent off expresses with orders to encourage the Bergy chiefs of the Carnatic to return to their duty. He also wrote to Syud Moortuza who had a profound veneration for the family of Shah Tahir, advising him to prevail upon the allies to quit the territories of Beejapoor; threatening, if they did not, that when the Bergies joined the King (which would shortly take place) their retreat should be cut off. Syud Moortuza, the Berar general, unwilling that the efforts of the allies, under Kootb Shah and Behzad-ool-Moolk, should succeed, adopted measures to induce them to retreat. In the first place, he sent to *Ein-ool-Moolk* and Ankoos Khan, the two chiefs who had deserted from Beejapoor, recommending them to return; observing, that it was unworthy of them at such a moment of danger to quit the service of their king on pretence of dislike to his ministers. They accordingly re-entered Beejapoor the same evening, where they renewed their allegiance to Ibrahim Adil Shah. Most of the nobility and the Bergies, hearing of the change in the administration, also hastened to court with their followers, and by the loyal exertions of Abool Hussun in less than a month an arrny of above twenty thousand men was collected at the capital where affairs assumed a more propitious aspect. The Bergy chiefs were detached to harass and cut off the enemy's supplies; and succeeded so well, that in a short time famine pervaded their camp, and the allies repented of their expedition to Beejapoor. (Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, pp. 153-54).

CHAPTER 5.

The Adilshahi of Bijapur.

IBRAHIM ADIL SHAH II.

reduce the besiegers to miserable straits. There was more of a threat than persuasion in what Ain-ul-mulk conveyed. Sayyad Murtazā Sabzāvarī decided to raise the siege and retire. The Ahmadnagar armies withdrew accordingly. The Golconḍā forces occupied Gulburgā on their way. They were, however, defeated and pursued up to the borders of their kingdom by a relieving army sent from Bijāpūr. Dilāvar Khān, who had taken the leading part in ridding the kingdom of invaders now assumed the control of the administration of the state. But the respite received due to the disappearance of external danger, brought again to the fore the factional rivalries that had riddled the state since the death of Ali Ādil Śāh. Jealous of the ascendency of Dilāvar Khān, Ikhlās Khān conspired to assassinate him. He attacked him in the citadel. The attempt, however, proved abortive. He was deserted by his officers who had promised to support him. He himself was arrested, blinded and imprisoned. One more person to loose his life in this factional struggle for power was Śāh Abul Hasan, the son of Śāh Tāhīr. Śāh Abul Hasan was arrested, blinded and imprisoned. Shortly after, he was put to death. The execution of Śāh Abul Hasan was due more to religious than political causes. It was due to the suppression of the *Śiāh* faith and the restoration of *Sunnī* faith by Dilāvar Khān. This was done as soon as he had assumed supreme power in the kingdom. The *Sunnī* faith continued to be the state religion of the kingdom of Bijāpūr till the accession to the throne of Ali Ādil Śāh II. Dilāvar Khān's regency lasted for well over eight years. During this period Bijāpūr enjoyed great prosperity. Though himself a *Sunnī*, Dilāvar Khān sought friendship with the neighbouring *Śiāh* states of Ahmadnagar and Golconḍā by arranging matrimonial relations with those states. Young Ibrāhīm was married to Tāj Sultānā the sister of the *Sultān* of Golconḍā. Ibrāhīm's sister Khadijā was given in marriage to Murtazā Nizām Śāh's son and heir Mirān Husain.

Two English travellers Fitch and Newberry visited Bijāpūr in 1583 which they describe as a very large and rich town, with lofty houses, handsome and built of stone. The inhabitants are described as idolaters, with very numerous idols strewn in the groves about the city[1]. The expected improvement in relations with Ahmadnagar did not materialise because of the postponement of the marriage of the Bijāpūr princes with Mirān Husain. Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh, subsequently, invaded Ahmadnagar and besieged the fortress of Ausā. This threat compelled Murtazā Nizām Śāh to celebrate the marriage of Mirān Husain with Princess Khadijā. Murtazā, had, over the past few years, been showing signs of unsettled mind. He now tried to take the life of his son, who was related to Ibrāhīm Ādil. Mirān Husain miraculously escaped from this attempt on his life and took revenge by doing his father to death through suffocation in a heated bath. Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh, who was still at Ausā, was horror

[1] Harris' *Voyages and Travels*, I, 207-280. Hakluyt's *Voyages*, I, 385, Jangigny's *Inde*, 384.

struck at this parricide. He wrote strongly to Mirān Husain upbraiding him for this dastardly crime. Mirān Husain's reign was shortlived. He was murdered and his cousin Ismāīl was raised to the throne. Power in Ahmadnagar now passed into the hands of Jamāl Khān, who belonged to the *Mehedvi* sect. He persecuted both the *Sunnīs* and the *Śiāhs*. Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh was not expected to tolerate with equanimity these happenings in the neighbouring kingdom. The thought of the indignities that might have been caused to his sister, the widow of the deceased Mirān Husain, was also uppermost in his mind. He, therefore, sent his minister Dilāwar Khān to invade the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. Jamāl Khān, whose hands were already full with the intrigues at home, did not desire to make the situation more complicated. He arrived at a compromise with his adversary by the surrender of Khadijā, Ibrāhīm's sister and the payment of 70,000 *hons* as war indemnity. Ahmadnagar was, however, faced with a more serious threat from the north when Burhān, Ismāīl Nizām Śāh's father invaded the kingdom with the connivance of Emperor Akbar. He secured the assistance of Rājā Ali Khān of Khāndeś and appealed to Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh for help. Ibrāhīm Ādil readily responded by sending a division of Bijāpūr army under Dilāwar Khān. The Bijāpūr army crossed the frontiers of the Ahmadnagar kingdom from the south but suffered a reverse at the hand of Jamāl Khān at Dhārāśiv. The situation was, however, none too promising for Jamāl Khān. He was slain in an engagement with the combined forces of Khāndeś and Ahmadnagar, fought at Rohankheḍ in May 1591, Ismāīl Nizām Śāh was captured and deposed by his father Burhāṇ, who ascended the throne under title of Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh II. The defeat suffered by Dilāvar Khān put his life in jeopardy. He fled the court of Bijāpūr, to enter the service of Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh. The action of Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh in taking Dilāvar under his protection irked Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh. He strongly protested demanding the dismissal of Dilāvar Khān and restitution of 300 elephants captured from the Bijāpurīs, at the battle of Dhārāśiv. Burhāṇ's reply was prompt. He declared war on Bijāpūr and sent an army under the command of Dilāvar Khān to invade the kingdom of Bijāpūr. This army was met by Ibrāhīm in person. Ibrāhīm induced Dilāvar Khān to come to his camp. He then ordered him to be seized and sent as a prisoner to Sātārā where he died soon after.[1] Another

[1] Ferishta gives the following account of the rise to ascendency of Dilawar Khan and his fall from power :—

In the year 998, the King at the request of his minister, marched from Beejapoor, in order to wrest the crown of Ahmudnuggur from Jumal Khan, who had set up the son of Boorhan Nizam Shah in opposition to his father. Jumal Khan, having raised a considerable army, advanced with Ismael Nizam Shah to within sixteen miles of the King's camp, but without any intention to engage. In this situation he sent ambassadors with great offers to Dilawur Khan, if he would grant him peace ; but the minister refusing to listen to any terms, and many officers at the same time deserting from Jumal Khan, the latter, in order to secure himself from any sudden attack took up a strong post surrounded by declivities and broken ground, at some distance from his former camp, on the banks of the Beema. Dilawur Khan thinking his enemy weak, and feeling himself secure of victory, marched to attack him, contrary to the

**CHAPTER 5.**

**The Adilshahi of Bijapur.**

**IBRAHIM ADIL SHAH II.**

force of the Ahmadnagar army under Burhān which had invaded the kingdom of Bijāpūr succeeded in restoring the old Hindu fort to the south of Bhīmā. But Ibrāhīm's Marāṭhā cavalry so harasssed this force that Burhān had to retire to the frontiers of his own kingdom. He was closely followed by the Bijāpuris. A severe defeat was inflicted upon him. Peace was concluded

*contd.*

express wish of the King, with thirty thousand horse, confident of taking him prisoner. Upon his arrival at the spot where Jumal Khan was so strongly posted, he repented of his rashness, but ashamed to retire, he halted, in hopes that all the troops would soon join. At this instant an officer from Ibrahim Adil Shah arriving, represented that as the army was not prepared for action, the King desired he would defer it for the present, and stay till the troops were properly organised. Dilawur Khan returned for answer that he would shortly bring Jumal Khan bound to the presence of the King, and instantly advanced towards the enemy. Having with great difficulty passed over much marshy ground, full of hollows, his troops, without order or proper disposition, reached the enemy's front, when Dilawur Khan detached the Bergy cavalry to fall upon the rear, to prevent any of the fugitives escaping. Jumal Khan seeing himself surrounded, resolved to rely on his sword alone, and drew out his troops, prepared for a desperate resistance. In the very beginning of the action, *Ein-ool-Moolk*, Ankoos Khan, and Alum Khan, who knew that Ibrahim Adil Shah was displeased with the minister, retired with their divisions, and leaving him in the gulf of destruction, withdrew to the royal camp at Darasun. Dilawur Khan, notwithstanding this, fought so valiantly with his own troops, that he threw the enemy into disorder; upon which his soldiers seized the plunder of the camp, according to the loose custom of the people of India, leaving their general with not more than two hundred horse. A party of the enemy, who had retired in good order with their Prince, Ismail Nizam Shah, perceiving this, returned to the attack; and Dilawur Khan, after a gallant struggle, preferring his safety to certain destruction, fled with seven persons, among whom was the author of this history, from the field. On his way, spies brought intelligence that *Ein-ool-Moolk* with the other officers who had deserted him were hastening to the King, in hopes of destroying his influence; upon which he redoubled his speed, and reached Darasun before them, with three thousand of his defeated troops, who joined him by parties on his route. Lest the victors should pursue, he marched with the King all night towards Shahdoorg, where he arrived the next morning. Jumal Khan, after this very unexpected success, having taken above one hundred elephants, advanced to Darasun, where the author, who had received some wounds, and could not travel from weakness, fell into his hands, but made his escape by a stratagem. Jumal Khan, learning that Boorhan Nizam Shah, with his allies Raja Ally Khan and the chiefs of Berar, were advancing, moved to the northward from Darasun, followed by the Beejapoor army, which pursued him for nearly one hundred and sixty miles. The King now thought proper to halt with the main body, and to detach the Bergy cavalry in pursuit, in order to cut off the enemy's supplies, and to harass him on his route. Dilawur Khan insisted that the King ought to march on without delay to the Rohunkehra Ghat. The minister's conduct and language on this occasion gave great offence; and Ibrahim Adil Shah, now of an age to act for himself, and tired of being led in the trammels of the Regent, resolved to free himself by effecting his destruction.

As all the officers of the royal household and the bodyguards were attached to Dilawur Khan, the King was fearful of communicating his wishes to them, lest they should betray him. After much precaution, he fixed upon two Hindoos, common servants of no note, to be his confidants on this important occasion. These he sent privately to *Ein-ool-Moolk*, the *Ameer-ool-Omra*, to complain of the unreasonable conduct of Dilawur Khan; and he received in answer solemn assurances of his support and assistance. After much negotiation conducted through the two Hindoos, it was agreed that the King should, on a certain night when Dilawur Khan was asleep, repair suddenly to the camp of *Ein-ool-Moolk*, which was only a mile distant, where he was to be joined by him, by Alum Khan, and by Ankoos Khan, who would faithfully obey his commands. Ibrahim Adil Shah, relying on these promises, on the night of fourteenth of *Rujub* 998, came out of his private apartments, and commanded Kufshdar Khan to bring him a horse. The keeper of the stables refused obedience, saying that he dared not comply without the orders of Dilawur Khan. Kufshdar Khan, provoked at this insolence, gave him several blows; upon which the grooms of the stables became terrified, and brought horses immediately. The King, mounting, issued forth, attended by his servants from his tents. On the way Elias Khan, his nurse's son, who was upon guards, running up to him, asked the cause of his movement, and received for answer that the present was not a time for explanation, but he should know if he chose to attend him; which he immediately did, with rather

between Bijāpūr and Ahmadnagar at the intercession of Muhammad Qulī Qutb Śāh of Goḷconḍā and Rājā Ali Khān of Khāndeś. Burhāṇ agreed to the humiliating condition of Ibrāhīm Ādil of personally supervising the demolition of the works he had constructed at Maṅgaḷveḍhā in the district of Śolāpūr. With his power now established Ibrāhīm turned his attention to the spread of his kingdom.

In 1594, Ismāīl, the elder brother of Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh revolted. Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh, returning from his unsuccessful campaign against the Portuguese decided to take advantage of the confusion. He invaded the kingdom of Bijāpūr with a view to support the cause of Ismāīl. He advanced as far as Pareṇḍā. In the meanwhile, however, Ibrāhīm had defeated and killed his brother before any help could be rendered to him by Burhāṇ

---

*contd.*—

less than a hundred horse. When he arrived within a short distance of the camp of *Ein-ool-Moolk* he halted, till that nobleman, with Alum Khan, and Ankoos Khan, joined him. As soon as the King's march became known, several officers, among whom was myself, with about three thousand soldiers, hastened to join him during the night.

Dilawur Khan, though above eighty years of age, had devoted that night to a beautiful virgin of the Deccan, whom he had long sought to gain, so that, though several emissaries frequently requested admittance to inform him of the King's flight, his attendants, who had received the strictest orders not to disturb him, refused to tell him; a circumstance which gave full time for Ibrahim Adil Shah to complete his designs. Towards sunrise, the minister was roused from his dream of pleasure, and with his sons and six thousand horse, with many elephants, followed his sovereign in hopes that on his arrival, the King would be deserted by his friends, and be again obliged to throw himself into his hands, when he came in sight of the royal army; the King ordered *Ein-ool-Moolk* to prepare to oppose him; but that nobleman sent word privately to the minister, offering to stand neutral while he attempted to carry off the King. Dilawur Khan, encouraged by this assurance, stopped his followers at a little distance, and coming on with a hundred horse and four elephants close to the King, addressed him, saying that marching at night was extremely improper, but hoped the King would now return to his encampment. Ibrahim, enraged at this insolence, exclaimed, "Will no one punish this traitor." Upon which an inferior officer of the bodyguard, named Adeena Khan, spurring his horse up to Dilawur Khan, gave him a wound with his sabre, and was preparing to inflict another stroke, when the minister's horse, rearing at the flashing brightness of the weapon, threw him; and his elephant drivers rushing between him and Adeena Khan, he had time to escape to his own troops, whom he endeavoured to lead on against the King; but they hesitated to assault their sovereign, and many of them even deserted to him. Dilawur Khan, overwhelmed with confusion, effected his escape to Ahmudnuggur; but his son Kumal Khan was overtaken at Darasun by the royalists, and put to death.

The King, having successfully got rid of his dangerous enemy, sent orders to all his nobility to hasten from their *jageers* without delay, and to make preparations to march against Boorhan Nizam Shah II. He first sent the Bergy chiefs, with six thousand horse, to cut off all communication and supplies from the enemy's camp; and in the month of *Shaban*, having appointed Roomy Khan Deccany, commander of his army, detached him at the head of ten thousand horse, and soon after Elias Khan was sent to reinforce him with three thousand of the household troops. The Bergy cavalry greatly distressed the enemy, defeating several detachments sent against them; till at last Boorhan Nizam Shah proceeded in person to attack them. Unable to oppose regular troops the Bergies recrossed the Beema, which was then fordable, and a lucky flood of the torrents from the mountains having swelled the river immediately after, prevented their being pursued; upon which Boorhan Nizam Shah returned to his lines. A famine and pestilence now prevailed to a great extent in the enemy's camp, carrying off great numbers of men and animals, and obliged him to retire some marches towards his own country in order to obtain relief. When he had received supplies of provisions, and the pest had somewhat abated, Boorhan Nizam Shah moved again with a design to lay siege to the fortress of Sholapoor but was opposed on his march by Roomy Khan and Elias Khan, who defeated a principal part of his army under Noor Khan, *Ameer-ool-Omra* of Berar, and took a hundred elephants and four hundred horses. (Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, pp. 163-169 and pp. 173-174)

**CHAPTER 5.**

**The Adilshahi of Bijapur.**

**IBRAHIM ADIL SHAH II.**

Nizām Śāh. Ibrāhīm was now free to march against Burhān Nizām Śāh. He engaged the Ahmadnagar troops at Parenḍā and inflicted a crushing defeat upon them[1]. Burhān Nizām Śāh died shortly afterwards. Ibrāhīm, his elder son, who succeeded him, under the advice of Ikhlās Khān, declared war on Bijāpūr. The Ahmadnagar armies marched towards the frontiers of Bijāpūr and in spite of the efforts of Miyān Mañjū to avoid actual hostilities, a severe action was fought with the Bijāpuris. The Bijāpūris overwhelmed the Ahmadnagar armies. Ibrāhīm Nizām Śāh was killed. This defeat closed the hostilities between the two kingdoms for the time being. Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh returned in triumph to Bijāpūr.

The death of Ibrāhīm Nizām Śāh caused serious trouble in the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. They are interesting in connection with Bijāpūr as they first led to the Moghal intervention in the affairs of the Deccan. The kingdom of Ahmadnagar was now divided into two factions one headed by Cānd Bibi who espoused the cause of Bahādur, the infant son of Ibrāhīm Nizām Śāh. The other party headed by Ikhlās Khān supported Ahmad, who was alleged to be the son of Khudābandā, the son of Burhān Nizām Śāh I. On August 16, 1595 Ikhlās Khān proclaimed him *Sultān* of Ahmadnagar. He was proved to be an imposter.

---

[1] Ferishta has given the following account of the confrontation between Ahmadnagar and Bijapur:—

Not long after these events, Boorhan Nizam Shah, entering into alliance with the *Ray* of Penkonda, resolved again to invade the territories of Ibrahim Adil Shah, and accordingly despatched Moortuza Khan Anjoo, at the head of ten thousand horse with orders to reduce Shahdoorg and Sholapoor, while his ally laid siege to some of the forts on the frontiers of the Carnatic. Moortuza Khan Anjoo advanced as far as Purenda, when finding that the *Ray* of Penkonda had not yet begun his march, he thought proper to halt; but sent out detachments to lay waste and plunder the adjacent country. These troops received a severe check from those of Ibrahim Adil Shah; and their commander, Oozbuk Khan, was killed in the action, which struck the rest of the army with terror, and stopped their operations. In the month of *Rujub*, Boorhan Nizam Shah was taken dangerously ill of dysentery. The news of this event occasioned great commotions in the army at Purenda, where dissensions arose among the chiefs; and Moortuza Khan, with many of his friends, fearing assassination from the mutinous officers, left his command and retired to Ahmudnuggur. At the same time Khuleefa Arab and Kuzilbash Khan fled for refuge to Ibrahim Adil Shah. Boorhan Nizam Shah, wasted in body by illness, and in mind by the dissensions of his officers, died. He was succeeded by his son Ibrahim, and Meean Munjoo Deccany became regent of the kingdom. The young king's mother, however, who was an Abyssinian, gave so much encouragement to the chiefs of her own nation, that the power of the minister's office was withheld from him; and the upstart Abyssinians behaved so disrespectfully to the Beejapoor ambassadors, as to make them quit Ahmudnuggur in disgust.

Ibrahim Adil Shah was so much offended at this affront that he resolved to be revenged on Ibrahim Nizam Shah for which purpose, on the 20th of *Saban*, having marched from his capital, he encamped at Bahmunhully, and moved from thence towards Shahdoorg. Being, however, not fond of unnecessary war, he had determined in his own mind, if ambassadors should be sent from Ahmudnuggur with apologies for the conduct of the ministers, and professing a wish for peace, to lay aside his expedition, and in this hope he made, designedly, but very slow marches to Shahdoorg, where he fixed his headquarters.

Yekhlas Khan, and the Abyssinian chiefs of Ahmudnuggur, instead of endeavouring to make peace, marched with Ibrahim Nizam Shah at the head of thirty thousand men and a great train of artillery, to their borders, upon which Ibrahim Adil Shah, thinking delay no longer advisable, despatched Humeed Khan with other officers of distinction against them at the same time giving instructions that if Ibrahim Nizam Shah did not attempt marching into his country, they should refrain from

Still, he received support. Miyān Mañjū espoused his cause. The party supporting Ahmad, however, soon developed differences and the Africans now proclaimed Motī, an unknown person as *Sultān*. It was under these circumstances that Miyān Mañjū appealed to Sultān Murād, Akbar's son and the governor of Gujarāt. Akbar swiftly responded and ordered his son Murād and his commander-in-chief Khān Khānān to proceed to the Deccan. In the meanwhile Miyān Mañjū had scored a resounding victory over the Africans. The Moghals, however, had already appeared before Ahmadnagar. Miyān Mañjū repented of having invoked the aid of the Emperor. His repentence, however, came too late. All the factions in Ahmadnagar now appealed to Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh to face the danger which the invasion by the Moghals posed before them. Ibrāhīm Ādil quickly realised the real intentions of the Moghals. He thought that any inaction on his part would be suicidal. Once the Moghals were allowed to get victory against the faction riddled Ahmadnagar Kingdom, they were sure to turn against him. He, therefore, gave a patient hearing to the appeals made by Miyān Mañjū, Abhang Khān, Ikhlās Khān and Cānd Bibi and bluntly told them to sink their differences and fight the Moghals with a strong force. He ordered a force of 25,000 horse to go to the aid of Ahmadnagar under the command of Suhail Khān. An appeal was also sent to Qulī Qutb Śāh who sent 6,000 horse

*contd.*

hostilities. The Nizam Shahy army passed the boundaries of Beejapoor, upon which Humeed Khan without delay attacked them : a severe action ensued, in which the Beejapoor troops were near being defeated. The left wing having given way fled from the field, closely pursued by the right wing of the enemy. Humeed Khan however, resolutely continued the battle with his centre and right wing. Ibrahim Nizam Shah, who had at first remained in the rear, to be out of danger, seeing the flight of part of the enemy's line, advanced with his household troops, which being perceived by Soheil Khan, a eunuch who commanded the right wing of the Adil Shahy army, he charged. At this instant the King of Ahmudnuggur's guards begged him to retire, but he would not consent, exclaiming, that as his brother Ismail had disdained to fly from Dilawur Khan, it would be dishonourable in him to give way before a eunuch. Having said this he drew his sabre, and pushed on his elephant towards Soheil Khan ; but after a short struggle he received a mortal wound from an arrow, and died immediately ; his attendants took up the body, and fled towards Ahmudnuggur. The other part of the army, engaged with Humeed Khan, learning the fate of their king, was seized with a panic, and hastened from the field, although they had neraly gained the victory. The fugitives left all their baggage and artillery with most of the royal elephants, to be plundered by the Beejapoor troops, who found themselves victors when they least expected it. While Humeed Khan was enjoying the fruits of his success, Ibrahim Adil Shah received intelligence at Shahdoorg that his army was defeated, as many of the fugitives of the left wing, which had broken and dispersed in the beginning of the action, had fled as far as the royal camp, which was thrown into great consternation by their alarming accounts. Some said most of the nobles had been slain, and that all the elephants except one had fallen into the hands of the enemy. For three days uncertain intelligence and alarming reports were received ; but on the fourth, full accounts were brought of the unexpected victory, and the death of Ibrahim Nizam Shah, which changed the terrors of the multitude to the extravagance of joy. The King, notwithstanding this signal advantage, and the confused state of the enemy's government, would not consent to invade his territories, but recalled Humeed Khan from the borders ; and in latter part of the month marched back towards Beejapoor, but did not enter that capital till 1004. He halted on the banks of the Beema, from whence he despatched a force against one of the zemindars of the Carnatic, who, taking advantage of the war, had besieged the fortress of Adony, now in danger of falling from want of provisions. On the 13th of *Mohurrum* the King made a triumphant entry into Beejapoor, amid the acclamations of his people, who on this occasion had adorned the streets with gold and silver tissue, velvets, brocades, other rich cloths, and costly ornaments. (Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, pp. 183-187).

CHAPTER 5.

The Adilshahi of Bijapur.

IBRAHIM ADIL SHAH II.

to reinforce the army under Suhail Khān. The siege of Ahmadnagar dragged on in spite of the victories scored by the Moghals over Ikhlās Khān and Abhaṅg Khān. The advancing armies of Bijāpūr and Goḷcoṇḍā under Suhail Khān had now reached Naḷdurg, and were marching rapidly towards Ahmadnagar. When Suhail Khān had reached within thirty miles of Sultān Murād, Khān Khānān sent a message to Cānd Bibi offering to raise the siege on condition of the cession of Berār. Seeing the severe straits to which the Ahmadnagar garrison had been reduced, Cānd Bibi had no option but to agree. The Moghals retired, and proceeded to occupy their new possession of Berār. Miyān Mañju now tried to renew the civil strife by supporting Ahmad. However, he received a summons from Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh who foresaw dangerous possibilities in the renewal of the strife. Surprisingly, Miyān Mañjū, along with Ahmad, responded to the call and went to Bijāpūr. At Bijāpūr both were taken into the service of Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh. The departure of Miyān Mañjū did not straighten out matters at Ahmadnagar. The new minister Muhammad Khān became too overbearing. Cānd Bibi appealed for help to Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh. Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh again sent Suhail Khān with a large force to Ahmadnagar, instructing him to put himself completely at the disposal of Cānd Bibi. Muhammad Khān appealed to Khān Khānān to come to his assistance. The Moghals did not hide their intentions towards Ahmadnagar. Hostilities soon erupted between them and Ahmadnagar. Abhaṅg Khān, who had been appointed in place of the dismissed minister Muhammad Khān, appealed to Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh. It appears that Ibrāhīm was determined to save the situation at Ahmadnagar at any cost, even at the risk of inviting the odium of the Moghals. There was no doubt that Moghals were not going to take kindly to the role of Bijāpūr in the conflict between them and Ahmadnagar. Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh sent his general Suhail Khān to the aid of Ahmadnagar. An action was fought between the Moghal troops led by Khān Khānān and the combined forces of Bijāpūr and Goḷcoṇḍā under Suhail Khān at Sonpet on 9th February 1597. Khān Khānān inflicted a crushing defeat upon the combined forces in the action which lasted for two days. However, the dissensions in the Moghal camp prevented them from taking advantage of the victory. The struggle continued. In the year 1599 Ahmadnagar was besieged by the Moghals. Though she made a gallant defence Cānd Bibi was murdered in a tumult which broke out in the fort. The Moghals captured Ahmadnagar. After the defeat of the Bijāpurīs at Sonpet and the surrender of Ahmadnagar, Ibrāhīm did not participate actively in the affairs of the Deccan. He was, however, alarmed at the growing power of the Moghals who had started their conquest of the Deccan with the occupation of Berār. He made overtures to the emperor Akbar with whom he concluded an alliance. The fall of Ahmadnagar opened up a new chapter in the history of the Deccan Sultanates. A new power, and the most powerful and ambitious one at that, had made its entry into the politics of the Deccan. The affairs of the Deccan no

CHAPTER 5.

**The Adilshahi of Bijapur.**

IBRAHIM ADIL SHAH II.

longer remained those of the four existant Sultanates of the Deccan *viz.*, Bijāpūr, Ahmadnagar, Bidar and Golconḍā. They turned into a story of an unceasing struggle which these Sultanates waged against the power of the Moghals and which they ultimately lost. The history of Bijāpūr from 1600 till its fall in 1686 to the Moghals will be dealt within the chapter dealing with the history of the Moghal conquest of the Deccan.

सत्यमेव जयते

# CHAPTER 6—THE IMADSHAHI OF BERAR



**The Imadshahi of Berar.**

**FATHULLAH IMAD SHAH.**

FATHULLAH IMAD-UL-MULK WAS THE FOUNDER OF THE IMADSAHI DYNASTY OF BERAR[1] Of a very quiet disposition and always reluctant to take a hasty decision, Fathullāh *Imād-ul-mulk* had royalty thrust upon him by the force of circumstances when the process of disintegration set in, in the Bahamanī Kingdom of the Deccan. Imād Śāh, as he was later called, had under his jurisdiction the province of Berār which then included the present district of Akolā, Buldhāṇā, Amravātī, Yavatmāḷ, most of the Parbhaṇī district and parts of Nānded and Auraṅgābād districts. Fathullāh was the subordinate of Khvājā-i-Jahān Turk, one of the Triumvirate appointed by *Sultān* Humāyūn Śāh Bahamanī at the time of his death, to look after his infant son Nizāmuddin Ahmad III. In the reign of Śamsuddin Muhammad III, Khvājā-i-Jahān was assassinated and Mahmūd Gāvān became the prime minister. He appointed Fathullāh, the *Sarlaṣkar* of Berār and created him *Imād-ul-mulk*. In all the campaigns against Māḷvā, Orissā and the *Rayās* in the Koṅkaṇ region, undertaken by Mahmūd Gāvān, Fathullāh *Imād-ul-mulk* participated. It was in the campaign of Belgāṅv against its chief Parketa that *Imād-ul-mulk*, under the command of Mahmūd Gāvān, fought conspicuously and led the final assault on the fort. When in about 1473 Mahmūd Gāvān redistributed the Bahamanī Kingdom into eight administrative divisions, Fathullāh *Imād-ul-mulk* was confirmed as the *Sarlaṣkar* of Berār In 1481 a plot to destroy Mahmūd Gāvān was formed. At that time Mahmūd Gāvān was away on a campaign against Vijayanagar. The mastermind behind this plot was the most hated *Nizām-ul-mulk*, the father of Malik Ahmad, the founder of the Nizām Śāhī Dynasty of Ahmadnagar. The circumstances leading to the assassination of Mahmūd Gāvān have been narrated elsewhere. When *Sultān* Muhammad realised the nature of the conspiracy against Mahmūd Gāvān, he was full of remorse. He

---

[1] This is what Ferishta has to say about the antecedents of *Imad-ul-mulk*—

The first person who became distinguished in this family was descended from the Canarese infidels of Beejanuggur. Having been taken prisoner in the wars with that country, when a boy, he was admitted among the body-guard of Khan Jehan, the commander-in-chief, and governor of Berar. As he grew up he discovered abilities and courage, which attracted the notice of his master, who ultimately became so much attached to him, that he nominated him to offices of distinction. After the death of Khan Jehan, he repaired to the court at Mahomedabad Bidur, and in the reign of Mahomed Shah Bahmuny, through the influence of Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, he received the title of *Imad-ool-Moolk*, and was subsequently raised to the office of commander of the forces in Berar.

A. H. 890. A. D. 1484. In the year 890, he declared his independence. (Briggs' *Ferishta*, Vol. III, pp. 485-86).

CHAPTER 6.

The Imadshahi of Berar.

FATHULLAH IMAD SHAH.

punished the perpetrators of this dastardly crime. By now the entire nobility had lost its faith in the *Sultān* except of course the *Sultān's* closest advisers. The first reaction was displayed by *Imād-ul-mulk* who withdrew four miles away from the royal camp along with Khudāvand Khān, the *Sarlaṣkar* of Māhūr in South Berār. They stated in very clear terms to the *Sultān* that they saw no safety to their lives when a person of the stature of Khvājā-i-Jahān Mahmūd Gāvān could be so treacherously murdered and that they did not desire to attend on the *Sultān* in person unless they had consulted Yusūf Ādil in the matter. On the arrival of Yusūf Ādil, the three together forced the *Sultān* to accept their own terms about the redistribution of provincial governments. Under the new administrative set up Fathullāh *Imād-ul-mulk* was confirmed in his possession of Berār. Fathullāh then followed the *Sultān* up to Bidar but instead of entering the capital, he pitched his camp outside the city gates. A few days after he left for Berār. After a few months Fathullāh *Imād-ul-mulk* accompanied the *Sultān* along with Khudāvand Khān in his tour of the western provinces. They, however, did not accompany Yusūf Ādil in his campaign towards Goā which was threatened by Virupāks of Vijayanagar. Leaving the royal camp they returned to their provincial capitals. Shortly after, *Sultān* Muhammad died. *Sultān* Śāhabuddin Mahmūd ascended the throne. At the coronation, Fathullāh *Imād-ul-mulk* was conspicuous by his absence. Subsequently, *Nizām-ul-mulk,* who had been appointed as prime minister, dispatched Ādil Khān Dakhanī to Fathullāh *Imād-ul-mulk* after receiving the report of the march of Yusūf Ādil to the capital in full strength. Fathullāh arrived in the capital shortly after and paid his respects to the *Sultān.* He, however, adopted a neutral attitude in the confrontation between Yusūf Ādil and *Nizām-ul-mulk.* After Yusūf Ādil left the capital he agreed to participate in the civil administration of the state along with *Nizām-ul-mulk.* He was appointed *Vazīr* and *Amir-i-Jumlā* and his son Alāuddin was made his deputy in the government of Berār. Affairs continued peacefully till 1486 when the *Sultān* plotted the overthrow of *Nizām-ul-mulk* and *Imād-ul-mulk,* with the help of Dilāvar Khān Habśī. The plot failed. *Imād-ul-mulk* got disgusted with the palace intrigues. Sensing danger in his association with *Nizām-ul-mulk* he left Bidar for his provincial charge of Berār. He never came to Bidar again, nor did he participate directly or indirectly in the administration of the kingdom in the succeeding years. When, after the murder of *Nizām-ul-mulk,* there was utter confusion in the capital and lack of centralized control, he quietly assumed the titles of royalty along with Malik Ahmad of Ahmadnagar and Yusūf Ādil of Bijāpūr.

In 1491 Bahādur Gilānī, who had usurped the governorship of Goā and assumed control of many places on the western coast, rebelled. He looted many ships belonging to *Sultān* Mahmūd Begāḍā of Gujarāt. *Sultān* Mahmūd Bahamanī wrote to all the

provincial governors to help suppress the rebellion of Bahādur Gilānī. Fathullāh *Imād-ul-mulk* sent a large force which participated in the suppression of Bahādur Gilānī's rebellion.

ALAUDDIN IMAD SHAH.

Fathullāh *Imād-ul-mulk* died in 1510 at Ellicpūr and was succeeded by his son Alāuddin under the title of Alāuddin Imād Śāh[1]. He was also known by the name of Alāuddin Daryā Khān. Sayyad Ali, the author of *Burhāṇ-i-Māsir,* states that *Sultān* Mahmūd Bahamanī conferred the title of *Imād-ul-mulk* upon his son Daryā Khān and bestowed upon him all the fiefs held by his father. After the death of Malik Ahmad Nizām Śāh, his son Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh ascended the throne. The affairs of the kingdom fell into the hands of Mukammil Khān, a Deccani noble. The foreigners in the court conspired to put on the throne Rājājī, the brother of Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh but were foiled in their attempts. The foreigners fled to Berār and took refuge with Alāuddin Imād Śāh. Alāuddin supported them and invaded the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar. He was, however, defeated by Mukammil Khān at Rāhurī. He was, pursued through Berār and forced to flee to Khāndeś. The Ahmadnagar troops laid waste the territory of Berār and returned to their capital. Some time after this, Yusuf Ādil established the Śiāh faith in his dominions. *Sultān* Mahmūd Bahamanī, then under the influence of Amir Barīd, invited the provincial governors to put down the heretic. Alāuddin Imād Śāh and Khudāvand Khān, the governor of Māhūr, although Sunnis, refused to obey the summons, coming as it did from Amir Barīd, whose ascendency to power at Bidar, they deeply resented. The other provincial governors responded to the call and Yusūf Ādil, unable to withstand the combined might of Golcoṇḍā, Ahmadnagar and Bidar fled to Berār and took refuge with Alāuddin Imād Śāh. Though sympathetically disposed towards Yusuf Ādil, Imād Śāh did not give him any active assistance. He advised him to go to Khāndeś. From Khāndeś, Yusūf Ādil marched against the alliance. Alāuddin Imād Śāh joined him. Both of them attacked Amir Alī Barīd and *Sultān* Mahmūd Śāh Bahamanī at Kalam in Berār. They defeated Amir Alī Barīd, who fled, leaving the camp in the hands of Yusūf Ādil and Alāuddin Imād.

*Sultān* Mahmūd Śāh Bahamanī was shorn of all his powers by Amir Alī Barīd. The helpless monarch tried to throw away the yoke of the indignity more than once. At one time, he fled to Berār and took refuge with Alāuddin Imād Śāh. He begged of Alāuddin to help him destroy the power of Amir Alī Barīd. Alāuddin agreed and marched along with Mahmūd with a considerable force. He appeared before Bidar where Amir Alī reinforced by a contingent from Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh, drew up his army to face Alāuddin. When the armies were drawn in

1. Some time after 1492 Qasim Barid incited the *Raja* of Vijayanagar to attack Yusuf Adil and occupy Raichur and Mudgal held by him. Yusuf Adil advanced against Qasim Barid. A contingent was sent to Yusuf Adil to help him in the battle under Darya Khan by Fathullah *Imad-ul-mulk.* The battle resulted in the complete rout of Qasim Barid.

**CHAPTER 6.**
**The Imadshahi of Berar.**
ALAUDDIN IMAD SHAH.

battle array, Alāuddin urgently called upon *Sultān* Mahmūd to be at the head of the army. The foolish *Sultān* who was in the bath was annoyed at the message. He straightway joined Amir Alī Barīd's camp. Repenting for having backed such a pusillanimous and cowardly person Alāuddin withdrew from the field of battle and retired to Berār.

Uptill now the province of Berār was composed of two divisions *viz.,* Berār and Māhūr. This was under the eight provinces scheme of the Bahamanī Kingdom as envisaged by Mahmūd Gāvān. The *subhā* of Māhūr was under the charge of Khudāvand Khān. Khudāvand Khān was now dead and his son, Śārzā Khān, had succeeded him to the governorship of Māhūr. Being of a more stubborn character than his father he attacked and plundered, Kandhār and Udgīr in the fief estates of Amir Alī Barīd. Taking *Sultān* Mahmūd Śāh with him, Amir Alī Barīd attacked Śārzā Khān. In the battle that ensued, Śārzā Khān and one of his brothers lost their lives. Alī Barīd then invested Mahūr. On receipt of the news of Amir Barīd's aggression, Alāuddin Imād Śāh advanced from Berār and attacked the besiegers. He forced Amir Alī Barīd to retreat and took possession of Māhūr. He appointed Ghālib Khān, another son of Khudāvand Khān, to the charge of Māhūr, not as an independent governor but as his own vassal. Southern Berār was thus formally assimilated with the rest of his Kingdom. The process of the gradual southward expansion of the Imādśāhī dynasty which had started in 1490 was thus completed. The boundaries of the Kingdom of Berār now touched those of the Nizāmśāhī dynasty of Ahmadnagar[1].

*Burhāṇ-i-Māsir* mentions that in 1517, a year before the death of *Sultān* Mahmūd Śāh, Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh, Khvājā Jahān of Pareṇḍā, Ismāīl Ādil Śāh, Qutb Śāh and Alāuddin Imād Śāh assembled at Bidar. They brought their armies with them. All of them paid homage to *Sultān* Mahmūd Śāh Bahamanī.

In the year 1518 war broke out between Berār and Ahmadnagar on the question of Pāthrī in Berār. The town belonged to the Hindu ancestors of Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh. With the establishment of the independent kingdom of Ahmadnagar, the descendents of these ancestors who had fled to Vijayanagar, due to the persecution of Muslims, appealed to Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh.

---

1 The account of the episode as given by Ferishta is as under:

In the year 923, Ameer Bereed marched from Bidur, and first took the fort of Mahoor, after which he attacked Ramgir, and carried it by assault, A. M. 923 and slew the governor, Khoodawund Khan Abyssinian. Upon A. D. 1516. intimation of this invasion, Alla-ood-Deen Imad Shah began to collect his forces, on the plea of assisting the family of Khoodawund Khan; and Ameer Bereed, in order to avoid a war, placed each of the sons of the deceased in the two forts of Mahoor and Ramgir, and desired them to consider themselves tributary to Alla-ood-Deen Imad Shah. On approaching the forts, Alla-ood-Deen made himself master of them by treachery. Khoodawund Khan's sons fled for protection to Boorhan Nizam, Shah, while Alla-ood-Deen placed his own governors and garrisons in them. (Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, pp. 487-88).

They requested him to restore to them their former possession of Pāthrī. They also expressed a desire to be under his protection. Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh wrote to Alāuddin Imād Śāh requesting him to cede the town of Pāthrī to Ahmadnagar in exchange for another place in the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar. The request was rejected by Alāuddin Imād Śāh who, in order to prevent a surprise attack on Pāthrī, fortified the town. Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh prepared for a war. He advanced towards Pāthrī and suddenly attacking the town, captured it.

In 1524 Bibi Mariam, the sister of Ismāīl Ādil, was married to Burhāṇ. The officers of Ismāīl Ādil promised the cession of the fortress of Śolāpūr in dowry. Ismāīl Ādil, however, refused to fulfil the promise. Burhāṇ therefore requested Alāuddin Imād Śāh and Amir Barīd for assistance in capturing the fortress. The allies marched against Bijāpūr. They were, however, defeated and had to flee from the battlefield. Next year Ismāīl Ādil formed an alliance with Alāuddin Imād Śāh by offering his younger sister's hand in marriage to him. He then incited Qulī Qutb Śāh of Golconḍā to attack the fort of Pāthrī which was in the possession of Ahmadnagar. Pāthrī was captured and handed over to Alāuddin Imād Śāh. Alāuddin Imād Śāh, however, could not retain the fort for long. It was recaptured by Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh who allied himself this time with Amir Alī Barīd. The allies advanced further into Berār and captured the strong fortress of Māhūr. Alāuddin had sought the help of Muhammad Śāh I of Khāndeś. They were defeated by the allies. Imād Śāh was forced to flee with Muhammad Śāh I into Khāndeś. The whole of Berār was completely ravaged and devastated by the combined armies of Ahmadnagar and Bidar. Alāuddin and Muhammad Śāh were reduced to great straits. In desperation they invited Bahādur Śāh of Gujarāt to help them out of their predicament. *Sultān* Bahādur was an ambitious monarch. He readily jumped at this opportunity of interfering into the affairs of the Deccan Kingdoms. He advanced with a huge army, occupied Ahmadnagar and stayed in that place. It was then that Alāuddin Imād Śāh and Muhammad of Khāndeś realised their folly in inviting an outsider to settle their internal disputes. They deserted *Sultān* Bahādur and helped Ahmadnagar to resist the invader. The approach of rainy season made Bahādur Śāh reconsider his decision of staying over in the Deccan. He withdrew from the Deccan and forced upon Burhāṇ the most humiliating terms of peace. Burhāṇ agreed to make good the loss suffered by Alāuddin Imād Śāh. He promised to return Pāthrī and Māhūr to him. The promise was not fulfilled. He retained Pāthrī and Māhūr for himself.

During the war between Ahmadnagar and Gujarāt, Ismāīl had sent his detachments to help Ahmadnagar. Amir Alī Barīd tried to tamper with their loyalty. When the war ended Ismāīl Ādil Śāh marched to punish Amir Alī Barīd. Amir Alī Barīd fled to Udgīr. He begged Alāuddin to help him. Alāuddin

**CHAPTER 6. The Imadshahi of Berar.**

ALAUDDIN IMAD SHAH.

Imād Śāh did not consider himself powerful enough to oppose Ismāīl. Instead of sending a reply he marched to Bidar to intercede with Ismāīl on behalf of Amir Alī. Ismāīl insisted upon the unconditional surrender of Bidar. Amir Alī Barīd had no option but to accept humiliation and defeat. Ismāīl made him a noble of his court. It was decided that for the recovery of Rāicūr *doāb* Amir Alī Barīd and Alāuddin Imād Śāh should help Ismāīl Ādil. Once that campaign was over, the three should invade the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar and recover Māhūr and Pāthrī for Alāuddin Imād Śāh. The plan of reducing the Rāicūr *doāb* was executed by the three. This was due to confusion in Vijayanagar following the death of Kṛṣṇa Devarāya. In the meanwhile news was received of an impending invasion of the Deccan by Bahādur Śāh of Gujarāt. Ismāīl Ādil, Amir Alī and Alāuddin, therefore, gave up the plan of reducing Māhūr and Pāthrī. Alāuddin then returned to Berār.

DARYA IMAD SHAH

It will be interesting to note that Ahmadnagar and Bijāpūr did not consider Berār, Bidar and Goḷconḍā as rivals deserving serious attention. The *Sultāns* of Ahmadnagar and Bijāpūr had cast their covetous eyes on these states from the very beginning of their inception. Ahmadnagar annexed Berār in 1574 and Bijāpūr annexed Bidar in 1619. Ahmadnagar and Bijāpūr fell to the Moghals. Goḷconḍā was the last to fall to the Moghals in 1687. The *Sultāns* of Ahmadnagar and Bijāpūr drew up a plan of annexation of these three Kingdoms in 1532, when the envoys of these two Kingdoms met and decided that Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh should annex Berār and Ismāīl Ādil Śāh should annex both Bidar and Goḷconḍā. Ismāīl Ādil Śāh died in 1534 A.D. and his son Ibrāhīm Ādil ascended the throne. Alāuddin Imād Śāh died in 1529. His son Daryā Imād Śāh ascended the throne. In 1540 war broke out between Bijāpūr and Ahmadnagar. The Ahmadnagar armies accompanied by the Barīd Śāhī contingents invaded the Kingdom of Bijāpūr. Ādil Śāh had a misunderstanding with his minister Asad Khān Lārī and retired to Gulburgā. Bijāpūr was sacked by Burhāṇ and Amir Alī Barīd. They then marched towards Gulburgā. At Gulburgā Daryā Imād Śāh joined Ibrāhīm Ādil. On their march towards Gulburgā, Burhāṇ and Amir Alī Barīd were deserted by Asad Khān Lārī who now joined his master and Daryā Imād Śāh with 6,000 cavalry. Ibrāhīm Ādil and Daryā Imād Śāh then turned the tables on Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh and Amir Alī Barīd and forced them to retreat. They were pursued as far as Bīḍ and from thence to Daulatābād when Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh purchased peace from Ibrāhīm Ādil and Daryā Imād Śāh.

For well over a decade the Imād Śāhī dynasty does not figure in the political conflicts which were taking place between the two principal kingdoms of the Deccan, *viz.*, Bijāpūr and Ahmadnagar. In 1553 when Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh died there was a struggle for succession between his sons, Husain, and Abdul Qādir. Husain succeeded and Abdul Qādir fled to Berār to seek

asylum with Daryā Imād Śāh. Abdul Qādir had, however, to flee that Kingdom when Husain Nizām Śāh protested to Daryā Imād Śāh for giving asylum to his brother. Abdul Qādir was the son-in-law of Daryā Imād Śāh. Daryā Imād Śāh ordered his son-in-law to quit the Kingdom of Berār. Another attempt to contest the claims of Husain Nizām Śāh to the throne was made by his brother Alī. This was supported by Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh. Alī who was Ibrāhīm's nephew invaded the Ahmadnagar territory. He was, however, defeated. Husain Nizām Śāh now entered into an alliance with Daryā Imād Śāh. They marched to Śolāpūr. A force sent by Ibrāhīm Ādil under Saif Ain-ul-mulk, a former noble of Ahmadnagar, to check the advance of the allies was surrounded. Ain-ul-mulk succeeded in retreating safely after inflicting severe losses upon Husain Nizām Śāh and Daryā Imād Śāh. The allies were forced to retire to Ahmadnagar. The next few years saw a series of wars between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpūr on the question of the cession of Śolāpūr. Alī Ādil Śāh had succeeded his father Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh. He followed the policy of his father and formed an alliance with Vijayanagar and Golconḍā against Husain Nizām Śāh. Husain Nizām Śāh was in a quandary and looked to Daryā Imād Śāh for support against the confederate alliance against him. Daryā Imād agreed to join hands with Husain Nizām Śāh. Both the *Sultāns* met at Sonpeṭ on the banks of Godāvarī and the alliance was cemented by the marriage between Husain Nizām Śāh and Daulat Śāh, the daughter of Daryā Imād Śāh. The alliance did not prove of any help to Husain Nizām Śāh. The confederates invaded the Ahmadnagar Kingdom. Khānjahān, Alī Barīd's brother, who was with Daryā Imād Śāh, dissuaded Daryā Imād Śāh from sending any assistance to Ahmadnagar. However, Daryā Imād Śāh's minister Jahāṅgīr Khān Dakhanī, with a considerable Berārī force under his command, invaded the Ahmadnagar territory. When the news of this happening was received by Daryā Imād Śāh he sent orders to Jahāṅgīr Khān to change sides and attack the allied forces which had besieged Ahmadnagar and which were devastating the Ahmadnagar territory. Jahāṅgīr Khān changed his tactics accordingly and started attacking the allied troops from all sides. He cut off provisions and destroyed the foraging parties. The allies were so hardpressed that they raised the siege of Ahmadnagar and marched to Aṣṭī. Husain Nizām Śāh too was reduced to such hard straits that he along with Daryā Imād Śāh sued for peace. Sadāśivarāyā, the principal member of the confederacy, granted the request and peace was concluded. One of the conditions of the peace treaty was the execution of Jahāṅgīr Khān, the Berār minister, who had so nobly fought for the cause of Ahmadnagar. The wretched and faithless Husain agreed to the condition, arrested Jahāṅgīr Khān and put him to death. Daryā Imād Śāh, who had, by his folly, put himself entirely in the power of Husain Nizām Śāh, by agreeing to help him, could do nothing to prevent the death of his minister. Disgusted, he left his ally's camp and returned to Berār. From this time, the interests of

**CHAPTER 6. The Imadshahi of Berar.**

Ahmadnagar and Berār remained at crossroads until the annexation of Berār by Ahmadnagar in the reign of Murtuzā Nizām Śāh.

**BURHAN IMAD SHAH.**

The confrontation between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpūr was again in the offing. The humiliated Husain Nizām Śāh allied himself with Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh with a view to avenge the insult suffered by him. The armies of both besieged Kalyāṇī. Alī Ādil Śāh and Sadāśivarāyā joined forces and marched to attack the besiegers. Daryā Imād Śāh had died in 1561 and was now succeeded by his son Burhāṇ under the title of Burhāṇ Imād Śāh. He, being a minor, the affairs of Berār were looked after by Tufāl Khān, a minister of the Kingdom[1]. The Berārīs were smarting under the sorrow of the death of their minister Jahāṅgīr Khān. They did not lose this opportunity to join the enemies of Husain Nizām Śāh. The armies of Berār and Bidar, therefore, marched to join the combined forces of Bijāpūr and Vijayanagar. This alliance proved too strong for Husain and his ally and they were forced to raise the siege of Kalyāṇī. Husain and his ally were completely defeated. Only the approach of the rainy season of 1563 could save them from total disaster.

Then followed the famous confederacy, though short lived, of the Muslim states of Bijāpūr, Ahmadnagar, Bidar and Golconḍā against Vijayanagar. Overtures were made to Berār. The Berārīs refused to join the confederacy and informed that they would have none of it so long as Husain Nizām Śāh, the murderer of Jahāṅgīr was associated with it. The battle of Tāḷikoṭā need not detain us as Berār remained completely aloof in the conflict. Berār, however, could not escape the consequences of the defeat of Vijayanagar in the battle of Tāḷikoṭā. The destruction of the Vijayanagar empire left only two powerful Kingdoms in the Deccan, *viz.*, Bijāpūr and Ahmadnagar. The eastward expansion of Bijāpūr and northward expansion of Ahmadnagar became inevitable. The first to fall to the aggrandisement of these two Kingdoms was Berār which Ahmadnagar annexed in 1574.

Husain Nizām Śāh died in 1565. He was succeeded by his son Murtazā Nizām Śāh. In the following year Alī Ādil Śāh and Murtazā Nizām Śāh formed an alliance to punish Tufāl Khān for his neutrality in the war with Vijayanagar. They invaded the kingdom of Berār advancing as far as Ellicpūr and plundering and laying waste all that came their way. This expedition had been undertaken at the express intention of Ahmadnagar. Though it persisted in its own aggrandisement, Bijāpūr did not tolerate any expansionist activities of its ally.

[1] This enterprising minister united in his person the grand requisites for successful ambition, viz., undaunted courage and consummate art. His power advanced so rapidly after his usurpation; that the kings of Ahmudnuggur and Beejapoor were induced to seek his destruction and marched their united forces against him.

(Briggs's Ferishta, Vol. III, p. 492).

Tufāl Khān, now rendered helpless, fell back upon the fort of Gavīl. He opened secret negotiations with Alī Ādil Śāh. He informed Alī Ādil that if the latter would retire to his country by deserting Murtazā Nizām Śāh, he would pay to Alī Ādil 50 elephants and the equivalent of 40,000 *hons* in cash as tribute. Alī Ādil fell to this bait and on the pretext of the approach of the rainy season, abandoned the combined operations against Tufāl Khān. He then retired to his own country.

The next few years saw the embroilment of both Bijāpūr and Ahmadnagar with the Portuguese and the crushing defeats inflicted upon them by the latter. These Muslim states proved weak in the face of a tougher and stronger opposition. Now once again they were free to fight among themselves and terrorise their small neighbours. There was neither political expediency nor tact in the treaty concluded by Alī Ādil and Murtazā in 1572. It was decided that Ahmadnagar should annex Berār and Bidar, while Bijāpūr should annex territory in Karnāṭak equivalent to that of Berār and Bidar. Even in this act of aggrandisement their mutual jealousies did not end, and both took care to insert certain conditions in the treaty of annexation. As agreed to in the terms of the treaty, Murtazā Nizām Śāh sent an envoy to Tufāl Khān demanding the restoration of powers to Burhān Imād Śāh who had now come of age. Tufāl Khān consulted his son, Samśer-ul-mulk, about the steps to be taken. Samśer-ul-mulk told his father that Murtazā Nizām Śāh had no right to interfere in the internal affairs of Berār. He also said that the intention of Murtazā Nizām Śāh was to invade Berār and annex it. He, therefore, advised Tufāl Khān to dismiss the envoy of Ahmadnagar without appearing to reject the demand. The envoy Mullā Haidar Kāśī, returned and reported what had passed between himself and Tufāl Khān to Murtazā Nizām Śāh. Even when he had sent an envoy to Tufāl Khān, Murtazā invaded the Kingdom of Berār with a huge force. He now began a full scale occupation of Berār and distributed the territory of that Kingdom among his nobles. Tufāl Khān found himself alone in his confrontation with his powerful enemy. He made feeble approaches to Alī Barīd Śāh by personally going to Bidar. Alī Barīd who was equally threatened by the treaty between Bijāpūr and Ahmadnagar refused to co-operate with Tufāl Khān. This forced Tufāl Khān to retire and fight alone with Murtazā Nizām Śāh. An action was fought between the army of Ahmadnagar and a contingent of Berār army under Samśer-ul-mulk in the neighbourhood of Bidar. The day ended indecisively. Tufāl Khān, however, did not risk a general engagement. He retreated towards Māhūr. Murtazā Nizām Śāh himself entered the field in pursuit of Tufāl Khān. He overtook Tufāl Khān at the village of Metapūr. The armies of both Berār and Ahmadnagar attacked each other. The battle soon became general. It continued for the whole day and lasted till late in the evening. Thoroughly exhausted, both the armies returned to their respective camps. Tufāl Khān, however, withdrew from the battlefield to a

**CHAPTER 6.**

**The Imadshahi of Berar.**

**BURHAN IMAD SHAH.**

distance of 20 *farsangs*. No trace of him could be found by the commander of the Nizāmśāhī army, Qizal Bāśkhān who had been sent in pursuit of Tufāl Khān. During the campaign against Berār, Murtazā received reinforcement from unexpected quarters which further strengthened his hands. At that time Akbar had annexed the Kingdom of Gujarāt. The cousins of Akbar, the Mirzās, who had migrated to Gujarāt had rebelled. The rebellion of the Mirzās was suppressed by Akbar. The defeated Mirzās had fled Gujarāt. Many of them took refuge with Murtazā Nizām Śāh who willingly accepted them in his service.

As related above, when no trace of Tufāl Khān could be found, Murtazā dispatched a few of his nobles to reduce the fort of Māhūr. He himself marched in pursuit of Tufāl Khān, his camp always remaining one march distance behind his advanced guard. One such contingent of the advanced guards was commanded by Khudāvand Khān and Rustam Khān. Tufāl Khān who kept himself completely informed of their movements sent his son to attack the Nizāmśāhī nobles. He surprised them while they were relaxing in the camp and completely routed them. Rustam Khān was killed and the entire camp was looted by Samśer-ul-mulk. Murtazā hurried up to the scene of battle and regrouping his forces continued the pursuit of Tufāl Khān. Tufāl Khān had now reached the borders of the Kingdom of Khāndeś. He sought asylum with Mirān Muhammad of Khāndeś. On receiving a threatening communication from Murtazā, Mirān Muhammad turned Tufāl Khān away from the borders of his kingdom. In desperation Tufāl Khān retired from Khāndeś and took refuge in the fort of Narnāḷā while his son fled to the fort of Gāvīl. Murtazā invested the fort of Narnāḷā. He sent his officers Khānzamān, Mali Khān, Bahrām Khān and Bahādur Khān to invest the fort of Gāvīl. Murtazā had put Asad Khān, his *Vazir* in command of the siege operations at Narnāḷā. He cleared the surroundings of the fort and raised battery positions to bombard the fort walls. The siege of Narnāḷā was prolonged for well over a year. The fort garrison grimly held on. An attempt by Murtazā to surprise the fort by treachery failed due to the alertness of the fort garrison. Murtazā now decided to launch an allout attack on the fort. Heavy preparations were made and the attack began in April 1574 with continuous bombardment. Tufāl Khān counterattacked the advancing troops of Murtazā Nizām Śāh. The attacks were repulsed. The Nizāmśāhī army succeeded in capturing the entrances. It then rushed into the fort from all sides. The resistance of the garrison came to an end. Tufāl Khān with a few of his followers fled the fort. Sayyad Husain Jarjānī, *Sarnobat*, was dispatched in pursuit of Tufāl Khān. Tufāl Khān was overtaken by Jarjānī in a village in Berār and brought before Murtazā Nizām Śāh. The news of the fall of Narnāḷā and of the imprisonment of Tufāl Khān was received with

dismay by Samśer-ul-mulk in the fort of Gāvīl. Murtazā advanced from Narnāḷā to Gāvīl. On the approach of the Nizāmśāhī army, the fort garrison lost heart, put Samśer-ul-mulk under arrest and handed over the keys of the fort to Murtazā Nizām Śāh. Tufāl Khān, Samśer-ul-mulk, Tufāl Khān's another son, Burhān Imād Śāh and all the other members of the Imādśāhī family were sent in confinement to the prison fort of Lohogaḍ. They died shortly afterwards in the fort. It was said that they were poisoned under the orders of Murtazā Nizām Śāh. Thus came to an end the career of the Imādśāhī family. Berār became a part of Ahmadnagar Kingdom and remained so till 1596 when it was ceded to the Moghals.

सत्यमेव जयते

# CHAPTER 7—THE QUTBSHAHI OF GOLCONDA* AND THE BARIDSHAHI OF BIDAR @



OF THE FIVE SUCCESSION STATES OF THE BAHAMANI KINGDOM, *viz.*, Ahmadnagar, Bijāpūr, Berār, Bidar and Golconḍa, Bidar and Golconḍā delayed the declaration of their independence. It is proposed in this chapter to give a brief description of the political history of these two Kingdoms from their inception till 1600 when the Moghals invaded the Deccan on a large scale. Their subsequent history merges with that of the history of the Moghal Deccan. However, a detailed treatment of the political history of these two dynasties for the study of the mediaeval history of Mahārāṣṭra is unnecessary for more than one reason. In the first instance, Golconḍā did not rule any part of the territory of Mahārāṣṭra in the mediaeval period. The rule of the Barīdśāhīs of Bidar covered roughly the present District of Nāndeḍ and a part of the District of Osmānābād. Secondly as compared to the dynasties of Ahmadnagar and Bijāpūr which between themselves covered more than ¾ of Mahārāṣṭra under their administrative control the dynasties of Golconḍā and Bidar played relatively a subordinate role. Thirdly and lastly the Kingdom of Bidar, after the humiliating treatment meted out to Amir Ali Barīd by Ādil Śāh, practically ceased to exist as an independent state. It continued as the vassal of Bijāpūr. This does not, however, lessen the importance of these two

*Sooltan Koolly is said to be descended from the tribe of Baharloo Toorkmans, of the Ally Shukur persuasion. Some of his courtiers have asserted that he was grandson to Meerza Jehan Shah of Persia; but I have no good authority for supporting this opinion. It is related that he was born at Humadan, and that in the end of the reign of Mahomed Shah Bahmuny he arrived in the Deccan, in the prime of youth. As that monarch retained a large train of Toorks in his body-guard, he was admitted as one of the numbers. Having received an excellent education, he was subsequently appointed to the situation of secretary in one of the public offices. Shortly after, complaints arriving at court that the inhabitants and petty land-holders of Tulingana refused to pay the revenues, and had rebelled, the King resolved to send an officer with a force into that country; but Sooltan Koolly volunteered to go without troops, and to bring matters to a favourable conclusion. He was accordingly appointed to the duty, and succeeded so completely, that in a short time he recovered many small districts which had been usurped by the Hindoos

(Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, pp. 321-22).

@ Kasim Bereed Toork was brought by Khwaja as a Georgian slave to Sooltan Mahomed Shah *Lushkurry* Bahmuny, by whom he was admitted among the Georgian attendants of that monarch. In his reign he distinguished himself by his bravery against the rebel Marrattas residing between Peitun and Chakun, whom he was deputed to reduce. One action in particular took place, in which Kasim Bereed was victorious, and having slain Sabajee Marratta, the King gave the deceased chief's daughter in marriage to Kasim Bereed's son, Ameer Bereed, as a reward for his services. Sabajee's territory was also conferred on him.

(Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol III. pp. 495-96).

CHAPTER 7.

**The Qutbshahi of Golconda and the Baridshahi of Bidar.**

dynasties in the mediaeval history of Mahārāṣṭra. They were associated in all the offensive and defensive wars fought on the territory of Mahārāṣṭra during the mediaeval period.

We first hear of Qāsim entitled *Barīd-ul-mamālik* at the time of the coronation of Śihābuddin Mahmūd Bahamanī after the death of Muhammad III. He was a Turk. For selfish reasons he allied himself to the faction headed by *Malik Nāib Nizām-ul-mulk*. The coronation of the *Sultān* was followed by a ruthless massacre of the foreigners in Bidar leaving *Nizām-ul-mulk* in supreme command. For the help rendered by Qāsim to *Nizām-ul-mulk*, he was made the *Kotvāl* of the city of Bidar. *Nizām-ul-mulk*, Qāsim Barīd and *Imād-ul-mulk* formed the triumvirate and carried on the administration of the kingdom for four years. Vexed at the restrictions imposed upon him, Mahmūd was soon seen plotting against the three with the help of Dilāvar Khān Habśī. The conspiracy, however, came to light and the triumvirate was broken. *Imād-ul-mulk* left Bidar, disgusted with the atmosphere of intrigues. Some time after this, *Nizām-ul-mulk* marched to Telaṅgaṇa to suppress the rebellion of *Kivām-ul-mulk*, the younger. Qāsim Barīd and Dastur Dinār entered into conspiracy against him. They secured an order from the *Sultān* or putting the minister to death. The unfortunate ministe was executed by one of his own partisans, Dilapasand Khān at Bidar. Qāsim Barīd now became the lieutenant of the Kingdom. Qāsim paid scant respect to the wishes of the *Sultān*. He now decided to seize the government of the region about the capital and subdue the fortresses held by different officers. He succeeded in inflicting several defeats upon royal troops. The *Sultān* sent Dilāvar Khān Habśī against him. When Qāsim Barīd was on the point of being defeated, a mad elephant rushed on Dilāvar, killing him and turning defeat into victory. Qāsim Barīd returned to Bidar and forced the *Sultān* to appoint him prime minister and grant him Daulatābād and Bālāghāṭ as *Jāgir*. Some writers date the foundation of the Barīd Śāhī dynasty from this year. Though Qāsim Barīd had not the capacity to execute his plans he tried to assert his supremacy by subdueing the so called provincial governors by setting them against each other. He first incited the regent of Vijayanagar, Śāluva Timma, against Yusuf Ādil of Bijāpūr and induced Malik Ahmad and Khvājā Jahān of Pareṇḍā to join him in an attack against Yusuf Ādil. Ahmad refused to take part and Yusuf Ādil in an action fought near Gulburgā defeated Qāsim Barīd and Khvājā Jahān. In 1493-1494 Bahādur Gilānī rose in rebellion at Goā and attacked ships belonging to the *Sultān* of Gujarāt, Mahmūd Śāh Begāḍā. The *Sultān* now ordered the provincial governors to send forces to suppress the rebellion of Bahādur Gilānī. In one of the actions fought near Jamkhiṇḍi, *Qutb-ul-mulk* Dakhanī, the governor of Telaṅgaṇa was killed. His title along with the fiefs enjoyed by him were conferred on Sultān Qulī, *alias* Khavās Khān. Sultān Qulī was the founder of the Qutb Śāhī dynasty of Golconḍā.

With *Qutb-ul-mulk* in command, the royal army gained a series of victories against Bahādur Gilānī. Bahādur Gilānī now offered to negotiate but Qāsim Barīd who saw in him a possible rival to Yusuf Ādil, offered such favourable terms that Bahādur Gilānī refused to surrender, and marched towards the fort of Panhāḷā. *Qutb-ul-mulk* was sent to cut off the retreat of Bahādur Gilānī to Panhāḷā. Bahādur met *Qutb-ul-mulk* with a force composed of 2,000 Gilānī, Māzenderāṇī, Irāqī and Khurāsānī cavalry and 15,000 infantry but was defeated and slain in the battlefield. On the death of Bahādur Gilānī, Qāsim Barīd and the *Sultān* visited the port of Dābhol. On the advice of Qāsim Barīd the *Jāgirs* of the late Bahādur Gilānī were conferred on *Ain-ul-mulk* Kanānī by the *Sultān*. Similarly Dastur Dinār was transferred to Gulburgā and his possessions of western Telaṅgaṇa were transferred to *Qutb-ul-mulk*. Dastur Dinār did not like the change and rebelled. Qāsim Barīd, enlisting the aid of Yusuf Ādil, defeated Dastur Dinār. Dastur Dinār was sentenced to death but was immediately pardoned and restored to his fiefs in Gulburgā. Yusuf Ādil could not reconcile himself to the imposition of Dastur Dinār in what he regarded to be his traditional fiefs. In 1497 when the provincial governors had assembled at Bidar to celebrate the betrothal of the infant prince Ahmad to Yusuf Ādil's daughter, civil strife, which had become the salient feature of life in Bidar broke out. Qāsim Barīd now allied with Dastur Dinār, against Yusuf Ādil and *Qutb-ul-mulk*. But the latter defeated the former. Qāsim Barīd, Dastur Dinār and Khvājā Jahān fled to Āḷand. Being pursued by Yusuf Ādil they fled to Ausā. Yusuf Ādil, having obtained from the *Sultān* such grants and dignities as he required, left for Bijāpūr. Qāsim Barīd again returned to Bidar and resumed his former position. In the following year Yusuf Ādil compelled Dastur Dinār to submit. Dastur Dinār, however, obtained the support of Malik Ahmad and Qāsim Barīd. Yusuf Ādil abandoned his enterprise against Dastur Dinār.

The subsequent rise of *Qutb-ul-mulk* was phenomenal. The *Sultān* conferred upon him the title of *Amir-ul-umrā*. He was raised in rank above all the nobles of Telaṅgaṇa such as Jahāṅgīr Khān, Sañjar Khān and *Qivām-ul-mulk* and the fort of Goḷconḍā was added to his already extensive fiefs. To appease Qāsim Barīd the *Sultān* gave him Ausā and Kandhār. The conduct of Qāsim Barīd now became overbearing. The helpless *Sultān* invited Yusuf Ādil and *Qutb-ul-mulk* to his side. The three invaded Qāsim's *Jāgirs* at Ausā. In the thick of the engagement a large contingent of the royal army went over to Qāsim Barīd. *Qutb-ul-mulk* and Yusuf Ādil thereupon retired to their respective charges. Qāsim rode in state with the *Sultān* back to the capital. Later, Qāsim Barīd, Yusuf Ādil and Malik Ahmad agreed that they should leave the *Sultān* alone but visit the capital once in a year to pay homage to him. The understanding was purely a mask to hide the real intentions of the three and none cared to abide by it.

CHAPTER 7.

**The Qutbshahi of Golconda and the Baridshahi of Bidar.**

The confusion prevailing at Bidar after the death of Mahmūd Gāvān and the subsequent rivalries among the provincial governors had encouraged the Ruler of Vijayanagar, Sāluva Narsiṇha to invade the Bahamanī Kingdom. On the death of Muhammad III he defeated the Bahamanī forces at Kandukur. The king of Orissa, Purṣottam III also attacked the Bahamanī kingdom and occupied the whole of the Godāvarī-Kṛṣṇā region right upto Bezvāḍā. The appointment of *Qutb-ul mulk* to Telaṅgaṇa changed the entire picture. He tried to restore the Bahamanī authority over Waraṅgaḷ, Rāj Koṇḍā, Devarkoṇḍā and Koil Koṇḍā. It appears that in 1503 there was an expedition against Vijayanagar led by the *Sultān* for the occupation of Rāicūr and Mudgal. Yusuf Ādil and *Qutb-ul-mulk* accompanied the *Sultān* who had set out with 5,000 horse and 70,000 infantry. The king of Vijayanagar agreed to a truce, paid the tribute and restored Rāicūr and Mudgal to Yusuf Ādil. In 1504 *Qutb-ul-mulk* defeated the combined forces of Śitab Khān also known as Śitārām the chief of Khammammel and Waraṅgal and Rājā Rāmacandra of Orissā by marching on Waraṅgaḷ. The river Godāvarī was agreed to as the frontier between the Bahamanī Kingdom and Orissā and Elore and Bezvāḍa were ceded to *Qutb-ul-mulk*[1].

It may be mentioned here that during the 1503 campaign against Vijayanagar, Qāsim Barīd was degraded and his charge was handed over to *Khān-i-Jahān*. After the return of the *Sultān* from the campaign, Qāsim contrived the murder of *Khān-i-Jahān* and assumed the prime ministership of the Kingdom. This enraged the provincial governors Yusuf Ādil, *Qutb-ul-mulk* and *Dastur-ul-mamālik*. They marched against Qāsim Barīd, defeated him and put him to flight. The unhappy *Sultān* was at least temporarily restored to his puppet royalty. In 1505 the marriage of prince Ahmad took place and when the *Sultān* was away at Tandur for the celebrations, Qāsim went there and paid homage to the *Sultān*. He then picked up a quarrel with Yusuf Ādil in which *Ain-ul-mulk*, one of Yusuf Ādil's partisans died. Qāsim then straightway proceeded to Bidar and besieged it. When the *Sultān* returned to Bidar, Qāsim again paid him respects and rode with him to the palace. The *Sultān* appointed him *Nāib Bārbek* and entrusted him with the administration of the city of Bidar. In the same year Qāsim Barīd died and was succeeded as prime minister by his son Amir Ali Barīd. During his lifetime Ali Barīd destroyed whatever nominal power the Bahamanī *Sultān* still enjoyed as the head of the State. He realised that he would succeed by being nearer to Bidar than away from it. Never during his lifetime did he loosen his grip upon the rump court of Bidar.

In the following year Yusuf Ādil established the Śiāh sect in his dominions. Mahmūd Śāh Bahamanī, under instructions from Amir Barīd, commanded Alāuddin Imād, Khudāvand

1. This is substantiated by the fact that we find Qutb Shah endowing some villages near Kondapalli and Bezwada for a charitable purpose in 1524.

Khān, Malik Ahmad and *Qutb-ul-mulk* to punish the heretic. Malik Ahmad and *Qutb-ul-mulk* responded. Yusuf Ādil, unable to face the alliance fled to Khāndeś. From there he detached *Qutb-ul-mulk* from the alliance, warning him against the evil designs of Amir Ali Barīd, the fox of the Deccan. He wrote a letter to Mahmūd Śāh but received an insulting reply no doubt dictated by Amir Ali Barīd. Yusuf Ādil thereupon marched with Alāuddin Imād and attacked Mahmūd Śāh and Amir Ali Barīd at Kalam. Amir Ali Barīd was defeated and fled to Berār. In 1510 two great personalities on the political scene of the Deccan, *viz.*, Yusuf Ādil of Bijāpūr, and Malik Ahmad Nizām Śāh of Ahmadnagar died. Sultān Qulī *Qutb-ul-mulk* of Goḷconḍā, unable to maintain any longer the fiction of loyalty to Mahmūd Śāh assumed independence in Telaṅgaṇa (1512). In spite of the death of the principals who shared in the spoils of the Bahamanī kingdom, the rivalry among the various powers of the Deccan continued. Amir Ali Barīd conferred upon Jahāṅgīr Khān, the son of Dastur Dinār, the title of *Dastur-ul-mamālik* and the governorship of Gulburgā. To prevent any possible hostile action by Ismāīl Ādil, he formed an alliance with Qulī Qutb Śāh and Burhāṇ Nizām. Taking Mahmūd Śāh with them the allies invaded Bijāpūr. They were defeated and Mahmūd Śāh was captured. Amir Ali Barīd fled to Bidar. Ismāīl Ādil sent Mahmūd Śāh with an escort of 5,000 cavalry to Bidar. On the approach of Mahmūd Śāh, with the escort, Amir Ali fled to Ausa. Subsequently, with the help of Burhāṇ Nizām, he drove out the cavalry of Bijāpūr and once again resumed the control of government.

The unhappy *Sultān* now sought asylum with Alāuddin Imād by fleeing to Berār. Alāuddin offered Mahmūd assistance and marched with him to Bidar. Amir Barīd secured the assistance of Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh and deployed his forces to oppose Mahmūd Śāh who was marching against Bidar. When the troops were battle ready, Alāuddin sent an urgent dispatch to the *Sultān*. The wretched *Sultān*, who was taking his bath at that time got extremely annoyed with this call for duty. He shamelessly rode to Barīd's camp, forgetting the hand of friendship proferred by Alāuddin Imād Śāh. Alāuddin had no alternative but to retreat. With a view to prevent further such attempts by Mahmūd Śāh, Amir Ali Barīd imprisoned him at Kāmṭhāṇā, a distance of two leagues from the capital.

The last campaign on which Mahmūd Śāh was forced to accompany Amir Ali Barīd was against Śārzā Khān, the son and successor of Khudāvand Khān of Māhūr. Śārzā Khān, attacked and plundered Kandhār, and Udgīr. Amir Ali Barīd, marching against them, slew Sārzā Khān in the field and besieged Ausā. He had, however, to retreat when Alāuddin marched against him. Alāuddin allowed Ghālib Khān, a son of Khudāvand, to succeed as the governor of Māhūr as his vassal and thus brought southern Berār under his control.

**CHAPTER 7.**

**The Qutbshahi of Golconda and the Barid-shahi of Bidar.**

Mahmūd Śāh died in December 1518 and was succeeded by his son Ahmad. Ahmad died three years later. It is said that Amir Ali brought about the death of Ahmad by deliberately leading him into a life of debauchery and venality. Ahmad was under his firm grip and no commoner was allowed even to see the *Sultān*, except perhaps the dancers and musicians. Though he had declared his independence, *Qutb-ul-mulk* used to send considerable tributes to the *Sultān*. When he saw Ali Barīd playing the subtle game of politics at Bidar, he stopped sending the tribute. To seek the pleasure and funs of life Ahmad managed to dispose of the famous crown of the Bahamanīs worth over a million and half rupees. When the news was conveyed to Amir Barīd he flew into a wild rage and killed the persons responsible for the sale. Ahmad who was married to Ismāīl Ādil's sister wrote to his brother-in-law complaining to him of the harsh treatment meted out to him. Ismāīl sent some costly presents to Ahmad. Before they could reach Bidar, the *Sultān* was dead. After considering the possibility of declaring independence for himself, Amir Ali put on the throne, Alāuddin, the son of the deceased *Sultān*. Alāuddin was a spirited lad and desired to free himself from the shackles of bondage of his notorious regent. He detested wine and pleasure. He even called Amir Barīd to his presence and told him of the indulgence of his father in immoral pleasures that had led to his ruin. He reminded Amir Ali Barīd of his personal duties as a king and his desire to participate in the affairs of the state. He asked Amir Ali Barīd either to free him from the humiliating and suffocating presence of his agents or allow him to retire to Mecca. Amir Ali then slightly loosened the restrictions imposed upon Alāuddin. Alāuddin, courageous as he was, was also a foolish one. He formed a plot to assassinate Amir Ali Barīd when on one of his visits to the *Sultān* in the palace, by hiding the assassin behind the throne. As Amir Ali Barīd entered the palace, one of the assassins sneezed. Getting suspicious, Amir Ali Barīd sent his bodyguards to search the apartment. The assassins were found and were cruelly executed. The unfortunate prince was imprisoned and later put to death.

For reasons best known to himself, Amir Ali Barīd still continued the farce of royalty by placing on the throne Walīullāh, the son of Mahmūd Śāh. He was, however, detected by Amir Ali Barīd of plotting against him. Amir Ali Barīd lost no time in imprisoning the hapless king. Amir Ali married the widow of Ahmad Śāh and later cast his covetous eyes upon the Queen, the wife of Walīullah. The Sultān naturally protested. For this he was poisoned in 1526. Amir Ali now placed on the throne Kalīmullāh, the brother of the dead *Sultān*. Kalimullāh was destined to be the last of his line.

Kalīmullāh, who had seen the atrocities perpetrated by Amir Ali Barīd and his villainous nature in cruelly executing two of his brothers, submitted meekly. At that time, Bābar, the founder of the Moghal dynasty had captured Delhi by defeating Ibrāhīm

Lodī on 22 April, 1526. Kalīmullāh foolishly wrote to him to extricate him from his present predicament and restore his entire Kingdom to him. In return, he promised the cession of Berār and Daulatābād to Bābar. No answer was received. Amir Ali Barīd realised the extent to which the wretched prince had gone. Filled with terror at the consequences of his action, Kalimullāh fled first to Bijāpūr and from thence to Ahmadnagar where he died shortly afterwards.

Amir Ali Barīd now declared his independence, and assumed the royal insignia. The tale of the five succession states of the Bahamanī Kingdom was complete.

Henceforward the history of Bidar and Golconḍā is the story of the willing or unwilling association of Bidar and Golconḍā in the endless conflicts among Ahmadnagar, Bijāpūr and Berār.

In 1527 Amir Ali Barid aided Burhān Nizām Śāh of Ahmadnagar in capturing the fortress of Pāthrī which Alāuddin Imād Śāh had taken with the help of Ismāīl Ādil and *Sultān* Qulī Qutb Śāh. The allied armies also took the fortress of Māhūr and ravaged Berār. When *Sultān* Bahādur of Gujarāt was invited by the *Sultāns* of Berār and Khāndeś to help them, Ahmadnagar, Bijāpūr and Bidar formed an alliance amongst themselves. The advance of Bahādur could not be checked and Burhān and Amir Ali Barīd retired to Pareṇḍā. Bahādur retired after inflicting humiliating terms upon Burhān.

In this confrontation, Amir Ali Barīd had tampered with the loyalty of the Bijāpūr troops. To punish him, Ismāīl Ādil marched to Bidar. Amir Ali Barīd was now an old man. He retired and sought the help of Qutb Śāh. Ismāīl, however, defeated the relieving force from Golconḍā. Amir Ali now retreated to Udgīr and appealed to Alāuddin for help. Alāuddin arrived with a force but declined to fight against Ismāīl and interceded on Amir Ali's behalf with him. Ismāīl refused to negotiate till Bidar was surrendered. Frustrated, Amir Ali gave himself up to drink, his army following their master's example. When he was informed of these happenings, Ismāīl sent his general Asad Khān to attack Amir Ali's camp. Amir Ali Barīd was captured, while still under the influence of wine, and taken before Ismāīl Ādil Śāh. Ismāīl Ādil ordered Amir Ali Barīd to be chained and fettered and threatened him with death if Bidar was not given up. Amir Ali Barīd sent a message to his sons, who held Bidar, to surrender the city. They rejected the demand for surrender of Bidar, in their official reply. Secretly they informed Amir Ali Barīd that if all other means failed, they would, to save his life, surrender Bidar. When Amir Ali Barīd was on the point of being trampled to death under the feet of an elephant, the city was surrendered. After the sons of Amir Ali Barīd had left Bidar, Ismāīl Ādil entered the capital and sat on the famous turquoise throne of the Bahamanīs. Amir Ali Barīd was made a noble of the kingdom. He promised to aid Ādil Śāh in recovering the Rāicūr *doab*, and later, Māhūr and Pāthrī for Alāuddin Imād Śāh.

CHAPTER 7.

**The Qutbshahi of Golconda and the Barid-shahi of Bidar.**

The following episode would reveal the extent to which the *Sultāns* would go and humiliate one of their kith and kin. The episode relates to Amir Ali Barīd. Soon after the surrender of Bidar, Ismāīl reduced Rāicūr and Mudgal. To celebrate the event, Ismāīl, Alāuddin and Asad Khān Lārī indulged in a drinking bout and on the suggestion of Alāuddin and Lārī, Amir Ali Barīd was invited to join the group. When he entered, Ismāīl uttered in Arabic a verse from the *Qorāṇ* meaning 'their dog, the fourth of them'. This unbecoming joke invited a peel of laughter from Alāuddin and Lārī. Amir Ali Barīd could not understand Arabic. But he knew that he was the poor victim of the joke. He wept in humiliation and resentment. Perhaps the picture of the humiliated and distressed Amir softened the arrogance of Ismāīl who promised to restore Bidar to Amir Ali. This was done after some time on condition that Amir Ali Barīd would cede Kalyāṇī and Kandhār to Bijāpūr. Later, Ismāīl demanded the cession of these two places from Amir Ali Barīd. Amir Ali Barīd sought the help of Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh but the allies were defeated at Naldurg. Bijāpūr and Ahmadnagar soon came to terms and in 1532 entered into an understanding. This provided for the annexation of Berār by Ahmadnagar and of Golconḍā by Bijāpūr. Bidar was already claimed by Bijāpūr.

In pursuance of this treaty, Ismāīl Ādil and Amir Ali marched and besieged Nalgunda, about 60 miles south of Golconḍā. A relieving force sent by Qutb Śāh was defeated. However, the campaign had to be abandoned due to the sickness and subsequent death of Ismāīl Ādil Śāh.

In 1540 Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh, who now professed the *Śiāh* faith, declared war on Bijāpūr. Taking Amir Ali Barīd with him he marched to Pareṇḍā, annexed Śolāpūr and advanced towards Belgāṅv. Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh, who had succeeded Ismāīl Ādil Śāh, getting suspicious of his general Asad Khān, fled Bijāpūr.[1]

[1] Following is an account of the attack by Ibrahim Adil Shah upon the kingdom of Golconda immediately after accession.

Subsequent to the death of Ismael Adil Shah, his elder son Mulloo was proclaimed King; but shortly afterwards the minister, Assud Khan Lary, conspired against him, and in conjunction with his younger brother, the Prince Ibrahim, dethroned Mulloo, put out his eyes, and raised Ibrahim to the throne under the title of Ibrahim Adil Shah. While Sooltan Koolly was engaged in the siege of Koheer, Ibrahim Adil Shah, in conjunction with Kasim Bereed, had attacked part of the Tulingana territories; and Sooltan Koolly, having now returned to his capital, resolved to revenge himself for the insult and injury done to him. He accordingly led an army against the fort of Etgeer, belonging to the King of Beejapoor, and also sent different detachments to recover the districts of Kakny, Gorowly, and Nargy, which had been usurped by Ismael Adil Shah during the time Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah was engaged in war with Ramchundur and Seetaputty. The several detachments in a short time succeeded in reducing those districts, and occupied them in the name of Sooltan Koolly; after which the King invested the fortress of Etgeer, and at the same time sent an ambassador to Kasim Bereed Shah, demanding the cession of the towns of Meduk and Kowlas. Kasim Bereed Shah, aware that he could not resist the forces of Sooltan Kolly, deputed an ambassador to Boorhan Nizam Shah, of Ahmudnugur, begging him to ward off the impending blow. Boorhan Nizam Shah, who was engaged in a war with Ibrahim Adil Shah concerning the district of Sholapoor, was glad of the opportunity of opening a negotiation with Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah, whose favour he wished to conciliate. He accordingly deputed his minister, Shah Tahir, to the Kootb Shahy camp; and it was stipulated that

Burhān and Amir Ali then marched towards Bijāpūr. They sacked and plundered the city. They then left the city in pursuit of Ibrāhīm Ādil. On their way to Gulburgā, Asad Khān deserted them. Ibrāhīm Ādil who had now sought the assistance of Daryā Imād Śāh of Berār[1], (who had succeeded his father Alāuddin Imād Śāh) defeated Burhān and Amir Ali Barīd. Burhān and Amir Ali retired towards Bīḍ. Being closely

*contd.*

Kasim Bereed Shah should deliver up the fort of Meduk to Sooltan Koo'ly Kootb Shah, who on his part, was to forgive past injuries. When Shah Tahir reached Golconda, he learned that Sooltan Koolly, in consequence of the rains, had raised the siege of Etgeer, and was on his return to his capital. Shah Tahir was received with all due respect, and he easily procured the signature of the treaty with Kasim Bereed Shah. He also induced Sooltan Koolly to send a force of five thousand to assist Boorhan Nizam Shah in the reduction of the fort of Sholapoor. The ambassador having been presented with twenty thousand *hoons* received his audience of leave.

(Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, pp. 375-76).

[1] Following is an account given by Ferishta about the confrontation between Alauddin Imad Shah and Quli Qutb Shah and other exploits of Sultan Quli Qutb Shah.

During the absence of Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah in his late campaign, his northern districts had been attacked and laid waste by Kowam-ool--Moolk Toork, an officer of the Bahmuny Government, who, during the late convulsions, had rendered himself master of the forts of Elgundel, Mulungoor, and some other districts, and collecting a force of six thousand horse and about ten thousand infantry, invaded the countries of his neighbours.

On the return of Sooltan Koolly, he received accounts of Kowam-ool-Moolk's incursions. He accordingly addressed letters of advice to him, and demanded restitution of the property he had plundered in the Kootb Shahy territories. The ambassadors who waited on Kowam-ool-Moolk were directed to inform him, that their master was sorry to hear what had happened ; and that it was his wish to be on terms of friendship with all his Mahomedan neighbours, since it is written in the *Koran*, that "all the faithful are brethren". Kowam-ool-Moolk, elated with his success in declaring his independence, and despising the power of Sooltan Koolly, shortly afterwards sent his troops again into his territories to plunder. Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah could no longer restrain his rage, and immediately ordered his army into the field, and marched towards Elgundel. He was met by Kowam-ool-Moolk at the distance of one day's march from that place at the head of his army. On the following day an action ensued, which lasted from dawn till noon, when the King charged in person, at the head of two thousand cavalry, and defeated Kowam-ool-Moolk, who fled in confusion, and threw himself into the fort of Elgundel. To this place the King proceeded, and invested it ; but Kowam-ool-Moolk, finding himself unable to contend with his enemy, fled to Berar, and solicited assistance from Alla-ood-Deen Imad Shah. Elgundel, shortly after, fell into the hands of the King, and many of the Mahomedan troops of Kowam-ool-Moolk entered his service. Having now occupied the forts of Elgundel and Mulungoor with his own soldiers, the King returned to his capital.

Kowam-ool-Moolk, who had fled to Berar, persuaded Alla-ood-Deen Imad Shah to espouse his cause, and to march to recover his country. When Kootb Shah heard of this movement, he sent an ambassador to that monarch, relating the obstinacy of Kowam-ool-Moolk, and reminding him, also, that the Imad Shahy troops had lately usurped the country of the seven *tuppas*, which the late Mahmood Shah Bahmuny had bestowed upon Sooltan Koolly ; he, therefore, demanded the restitution of the seven *tuppas*, and required, also, that Imad Shah should not give protection to Kowam-ool-Moolk within his territories.

Alla-ood-Deen Imad Shah, however, so far from yielding to any of the above demands, sent back an answer full of indignation, which induced Sooltan Koolly to march with his army towards his dominions ; and Imad Shah moved from Elichpoor, and opposed the Kootb Shahy troops near the fortress of Ramgeer. On the day following an action ensued ,which lasted till the afternoon. The Imad Shahy army outflanked Sooltan Koolly's which was in the act of giving way on all sides, when he, as usual charged through the centre of his own army with the reserve of two thousand cavalry in armour, broke the enemy's line, and completely defeated them. Alla-ood-Deen Imad Shah fled to Berar, and Sooltan Koolly directed his army to occupy the district of the seven *tuppas* ; after which he returned to Golconda. Here he heard that Seetaputty, the *Raja* of Cumamett, had presumed to lay hands on some of the Kootb Shahy districts which lay contiguous to his country.

**CHAPTER 7.**

**The Qutbshahi of Golconda and the Barid-shahi of Bidar.**

pursued they took to the hills above Daulatābād. There Amir Ali Barīd and Burhān were forced to purchase peace with Ibrāhīm Ādil by the retrocession of Śolāpūr. Ali Barīd now succeeded his father Amir Ali Barīd under the title of Ali Barīd Śāh (1542).

---

*contd.*

This *raja* possessed the strong forts of Cumamett, Belumconda, Wurungole, and others, and had in his service twelve thousand infantry, noted as good marksmen. The King in the first place, marched against Belumconda, which he closely invested. The siege lasted a considerable time , till at length the King determined to make an attempt to take it by escalade, which he effected by a general assault on all sides at once, in which effort, after losing many men, he at length succeeded.

When Seetaputty heard of the capture of Belumconda, which he considered as impregnable, he immediately marched with an army to oppose the King in the field, who also prepared to receive him. The two armies met, and a battle was fought, wherein the Mahomedans lost many brave officers and soldiers from the well-directed fire of the enemy's infantry, which withstood several charges of the Mahomedan cavalry; but they were at length broken, and fled, leaving Sooltan Koolly in possession of all the Raja's treasures and heavy baggage; after which the King returned to Golconda.

Seetaputty, subsequently to his defeat, fled to Cumamett, and despatched messages to the neighbouring *rajas*, such as those of Condapilly, Indraconda, Warapully, and Etgeer inviting them to form a confederacy against Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah, who had already reduced the greatest part of Tulingana, and was every day gaining such ground that in a short time no Hindu chiefs would remain to oppose his ambitious views. The *rajas* all united accordingly, and formed a rendezvous at Gumamett. When Sooltan Koolly heard of this league, he marched to oppose them; and a sanguinary action ensued in the neighbourhood of that place, when the Mahomedans, as usual, gained the victory; and the *Raja* Seetaputty fled, and took protection with Ramchundur Dew. The Mahomedan forces took possession of Condapilly, Indraconda, and Etgeer, while the King proceeded to reduce Cumamett, then one of the strongest forts in Tulingana; but as he was unwilling to spill human blood wantonly, he sent a message to the commandant of the place, informing him of the defeat of his master, and requiring him to surrender the fort to the Mahomedans which he refused to do. Several unsuccessful attacks were made in consequence, in which the Mahomedans lost many men; till at length the King resolved, at the last resource, to make a general assault on all sides at once. Sooltan Koolly led the principal attack in person; the Mahomedans, covering their heads with their shields, and being well supplied with scaling ladders, rushed on simultaneously, and, although their loss was severe, they succeeded in gaining the ramparts, and drove the garrison before them. On this occasion they gave no quarter, killing every man, woman and child in the place, excepting the females of the family of Seetaputty, who were reserved for the King's seraglio.

When Seetaputty was defeated he fled, as before related, to Raja Ramchundur, the son of Gujputty, who held his court at Condapilly, and who was king of the land and the sea-coast of Tulingana and Orissa, as far as the confines of Bengal. Seetaputty had represented to him that Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah had, by his persecution, at length succeeded in expelling him from his country, that he had now subdued almost the whole of Tulingana, and that his next step would be to invade the country of Ramchundur, which lay contiguous to his own. *Guja* Ramchundur, convinced of the truth of these observations and relying on the numerous forces he could bring into the field, wrote orders to his adherents to repair with their respective armies to Condapilly, where he collected a host of three hundred thousand foot, and thirty thousand horse, all bearing lances, accompanied by Seetaputty, Vidiadry, and Hurry Chundur, as well as other *rajas* of note. These, having sworn to stand by each other, marched to attack Sooltan Koolly, he prepared to oppose them with only five thousand horse, and met them at the river near Palunchinoor.

The Hindoos drew up their forces on the next day into the following order :—

*Guja* Ramchundur, with ten thousand horse, one hundred thousand foot, and three hundred elephants, in the centre.

On the right his nephew Vidiadry, with ten thousand horse, one hundred thousand foot, and two hundred elephants.

On the left Hurry Chundur, with Seetaputty, in the command of ten thousand horse, one hundred thousand foot, and two hundred elephants :—the whole of the elephants bearing several men with bows and arrows.

Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah, in spite of the disparity of numbers, determined to give the Hindoos battle. He placed his son, Heidur Khan, with fifteen hundred horse, on the right, and Futtehy Khan, with an equal number, on the left, himself

*Sultān* Qulī Qutb Śāh, the veteran of many distinguished battles, had outlived all his colleagues, the founders of the dynasties of Bijāpūr, Ahmadnagar, Berār and Bidar. He had reached the ripe age of ninety-eight. His son Jamśīd who expected to succeed him could no longer wait and had his father murdered in September, 1543. He ascended the throne under the title of Jamśīd Qutb Śāh. Burhāṇ now persuaded Jamśīd to revive the treaty which his father *Sultān* Qulī had entered into with Burhāṇ. They formed an alliance to invade Bijāpūr and invited Sadāśivrāyā, the *Rājā* of Vijayanagar, to join them. Ali Barīd too became a party to the alliance. Bijāpūr was invaded. Jamśīd, occupying Gulburgā, besieged Hippargi. Ali Barīd Śāh besieged Śolāpūr. Ibrāhīm, however, succeeded in gaining over Sadāśivarāyā and Burhāṇ, and dealt severely with Jamśīd, defeating and driving him to the very gates of Golconḍā[1].

---

*contd.*

taking post in the centre with two thousand horse. According to custom he dismounted in front of the army and going down on his knees, suplicated the great Disposer of events to give up the host of the infidels into the hands of the faithful; after which he mounted, and charged the enemy, driving the affrighted Hindoos before him like sheep. The *Raja* Ramchundur was taken prisoner, and his nephew Vidiadry killed by the prince Heidur Khan's own hand; the capture, also, of all the enemy's elephants and treasures, as well as of *Raja* Ramchundur, ensured to the King the whole of the country as far as the sea-coast. From thence he proceeded to Condapilly, which he reduced; and afterwards went to Ellore and Rajmundry, in the former of which places many Hindoos were slain. Upon the arrival of the Mahomedan forces at Rajmundry, they encamped on the banks of the Godavery, where the King received intimation that the enemy had assembled in great numbers in the woods and hills with the intention of attacking him by night. The King accordingly detached his generals, Futtehy Khan and Roostoom Khan, to watch their motions, and to endeavour to cut them off. The two parties engaged, and the Hindoos, after they had lost two thousand men, fled to the forests, leaving the Mahomedans in possession of the field of action.

Vusnad (properly Veija Nat) Dew, commonly called Gujputty, who possessed the countries of Bengal along the sea-coast as far as the confines of Tulingana, hearing of the discomfiture of *Raja* Ramchundur, sent ambassadors to Sooltan Koolly. A treaty was forthwith concluded, by which it was agreed that the river Godavery should be the boundary between the Mahomedan kingdom of Tulingana and the Hindoo territory of Orissa; after which the seals of the King and Vusnad Dew were affixed, and the district of Ellore was made over to the Mahomedans.

(Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, pp. 358—64.)

[1] Following is the account given by Ferishta in this context.

Sometime after, a war breaking out between the Adil Shahy and Nizam Shahy sovereigns, Jumsheed Kootb Shah collected his forces in support of the latter, and marched to Kakny, where he built a strong fort. Adil Shah, being fully engaged at that moment in opposing the united forces of Ramraj and Boorhan Nizam Shah, could not spare troops to oppose Kootb Shah, so that the latter monarch marched from Kakny to the fort of Etgeer, which he invested; but in the mean time, Ibrahim Adil Shah having concluded a peace with his other enemies, Assud Khan Lary was detached with a considerable force to raise the siege of Etgeer. Jumsheed Kootb Shah now wrote to Boorhan Nizam Shah, stating, that he had only acted in concert with him and Ramraj, and upbraided him for making peace without consulting him or advising him of the transaction. Boorhan Nizam Shah said, that he had only done so as a temporary measure of policy; and recommended Jumsheed Kootb Shah to keep a good garrison in Kakny, promising that after the rains he would act in concert in attacking the Adil Shahy territory, and would occupy all the country east of the Beema. He proposed that Etgeer, Sagur, and Koolburga, should belong to Kootb Shah, and Nuldoorg and Sholapoor to Nizam Shah. Jumsheed Kootb Shah, aware of the intriguing character of his ally, not only retained Kakny, but laid closer siege to Etgeer. The Beejapoor general, in the first instance, attacked and carried by storm the fort of Kakny, after a siege of three months, putting the whole garrison to the sword, and from thence proceeded by forced marches to Etgeer. On his approach, Jumsheed Kootb Shah raised the siege and retreated to his own

**CHAPTER 7.**

**The Qutbshahi of Golconda and the Barid-shahi of Bidar.**

Burhāṇ tried to renew the confederacy[1]. This time Ali Barīd Śāh refused to join. He insulted Burhāṇ's envoy, Śāh Tāhir, who had gone to Bidar on that mission. Burhāṇ attacked the kingdom of Bidar and reduced the fortresses of Ausā, Udgīr and Kandhār[2]. At this time a plot was hatched to depose Ibrāhīm

*contd.*

territories, pursued by Assud Khan, the Beejapoor general, who in several actions which took place was always victorious.

(Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, pp. 325-26).

1. Following is an account of the confrontation between Bidar and Golconda as given by Ferishta.

After the departure of Kasim Bereed Shah from Golconda, and on the near approach of Boorhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnuggur Jumsheed Kootb Shah, relieved from all apprehensions for his capital, marched to meet his ally. Boorhan Nizam Shah offered to confer the royal insignia on Jumsheed, and to crown him in due form ; but the latter declined the ceremony, by saying that if he could not maintain his right to the crown in the field he was unworthy of wearing it. After this, Boorhan Nizam Shah having induced Jumsheed Kootb Shah to unite with him and Alla-ood-Deen Imad Shah against the King of Beejapoor, the allied armies marched to reduce the fortress of Sholapoor. When Ibrahim Adil Shah heard of this attack, he moved, accompanied by Kasim Bereed Shah, towards Purenda, on the Nizam Shahy frontier, in order to create a diversion, as he was unable to cope with the three confederate armies. On his arrival, he laid siege to that fortress. This measure had the desired effect of withdrawing the allies from Sholapoor, and causing them to march to Purenda. Ibrahim Adil Shah, hearing of this movement attacked them unexpectedly at the village of Khaspoor, where a bloody action ensued, in which Jumsheed Kootb Shah distinguished himself greatly. The King of Beejapoor was defeated, and abandoned to the confederates all his heavy baggage and camp equipage. Jumsheed Kootb Shah availed himself of this opportunity to take revenge on Kasim Bereed, whom he pursued to the very gates of Bidur, and enriched himself and his troops by the plunder of his enemy, after which he returned direct to Golconda.

Kasim Bereed Shah, on finding that Jumsheed Kootb Shah had abandoned the confederacy, and gone to his capital, marched with a force of eight thousand cavalry, besides a large body of infantry, to attack him. It was not before Kasim Bereed arrived at Chilkoor, a village situated at four *coss* distant from Golconda, that Jumsheed received any intimation of his approach. Panic struck with this news, he evacuated his capital, leaving a garrison for its defence, while he endeavoured to collect his nobles, who were residing on their different estates. In order to distract the attention of the enemy also, he made a movement towards Bidur, and having reached Kumtana, plundered the surrounding district. The moment Bereed Shah heard of this circumstances he abandoned the siege of Golconda, and retreated to protect his own capital. Jumsheed Kootb Shah met him on his return towards Bidur, with three hundred cavalry, and attacked his camp in the neighbourhood, of Puttuncheroo, which ended in the two kings mutually agreeing to retire to their respective capitals. On Jumsheed Kootb Shah's arrival at Golconda, he spent some time in raising money, and in collecting troops from all quarters ,when he again marched towards Bidur. On reaching Kowlas, he dispersed his army to plunder and to lay waste the country. Kasim Bereed Shah moved out from Bidur with eight thousand cavalry, besides infantry, to oppose him. Jumsheed Kootb Shah consulted his officers as to his future operations. Jugdew Row Naigwary proposed to take possession of the heights above Kowlas, and fortify them as a depot, from whence it might be easy to prosecute the predatory warfare. Jumsheed Kootb Shah, adopting this advice, left a strong party with Jugdew Row to build the depot, and marched to oppose Kasim Bereed Shah at Narainkehra where an action took place, which terminated in a drawn battle ; and the two armies encamped for some time within sight of each other, till a messenger from Jugdew Row arrived, announcing the completion of the fort, to which place the King proceeded with a small escort. In the meantime, Kasim Bereed Shah falling on the Golconda camp, completely sacked it, and the fugitives joined the King at Kowlas. Kasim Bereed Shah neglecting to follow up his success, retreated to Bidur, while Jumsheed Kootb Shah took quiet possession of the districts of Kowlas, Narainkehra, and Ahsunabad, which were made over in charge to Jugdew Row.

(Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, pp. 382—84).

2. The details about the reduction of these fortresses as given by Ferishta are as under.

During the late war, Jumsheed Kootb Shah had always kept his ally Boorhan Nizam Shah acquainted with the events as they occurred ; and after the defeat of

Ādil. Taking advantage of the disturbed atmosphere in Bijāpūr, Burhāṇ and Jamśīd marched towards that city. But Ibrāhīm succeeded in crushing the plot against him. He forced Burhāṇ and Jamśīd to retire.

In 1547, Burhāṇ again allied with Vijayanagar and on the advice of Sadāśivrāyā, attacked Ali Barīd, besieging Kalyāṇī. In spite of the help from Bijāpūr, Kalyāṇī fell.

Sometime after this, there was a conspiracy at Golconḍā aimed at deposing Jamśīd and putting on the throne his brother Haider. The conspiracy was discovered and Haider fled to Bidar. The *Sultān's* youngest brother Ibrāhīm fled to Sadāśivrāyā, the King of Vijayanagar. In 1550 Jamśīd died and the foreign nobles of his court raised to throne, Subhān Qulī, his son, a boy of two years. But the existence of a strong Deccani party in the court forced the foreigners to alter their decision. Considering that without royal support they might not be able to deal with the Deccanis, they invited Ibrāhīm from Vijayanagar. Ibrāhīm came to Golconḍā and deposing his nephew ascended the throne under the title of Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh.

In 1558 Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh died and Ali, his son, ascended the throne. Ali formed an alliance with Vijayanagar for the recovery of Śolāpūr but his kingdom was attacked by Husain Nizām Śāh who had succeeded Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh, and Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh. However, Ibrāhīm deserted Husain Nizām Śāh. He feared that the destruction of Bijāpūr would serve the interests of Ahmadnagar and would prove detrimental to him. He, therefore, retired to his own Kingdom.

Husain Nizām Śāh, deserted by his ally, sought the assistance of Daryā Imād Śāh. Now Ali Ādil Śāh aided by Sadāśivrāya and Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh invaded the Ahmadnagar Kingdom.

---

*contd.*

his troops, during his absence at Kowlas, he wrote to that monarch informing him of the circumstance, and inviting him to join in the war. Boorhan Nizam Shah, ever ready to avail himself of such an opportunity immediately marched towards Owsa and Oodgeer, informing Jumsheed Kootb Shah that his own troops and those of Berar were on the road to join, and recommended him, in the meantime, to attack such places belonging to the enemy as lay contiguous to his kingdom. Jumsheed Kootb Shah, accordingly, marching by the route of Kowlas, joined the allies while in the act of besieging Owsa. It was now agreed that the siege of Owsa should be continued by the allies, while Jumsheed Kootb Shah should recover the fort of Meduk, of which Kasim Bereed Shah had lately obtained possession. Upon his arrival at Meduk, Jumsheed Kootb Shah closely invested the lower fort, which, after a long siege, he carried by storm, and the governor of the hill-fort surrendered at discretion. Meanwhile the allies were successful in reducing both Owsa and Oodgeer. These events induced Kasim Bereed Shah to apply for assistance to the court of Beejapoor; and Ibrahim Adil Shah despatched Yekhlas Khan with five thousand cavalry to his support. With this reinforcement, Kasim Bereed Shah moved from Bidur to Kowlas. Jumsheed Kootb Shah intercepted him at Narainkehra, and thus disposed his troops. He himself took post in the centre, and gave command of the right wing to Seif Khan *Ein-ool-Moolk*, and the left to Jugdew Row. Kasim Bereed also remained in the centre of his army, placing the Adil Shahy auxiliaries on the right wing, and confiding the left wing to his own brother Khan Jahan. After a long and sanguinary contest, the victory was gained by the gallantry of Seif Khan *Ein-ool-Moolk*, who turned the enemy's left. On this occasion Kasim Bereed Shah lost many of his bravest officers and soldiers, who were either made prisoners or killed. After the action Jumsheed Kootb Shah returned in triumph to Golconda.

(Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, pp. 385-86).

CHAPTER 7.

**The Qutbshahi of Golconda and the Barid-shahi of Bidar.**

Husain was forced to flee to his capital. Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh was again in a quandary. He had foolishly joined Ali Ādil to crush Ahmadnagar. He corresponded with Husain Nizām Śāh and was upbraided for this act by Ali Ādil. Upon this, Ibrāhīm deserted the camp at night and retired hastily to Golconḍā. The war resulted in an abject surrender of Husain Nizām Śāh to the humiliating conditions imposed by Sadāśivrāyā[1].

To avenge his recent defeat he again conspired with Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh. The forces of Ahmadnagar and Golconḍā marched against Kalyāṇī and invested the fort. Ali Ādil and Sadāśivrāyā marched to raise the siege and were joined by the forces of

---

[1] Following is an account of the happenings given by Ferishta.

It appears from history, that shortly after the meeting which took place between Ramraj, Ibrahim Kootb Shah and Ibrahim Adil Shah, at the junction of the Beema and Krishna rivers, the latter monarch, on his return to Beejapoor, died and was succeeded by his son Ally Adil Shah, then a youth. Hoossein Nizam Shah of Ahmudnuggur, taking advantage of the circumstance of his minority, made war upon him, and Ally Adil Shah, unable to defend himself, evacuated his capital; and attended only by a small bodyguard proceeded in person to Beejanuggur to court the alliance of Ramraj, who was induced to march with his whole army, accompanied by Ally Adil Shah, towards Ahmudnuggur. At the same time, these two sovereigns sent a letter to Ibrahim Kootb Shah, calling upon him, in pursuance of the late treaty, to join them. Ibrahim Kootb Shah, however, unwilling to act against Hoossein Nizm Shah considered it politic not to incur the imputation of a breach of the treaty, and, perhaps, draw on himself the vengeance of the allies, whom he accordingly joined at the city of Koolburga, from whence the whole marched to Ahmudnuggur. The Beejanuggur troops laid waste all the towns and villages on their route. Hoossein Nizam Shah, unable to resist their united forces, having left a strong garrison and plenty of provisions in his capital retired to Dowlutabad. In the meantime, Ibrahim Kootb Shah wrote to him privately, informing him of the political necessity which had induced him to join the allies; but at the same time, assured him, that his endeavours should be exerted to assist him, and do all in his power to induce his enemies to retreat, and abandon the war. He also made the same communications to the officer commanding in the fort of Ahmudnuggur, advising him to make every possible resistance, and to hold out till the last. The allies besieged the place with vigour for two months, and the garrison were beginning to lose their spirits, when Ibrahim Kootb Shah, with seasonable donations, bought over some of the principal nobles of Beejanuggur, and induced them to propose the return of the troops to their respective capitals. They represented that the rains were fast approaching; that the army was at a great distance from Beejanuggur; and that if the wet season completely set in, it would be nearly impossible to recross the numerous rivers that lay on the march. Ramraj, convinced of the truth of these remonstrances, consented to retreat; by Ally Adil Shah, who knew that the besieged were suffering for want of provisions, had a conference with Ramraj, and begged him not to think of withdrawing till the place fell, promising to cede to him the district of Indgy if he would only continue the siege for one month longer. Ramraj consented, and the siege was prosecuted with redoubled vigour. Meanwhile Ibrahim Kootb Shah permitted supplies for the garrison and a number of artillery-men from the King at Dowlutabad, to pass through his camp into the place. The approaches of the allies were brought close to the walls; and the speedy reduction of the fort appeared so certain, that Ibrahim Kootb Shah was induced to try, if possible, to avert that extreme evil. He accordingly deputed his minister and commander-in-chief, Moostufa Khan, to wait on Ramraj, and endeavour to persuade him to raise the siege, but at all events to acquaint him, that the Kootb Shahy troops must return immediately to Golconda. Moostufa Khan, in his conference with Ramraj, made use of every argument he could devise in order to gain his end. The scarcity of provisions in the camp, the approach of the rainy season, the advance of the kings of Guzerat and Boorhanpoor, who he stated, had entered into an alliance with Hoossein Nizam Shah, and were collecting their armies to march to his assistance, were all adduced as reasons for that measure. Moostufa Khan also engaged secretly, on the part of the King his master, to cede the fort and district of Condapilly to Ramraj, if he would return to his capital. This last motive was, perhaps, the most weighty; for Ramraj immediately consented to retreat, and sent a message to Ally Adil Shah to that effect, and the three kings repaired to their respective capitals. (Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, pp. 402-05).

Berār and Bidar. Husain raised the siege of Kalyāṇī and marched to meet the combined forces of Bijāpūr, Vijayanagar, Berār and Bidar. He was, however, forced to retire to his camp as he lost his entire train of artillery in marshy lands during his march. More than 600 and odd guns fell into the hands of the enemy. Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh fled the field of battle. The allied armies advanced on Ahmadnagar but suffered heavily in the rains of 1563. Ali Ādil and Sadāśivrāyā returned to their respective Kingdoms.

The growing power of Sadāśivrāyā was not to the liking of the Deccan states. He demanded extensive tracts of territory from both Bijāpūr and Golconḍā for the help rendered by him to both. Husain Nizām Śāh now took the lead in bringing the Deccan states together in a confederacy against the Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagar.

It should have been possible for Sadāśivarāyā to deal separately with each of the quarrelsome *Sultāns* of the five kingdoms of the Deccan. Their affairs were complicated enough, what with quarrels of succession and with court intrigues. None among them had come to the throne without bloodshed. The only contribution they had made to the Deccan was a succession of fratricidal wars, massacre of innocents and destruction and desolation of huge prosperous tracts. But Sadāśivrāyā allowed these states to form a confederacy against him, and thus brought about his own destruction. To return to the narrative: Husain allied himself with Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh. Ibrāhīm mediated between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpūr which were brought together by a matrimonial alliance. Ali Barīd Śāh was also drawn into the alliance. The issue was fought out on 7 January, 1565 in a decisive battle south of Tālīkoṭā. It resulted in the complete defeat of Vijayanagar. The *Sultāns* sacked and plundered the city of Vijayanagar and returned with rich spoils to their respective Kingdoms[1]. No sooner had the objective of confederacy been realised than the petty minded *Sultāns* returned to their

[1] The account of what followed after the battle of Talikota as given by Ferishta is as under:

After which the three monarchs deputed severally their generals Moostufa Khan, on the part of the King of Golconda; Mowlana Inayut Oolla, on the part of Hoossein Nizam Shah; and Kishwur Khan, on the part of Ally Adil Shah to attack Moodkul and Rachore, which places were easily reduced. Moostufa Khan, without waiting for further orders, delivered over the keys of the forts to Kishwur Khan, which so incensed Hoossein Nizam Shah, that he wrote to the King of Golconda, informing him of the circumstance, and requiring that Moostufa Khan should suffer death. Ibrahim Kootb Shah, unwilling to slay a descendant of the prophet, sent for Moostufa Khan, and taxed him with treachery. The latter was not allowed to make any defence, but was directed to quit the kingdom and proceed to Mecca, there to repent of his sins. The King caused letters to be written to Golconda to send all the family and property of Moostufa Khan to one of the western sea-ports, to be ready to accompany him; and it is a well authenticated fact, that his wealth and family required seven hundred carriages and five thousand porters to transport it. Moostufa Khan left the King's presence, and proceeded direct to the court of Ally Adil Shah, by whom he was honourably received, and became his prime minister; after whose death he was assassinated, in the year 988 (A. D. 1580), in the country of Malabar, a country which he had previously reduced, and of which he was governor.

**CHAPTER 7.**

**The Qutbshahi of Golconda and the Barid-shahi of Bidar.**

own bickerings and mutual jealousies. War broke out between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpūr due to the incursions made by the latter into the former's territory. Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh joined Murtazā Nizām Śāh, who had succeeded his father in 1565, and both invaded the territory of Bijāpūr. Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh, fickle minded as he was, wrote a friendly letter to Ali Ādil Śāh. When Murtazā heard the news, he attacked his ally's camp, plundered it and sent Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh in headlong retreat to Goḷconḍā[1].

The *Sultāns* of Ahmadnagar and Bijāpūr had subsequently an adventure with the Portuguese. The *Sultāns* were, however, defeated in spite of their superiority in men and material over the Portuguese, largely due to the latter's skill, better equipment and the technique of fighting the war. Afterwards, Ali Ādil Śāh of Bijāpūr captured Adoni and other districts of Vijayanagar. Murtazā growing suspicious of the motives of Ali Ādil formed an alliance with Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh. They invaded the Kingdom of Bijāpūr. But an open conflict was avoided by the diplomacy of Cañgīz Khān of Ahmadnagar and Śāh Abul Hasan of Bijāpūr[2]. The compromise was arrived at under the terms of

---

[1] Moortuza Nizam Shah, now coming of age, was induced, from motives of self-preservation, to confine his mother in a fort; and he deputed Khan Khanan with a force to reduce Dharoor, at the same time inviting Ibrahim Kootb Shah to assist him; but before that monarch reached the place, it had fallen to the Nizam Shahy forces, and the allies marched on together into the Beejapoor territory. Ibrahim Kootb Shah, at this period, wrote a letter full of friendship to Ally Adil Shah, proposing terms of peace for himself alone. The latter sent his communication direct to Moortuza Nizam Shah, who, on discovering his treachery, sent a party of horse to attack his camp. Ibrahim Kootb Shah fled without opposition to Golconda, and lost one hundred and fifty elephants in his retreat, besides a number of his best officers and men.

(Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, pp. 331-32).

[2] This is what Ferishta has to say about this event.

Let us now return to the affairs of the kings of the Deccan. The Queen-dowager of Ahmudnuggur had by her conduct excited universal discontent among all the officers of the government, who conspired against her, and persuaded the young King, Moortuza Nizam Shah, to seize and confine her in the fort of Dowlutabad; while her two brothers, the King's uncles, Ein-ool-Moolk and Taj Khan, fled from the capital. Their departure created utmost confusion, and the young King was not of an age or a temper to act with much discretion. Ally Adil Shah, the ancient enemy of the Kingdom, deputed his general Kishwur Khan Lary, with twenty thousand horse, to lay waste and occupy as much of the Ahmudnuggur territory as he could seize. He first of all devastated the country of Kondana, and then proceeded to Dharore; which place he took, and ordered it to be strongly fortified, placing a garrison of Adil Shahy troops within it. From thence he wrote a letter to Moortuza Nizam Shah, telling him that he had left him the fort of Dowlutabad to repair to; but that if he did not immediately evacuate his capital and proceed thither, he would march to Ahmudnuggur, and oblige him to do so. Moortuza Nizam Shah instantly despatched his general, Khwaja Meeruk *Dubeer* Isfahany, entitled Chungiz Khan, with ten thousand cavalry, to resent this insulting language, and he accordingly marched and invested the fort of Dharore. The sudden arrival of the Nizam Shahy troops so alarmed the Adil Shahy garrison that *Ein-ool-Moolk*, Ankoos Khan, and *Azeez-ool-Moolk*, three of the principal officers of Kishwur Khan's force, fled without drawing their swords; while Kishwur Khan, seeing he had no alternative but to fight, resolved to defend the place against the Nizam Shahy troops, who escaladed it on the next morning, and Kishwur Khan was killed in the assault. Ally Adil Shah no sooner heard of the fate of his general than he detached Noor Khan, *Ein-ool-Moolk*, and *Zureef-ool-Moolk*, to the borders, to invade the Nizam Shahy territories, and plunder and devastate the country, while he himself, with fifty thousand horse, took the field, with the determination, if possible, of conquering the Ahmudnuggur dominions. Moortuza Nizam Shah, unable alone to cope with Ally Adil Shah, had recourse to Ibrahim Kootb Shah for aid, who proceeded with his army first to

which Ahmadnagar was to annex Berār and Bidar and Bijāpūr was to annex the equivalent of this territory in Karnāṭak[1].

Murtazā now demanded of Tufāl Khān, the regent of the Berār *Sultān,* Burhāṇ Imād Śāh, restoration of power and authority to the rightful *Sultān.* Burhāṇ Imād Śāh had now come of age. Tufāl Khān refused and sought the assistance of Ali Barīd of Bidar and Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh of Golconḍā. He expected help from Ali Barīd who was equally threatened. He marched to Bidar to gain some reinforcement. Ali Barīd showed his disinclination. After a short skirmish Tufāl Khān retired to

---

*contd.*

Bidur, and having induced Ally Bereed Shah to unite in the confederacy, they marched together to join Moortuza Nizam Shah, whom they met at the town of Nagdurry, where they swore to stand by each other. The oaths were taken upon a *Koran* in the possession of the latter, said to be written by Ally, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet. On this occasion it was agreed that they should proceed and attack the Beejapoor territories without delay. Ally Adil Shah suspecting that his minister, Shah Abool Hussun, the son of the late famous Shah Tahir of Ahmudnuggur, had promoted this confederacy, put him into confinement. Syud Moortuza, a nobleman of the Nizam Shahy court, was at this time in the Beejapoor camp. He had fled during the late revolution from Ahmudnuggur, and came over to Ally Adil Shah, where he renewed his friendship with Shah Abool Hussun. On the present occasion, Syud Moortuza, desirous of effecting the release of the minister, applied to Ally Adil Shah to be allowed to proceed in character of envoy to the confederates, and through his influence negotiate a peace, a measure which the King had at heart. Syud Moortuza was accordingly deputed to proceed to the Nizam Shahy camp, and having had an audience of Moortuza Nizam Shah, laid his head on the King's feet, and vowed he would not rise till his Majesty promised to obtain the release of the son of the late Shah Tahir, to whom the house of Ahmudnuggur was under such obligations; declaring, at the same time, that nothing but concluding a treaty of peace with Ally Adil Shah could effect this object. Moortuza Nizam Shah at once forgot his enmity to Ally Adil Shah, and consented to listen to terms, on condition that Shah Abool Hussun should be released, and be employed as ambassador to conclude the treaty. Shah Abool Hussuan accordingly proceeded with magnificent presents to the camp of the confederates. While in the camp, he persuaded Moortuza Nizam Shah to attack Ibrahim Kootb Shah's forces as well as those of Ally Bereed Shah, and by thus making a bold stroke at first, follow it up, and reduce the countries of Tulingana and Bidur. Moortuza Nizam Shah, young, thoughtless, and impetuous, eagerly adopted the proposition, and attacked his allies, who defended themselves with bravery, and contrived to retreat to Bidur, whence Ibrahim Kootb Shah proceeded to Golconda.

(Briggs's *Ferishta,* Vol. III, pp. 426—29).

1. The details of what followed this compact as given by Ferishta, are as under :—

After this event, Ally Adil Shah made secret overtures of alliance to Moortuza Nizam Shah, and proposed they should meet at the fort of Owsa. Here they entered into a compact, by which it was agreed that Moortuza Nizam Shah should reduce the kingdom of Berar, and Ally Adil Shah those of Bidur and Tulingana. In the first place, however, the combined forces marched to the northward against Toofal Khan, who, unable to resist them, fled to Gavulgur, which after a considerable time was on the point of surrendering, when Toofal Khan paid two lacks of *hoons,* and agreed to present fifty elephants to Ally Adil Shah, in order to induce him to raise the siege. In consequence of this secret engagement, Ally Adil Shah sent a person to Moortuza Nizam Shah, saying, that it was shameful for two armies like theirs to throw away their time in the reduction of a fortress, and that it would be more profitable for them both to march and reduce Tulingana. On which Moortuza Nizam Shah raised the siege, and went southward; having, in the first instance, detached a force under Yekhlas Khan on his own part, and another under *Ein-ool-Moolk* on the part of Ally Adil Shah, to reduce Kowlas; but on the road an accident occurred which saved the kingdom of Tulingana from destruction. One day six thousand Marratta cavalry belonging to the Beejapoor army made a sudden attack on the rear guard of the Nizam Shahy troops, in order to plunder the baggage. Munsoor Khan, the commander of the rear-guard, opposed them, and many troops on both sides were killed, among whom was Munsoor Khan himself. This circumstance caused a dispute between the monarchs, and brought on the dissolution of the alliance; when each returned to his own capital.

**CHAPTER 7.**

**The Qutbshahi of Golconda and the Barid-shahi of Bidar.**

Māhūr. Murtazā followed in pursuit but kept a contingent at Kandhār to counter any attack from Golconḍā. After a long and arduous campaign, Murtazā Nizām Śāh succeeded in defeating Tufāl Khān. He annexed the Kingdom of Berār *contd.*

Upon the arrival of Moortuza Nizam Shah at Ahmudnuggur, he, in order to be revenged on Ally Adil Shah, sent an envoy to Golconda, inviting Ibrahim Kootb Shah to form an alliance against the King of Beejapoor; while at the same time an envoy had been previously despatched for the same purpose to Ahmudnuggur, by the King of Golconda, proposing that they should march to the river Krishna, when Yeltumraj, the brother of the late Ramraj, might be invited to join with his forces when they could all proceed to the reduction of Beejapoor. After reaching the Krishna, the kings of Golconda and Ahmudnuggur wrote to Yeltumraj, requiring him to become a member of the confederacy; but a circumstance occurred, which tended to dissolve this union as suddenly as it had been formed.

On the accession of Moortuza Nizam Shah to the throne, he had scarcely attained his twelfth year; and the affairs of his Government were conducted by his mother, the Qeen-dowager, Khonza Hoomayoon. At that time she had been induced by illadvised persons about her to demand from Yeltumraj two lacks of *hoons* for aid to be afforded to him by the allies against the encroachments of the King of Beejapoor. Yeltumraj, who rather expected that allies would restore the countries taken by Ally Adil Shah from Ramraj instead of applying to him for money, sent a message to Ibrahim Kootb Shah, informing him of the circumstance. The King of Golconda immediately deputed a person to wait on the Queen-dowager expressing his astonishment at this unexpected demand and observing that it appeared very impolitic, in the present posture of affairs, to make demands of money on Yeltumraj, instead of conciliating one who was a useful ally at the head of ten thousand men, and who had reason to bear great enmity towards the powerful state which they were on the point of attacking. Instead of attending to this remonstrance, the demand was again urged by the Queen with threats; and Yeltumraj not only refused to pay the money, but prepared to treat the allies as enemies. Ibrahim Kootb Shah, finding that matters were assuming an unfavourable appearance, sent to Yeltumraj, advising him to retreat to this country, and promising that his own troops should also move at the same time. On the following day, Ibrahim Kootb Shah struck his camp and retreated to Golconda, and Yeltumraj marched to Penkonda. Moortuza Nizam Shah, thus suddenly deserted by his allies and surrounded by the Adil Shahy cavalry, who had occupied the route by which he came, commenced his retreat through the kingdom of Tulingana; and his army laid waste the districts of Kovilconda and Gunpoora. Ibrahim Kootb Shah detached Sulabut Khan, with three thousand horse to protect the country from the depredations of the Nizam Shahies; and orders were issued to the Munewars and Havaldars to throw every obstacle in the way of their march, to shut the gates of the towns, and to secure the property of the peoples, as far as was practicable, from their hands. The village magistrates were very active during the nights, and kept the enemy on the alert by incessant firing in small parties all round the camp. The Nizam Shahies suffered so much from these irregular attacks, that they were induced to dig a trench round the camp for their protection as well as to prevent the approach of the Kootb cavalry, which constantly hovered round them. The Nizam Shahies continued to plunder; and Sulabut Khan, finding remonstrances of no avail, charged the rear of their army, and completely routed them. Moortuza Nizam Shah halted his line, and sent a large body of cavalry under Moatimid Khan to attack the Kootb Shahy detachment. In, this latter engagement, the Nizam Shahy commander was killed, and Kamil Khan another general, was wounded. The Kootb Shahy army also lost one general (Mookurrib Khan). Night put an end to the contest; and on the following morning the Nizam Shahies marched and did not halt till they arrived on the Bereed Shahy territories. (Briggs's Ferishta, Vol. III, pp. 417-21).

(1574). Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh who had responded to the appeal from Tufāl Khān sent a force to invade the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar in 1573. However, the Qutb Śāhī forces were defeated and expelled from the territory of Ahmadnagar[1].

The conquest of Berār by Murtaza and the possible eastward expansion of the Ahmadnagar Kingdom by the absorption of Bidar roused the hostility of Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh and Muhammad II of Khāndeś. Murtazā overcame the hostility of Khāndeś by invading that Kingdom and forcing upon Muhammad severe terms. But Ibrāhīm forestalled the invasion by allying himself with Murtazā against Bijāpūr. Veṅkatādri of Vijayanagar joined hands with the allies. He sent an envoy Śāh Mirzā to Ahmadnagar to prevent Murtazā from attacking Bidar during his invasion of Bijāpūr. He proposed to achieve this by bribing Murtazā's general Caṅgīz Khān. The latter, however, refused to accept the bribe. Śāh Mirzā, however, succeeded in creating suspicion in the mind of Murtazā Nizām Śāh about his general. This led to the death of Caṅgīz Khān by poisoning at the hands of his own master. Later Murtazā Nizām Śāh realised his folly and retired, overcome with grief and shame.

After some time Murtazā again allied himself with Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh in the invasion of Bidar. On receipt of the news of the invasion of his Kingdom by 20,000 Ahmadnagar cavalry, Ali Barīd appealed to Ali Ādil Śāh for assistance. Such was the fabric of the moral character of these depraved *Sultāns* that Ali Ādil agreed to help Ali Barīd on condition of the surrender of two handsome eunuchs of Ali Barīd whom Ali Ādil had seen and with whom he was infatuated. Ali Barīd agreed to surrender his eunuchs. Ali Ādil Śāh, thereupon, sent reinforcements to Bidar which had been besieged by the Ahmadnagar troops. Though he resented the violation of the former treaty between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpūr by Ali Ādil, Murtazā was forced to raise the siege and retire to Ahmadnagar. Soon after Ali Barīd died (1579) and was succeeded by his son Ibrāhīm under the

[1] This is how Ferishta narrates the event:

On the return of Ibrahim Kootb Shah to his capital, he resolved to take revenge on Moortuza Nizam Shah for his late treachery; and as the latter always obtained assistance from the Berar court, he determined to anticipate that step by sending an envoy to Toofal Khan, the Regent of Berar, inviting him to an alliance against Moortuza Nizam Shah, to whom he could owe no friendship, since the invasion of his country, and the siege of Gavul. Toofal Khan, glad of an opportunity of revenging himself on Moortuza Nizam Shah, readily acceded to the proposed alliance, and despatched his son, Shumsheer-ool-Moolk, with three thousand cavalry to join Ibrahim Kootb Shah; who having collected his own army, proceeded, under the pretence of hunting, towards Bidur, when he was joined, between that city and the town of Kowlas, by the Berar auxiliaries, as well as by Ally Adil Shah, inviting him, also to join the confederacy. Moortuza Nizam Shah, far from being idle, also collected his army, and determined to prevent the junction of Ally Adil Shah, either by force or stratagem. He accordingly moved towards Beejapoor with his whole force, deputing his minister, Chungiz Khan, with large presents, to the Adil Shahy camp, in order to prevent its union with the confederates; but, at any rate, to make such good use of his money among the courtiers as to detain the King of Beejapoor for some time, till he should hear of the approach of the Nizam Shahies. Chungiz Khan overtook Ally Adil Shah at the fort of Nuldoorg, where he displayed so much diplomatic skill as to induce the King to give up the idea of joining the allies at all, and to consent to meet Moortuza Nizam Shah on friendly terms. Ibrahim Kootb Shah, alarmed at this sudden alteration in the measures of the Adil Shahy court, broke up the Confederacy, dismissing

CHAPTER 7.

The Qutbshahi of Golconda and the Baridshahi of Bidar.

title of Ibrāhīm Barīd Śāh. In Bijāpūr, Ali Ādil died as a result of stabbing by his eunuchs[1]. He was succeeded by his nephew Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh II.

Soon after Ali Ādil's death, factions developed in the Bijāpūr court. One was headed by Kāmil Khān and the other by Hājī Kiśvar Khān. The latter was supported by Cānd Bibi, the widow of the late *Sultān*. Taking advantage of the troubles in Bijāpūr, Salābat Khān who was in charge of the administration at Ahmadnagar sent an army to besiege Naḷdurg. He persuaded Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh to send a contingent of 8,000 cavalry. But before this contingent could reach Naḷdurg it was put to flight by a Bijāpurī force sent to intercept it. Another Bijāpurī army defeated the besieging forces of Ahmadnagar.

Murtazā Nizām Śāh's campaign against Naḷdurg was again undertaken next year when a force under Sayyad Murtazā Sabzāvarī besieged Naḷdurg. A reinforcement of 20,000 cavalry was received from Golcoṇḍā where Muhammad Qulī Qutb Śāh had succeeded his father Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh in June 1580. [2]a, [2]b.

*contd.*

the Berar auxiliaries with handsome rewards, and recommending Ally Bereed Shah to repair to the fort of Bidur ; at the same time promising his aid in case of invasion and attack. Upon his arrival at Golconda, he pitched the royal pavilion on the plain, and directed all the Naigwary infantry of the realm to repair to his standard. These preparations were not unnecessary ; for Moortuza Nizam Shah having made a convert of Ally Adil Shah to his cause, they both marched with the determination of reducing the kingdoms of Tulingana and Bidur ; to which latter city they proceeded, the Adil Shahies encamping in the neighbourhood of the *Houz-i-Kumt'hana*, while the Nizam Shahies invested the fort of Bidur. Ibrahim Kootb Shah no sooner heard of the attack on Bidur than he made preparations for the defence of Golconda. On this occasion he ordered pavilions to be pitched on the bastions, and adorned them with rich brocades and silks from China and with velvets of European manufacture giving himself up to the gratification of listening " to the enchanting vocal and instrumental music of heart alluring damsels and fairy-faced virgins." At the same time he detached a force of four thousand cavalry and ten thousand light infantry, under Sulabut Khan, to hover round the enemy, and to make night-attacks on the besiegers at Bidur. The Munewar infantry were eminently successful in all directions, and at all hours, bringing nightly between three and four hundred noses and ears from the enemy's lines ; and they received for each nose a *hoon*, and for each ear a *purtab*. During the day, the cavalry made their attacks at favourable moments on the besiegers, who were distressed for want of sleep, owing to the constant assaults both of the cavalry and infantry. Determined to raise the siege, but apprehensive lest Ibrahim Kootb Shah should attack them if they separated, Ally Adil Shah deputed Kamil Khan with fifteen thousand horse, and Moortuza Nizam Shah sent Mirza Yadgar with an equal number, to remain in the neighbourhood of Kowlas. Moortuza Nizam Shah then proceeded to punish Toofal Khan for the assistance he had given in the preceding year to Ibrahim Kootb Shah ; and Ally Adil Shah marched to the south against Bunkapoor and the Hindoo territories dependent on Beejanuggur.

(Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, pp. 429—32)

1. A. H. 987. A. D. 1579. In the year 987, Moortuza Nizam Shah made an attack upon the remaining part of the Bidur territories, and laid close siege to the capital itself. Ally Bereed, thus straitened, sent an envoy to Ally Adil Shah, who replied, that if he would make him a present of two eunuchs, whom he named, he would send him assistance. Ally Bereed assented ; and two thousand Beejapoor cavalry marched to raise the siege of Mahomedabad Bidur. Moortuza Nizam Shah, hearing of the approach of the Adil Shahies, and also of the rebellion of his brother Boorhan Nizam Shah at Ahmudnuggur retreated to his capital, and left Mirza Yadgar with a body of Kootb Shahies, who had joined from Golconda, to prosecute the siege ; but as soon as the Beejapoor detachment arrived within a few miles of the place, Mirza Yadgar retreated ; and Ally Bereed delivered over the two eunuchs, contrary to their own inclination, to the Beejapoories. These two youths were so stung with shame on being transferred from one king to another, that shortly after their arrival at Beejapoor one of them put Ally Adil Shah to death.

(Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, pp. 498-99)

Foot notes 2a and 2b continued on the next page.

The besieging army suffered heavily. Once again there were turmoils in the court of Bijāpūr. Cānd Bibi was imprisoned at Sātārā by Kiśvar Khān. Later, he himself lost power and had to flee to Golconḍā. He was slain there by a native of Ardistān. Cānd Bibi got her release from Sātārā and assumed control by appointing Afzal Khān to head the administration. He was, however, slain by the Africans whose party now assumed control of administration. These reports encouraged the besieging troops to advance towards Bijāpūr and besiege the city. However, the foreigners came from their fiefs to the defence of the city with a force of 60,000 under the command of Aṅkus Khān and *Ain-ul-mulk*. They, however, joined hands with Sayyad Murtazā of Ahmadnagar to demonstrate that, without them the city of Bijāpūr would be rendered helpless. This did the trick and the Africans submitted their resignation to Cānd Bibi. The foreigners now persuaded Sayyad Murtazā Sabzāvarī who was himself a foreigner to raise the siege and withdraw to Ahmadnagar. The siege was accordingly raised. The Ahmadnagar troops retired to Ahmadnagar unmolested but the Golconḍā army was attacked and defeated and driven from Gulburgā, which it had occupied. The next few years were full of turmoil in the Deccan, the worst affected Kingdoms being Ahmadnagar and Bijāpūr. After the death of Murtazā Nizām Śāh, Husain II and Ismāīl succeeded in that order. In 1591 Burhān, the brother of Murtazā and father of Ismāīl, invaded the Kingdom with the help of Rājā Ali Khān of Khāndeś and deposing his son ascended the throne under the title of Burhān Nizām Śāh II. War broke out between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpūr on the employment of Dilāvar Khān. He was formerly in the employ of Bijāpūr. But peace was obtained at the intercession of Muhammad Qulī

---

[2]*a*. Ibrahim was succeeded by his third son, Mahomed Koolly, who assumed the family title of Kootb Shah. The first act of his reign was to proceed and join his army, then engaged in the siege of Nuldoorg, with a large reinforcement. He commenced his approaches on that side of the fort where the ditch was dry, but the governor making several sallies prevented the batteries from being completed, and little progress was made during two months. At length, a breach was reported practicable, and attempts were made to storm the place. The garrison repelled several attacks by hurling boxes filled with gunpowder and stones down the breach and over the walls. In this state of affairs, news arrived that an army of twenty thousand Marratta cavalry had arrived in the skirts of the camp, so that the besiegers were compelled to defer their attacks on the fort for the present. Shortly after this, the allies received overtures for peace from Ibrahim Adil Shah, to which the King of Golconda assented, and raised the siege; and having dismissed the Nizam Shahy troops under Syud Moortuza Khan, he returned to his capital.

(Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, p. 447.)

[2]*b*. In the beginning of the reign of Mahomed Koolly Kootb Shah, that young Prince became enamoured of a public singer of the name of Bhagmutty, to whom he assigned one thousand cavalry as an escort for her attendance; and as the air of Golconda had become impure and unhealthy, he built a magnificent city at a distance of eight miles, which he called Bhagnuggur, after his favourite mistress; but this city has since received the name of Hydurabad, although one part of it still retains the former name of Bhagnuggur. It is ten miles in circumference; and its principal, streets, contrary to the other towns in India, are wide and clean; its air is healthy and running streams are conveyed through some of the principal markets; on each side of which are rows of trees planted, affording a pleasing shade and sight, and the shops are all of solid masonry. The King's palace is described as the most beautiful and extensive in India.

(Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. III,p. 335)

**CHAPTER 7.**

**The Qutbshahi of Golconda and the Barid-shahi of Bidar.**

Qutb Śāh and Rājā Ali Khān of Khāndeś. After the death of Burhāṇ, civil war broke out in the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar. The various factions among the nobles put forward the claims of either a prince or an impostor. A new factor was now introduced in the politics of the Deccan when Miyān Mañjū appealed to Murād, son of Akbar, the Emperor, who was now the Governor of Gujarāt. Ibrāhīm Ādil II realised the danger arising from such an eventuality and he appealed to all the quarrelling factions to unite against the Moghals. He sent a contingent of 25,000 cavalry under Suhail Khān. It was accompanied by a force of 6,000 contributed by Muhammad Qulī Qutb Śāh. Miyān Mañjū now repented of his overtures. His repentence came too late and the Moghals arrived before the city of Ahmadnagar in December 1595.

It is not necessary to describe the progress of the siege of Ahmadnagar here. It was protracted for nearly three months. The mutual jealousies among the officers of the besieging army as also the harassing tactics of the contingents of Bijāpūr and Golconḍā contributed to the prolonging of the siege. However, negotiations soon opened. The Moghals agreed to raise the siege on condition of the cession of Berār to them. The condition was agreed upon and the Moghals withdrew. Immediately after there was strife again in Ahmadnagar. This time Muhammad Khān, the new minister, appealed to Khān Khānān, the Moghal general for help. Muhammad Khān was deposed and Abhaṅg Khān assumed control. He appealed to Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh II to send reinforcement against the approaching Moghal army from Berār. But Khān Khānān defeated a combined force of Bijāpūr and Golconḍā, marching to the succour of Ahmadnagar, in the neighbourhood of Sonpet in February 1597. From now onwards it was a sorry tale for Ahmadnagar. Within a period of less than three years the once powerful kingdom of Ahmadnagar collapsed against the onslaught of the mighty Moghals. In August 1600 A.D. Ahmadnagar was occupied by Imperial troops. It was now the turn of Bijāpūr, Golconḍā and Bidar, the three remaining succession states of the Bahamanī Kingdom to face the Moghals.

# CHAPTER 8 —THE FARUQIS OF KHANDESH



AT THE CLOSE OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY, KHANDESH WAS HELD by a chief styled the *Rājā* of Khāndeś who according to Ferishta possessed an army of 40,000 or 50,000 men. He was probably the Cohān ruler of Asirgaḍ who according to tradition came into Khāndeś from Goḷconḍā[1]. When in 1296, Alāuddin, the nephew of the Delhi emperor suddenly appeared before the Yādava capital of Devagiri, Rāmacandra, the Yādava ruler sent messages to the *rājās* of Gulburgā, Telaṅgaṇā, Māḷvā and Khāndeś to send him assistance and reinforcement. Rāmacandra was, however, defeated and forced to pay tribute. On his return march to Delhi Alāuddin overran the powerful and extensive Kingdoms of Māḷvā, Goṇḍvana and Khāndeś storming the fort of Asirgaḍ on the way and destroying all the members of the chiefs' family except one.[2] On July 20, 1296, Alāuddin contrived the murder of his uncle and ascended the throne of Delhi. It may be mentioned here that during Alāuddin's reign a campaign was led by Ubegh Khān against Gujarāt. The Gujarāt King, Vāghelā Karṇa, was defeated and his territory was overrun by the advancing army. Karṇa escaped and obtained refuge at the court of the Yādava King Rāmacandra. Perceiving, however, the danger that might befall his host due to his stay at his court, he left Devagiri and rebuilt the town and fortress of Nandurbār where he set himself up as a semi-independent ruler and vassal prince of the *Rājā* of Devagiri.[3] Karṇa had to give up these possessions too in the subsequent invasions from the north.

No Muslim invasion of the Deccan took place till 1307 when, Alāuddin, on the refusal of Rāmacandra to pay tribute, appointed *Malik Nāib* Kāfur to lead an expedition to Devagiri. Malik Kāfur was instructed to punish the recalcitrant *Rājā* and also to conquer the other Kings of the South. The Yādava army was defeated. Rāmacandra was, however, allowed to govern his territory after paying a heavy ransom. This and the subsequent campaigns of the south are of particular significance to the history of the Deccan because they brought practically the whole of the south under the Delhi emperors. The Yādava Kingdom, in 1317 A. D. became part of the Sultanate of Delhi. Devagiri became the Southern headquarters of the Delhi emperors. The absence of *Malik Nāib* in the Deccan unsettled the political climate in Delhi and Alāuddin was forced to recall *Malik Nāib*.

---

[1] Todds *Annals*, II, p. 411.

[2] *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, pp. 9 and 377.

[3] *Cambridge History of India*, III, pp. 112, 518.

CHAPTER 8.

**The Faruqis of Khandesh.**

THE DELHI SULTANATE.

This was a signal for the uprising of rebels in various parts of the kingdom. Devagiri revolted under Harpāldeva, the son-in-law of Rāmacandra. In the midst of these troubles, Alāuddin died on 5 January, 1316. When Mubārak Śāh, Alāuddin's third son ultimately ascended the throne, he sent Khuśrāv Khān to suppress the revolts. He marched to the Deccan, reestablished the suzerainty of Delhi and returned to the capital. With his growing power, he aspired to the throne and encompassed the murder of the king on April 15, 1320. Khuśrāv ascended the throne. Shortly after he was put to death by Ghāzī Tughluk, the Governor of Dipalpur, who ascended the throne under the title of Ghiyāsuddin Tughluk Śāh on September 8, 1320. Ghiyāsuddin reasserted his supremacy over the Deccan. His reign was, however, shortlived. He died in 1325 and was succeeded by his son Ulugh Khān, under the title of Muhammad Śāh. To Muhammad Śāh goes the credit of extending the Muslim Domination to the remote south by vanquishing the *Rājā* of Kampili and the Hoyasala Ballāḷa, thus establishing his sway practically all over India. It was in 1326-27 that Muhammad Śāh transferred the capital from Delhi to Devagiri which was renamed Daulatābād. This must have considerably enhanced the importance of the province of Khāndeś due to its close proximity to the new capital. But all was not well in the edifice of the Delhi empire. It began to show cracks, with rebellions taking place all over the empire. The resurgence of the Hindu chiefs which led to the founding of the Kingdom of Vijayanagar in 1336 also contributed to the decline of the empire. It may be mentioned here that Ibn Batutah a Muslim traveller visited India in the early 14th century. While on his way to Cambay from Daulatābād he passed through Nandurbār which was then in the province of Gujarāt. He has the following to say about the city. "We continued on our way to Nadhurbār (Nandurbār) a small town inhabited by the Marhatas, who possess great skill in the arts and are physicians and astrologers. The nobles of the Marhatas are Brahmans and Katris (Kṣtriyas). Their food consists of rice, vegetable and oil of sesame and they do not hold with giving pain to or slaughtering animals. They wash themselves thoroughly before eating and do not marry among their relatives unless those who are cousins are six times removed. Neither do they drink wine, for, this, in their eyes is the greatest of vices."[1] In 1345 the *amirs* of the Deccan rebelled and the *Sultān* could not suppress the rebellion. Devagiri was besieged by the rebel nobles and finally passed into the hands of Hasan Gaṅgū, the founder of the Bahamanī dynasty. Under Muhammad Tughluk, Khāndeś was the sub-division of a *subhā* in charge of an officer stationed at Ellicpūr in Berār. When the Deccan nobles had revolted, Imād-ul-Mulk, the governor of Berār and Khāndeś abandoned his province and retired to Nandurbār. The Berār officers joined the revolt and with the establishment of the independent Bahamanī kingdom, no part of

[1] *Ibn* Batutah, M. A. R. Gibbs p. 228.

Khāndeś except Nandurbār and Sultānpūr, remained under the Delhi Kings. The newly founded Bahamanī kingdom included in the west, Ahmadnagar, in the south, Naśik, and in the east, part of Berār. Between these two points Bahamanī rule does not seem to have passed north of the Tāpī. Along the Cāndor or Sātmāḷā hills there would seem to have been a line of independent chiefs of Gāḷṇā, Antur and Vairātgaḍ. The east was under the powerful Asirgaḍ chief and the west was in the hands of the *Rājā* of Bāglāṇa. The fact that subsequently Firoz Tughluk assigned the districts of Thāḷner and Karanda on the Gujarāt-Khāndeś border to Malik Rājā Fāruqī, the founder of the Fāruqī Dynasty shows that the Bahamanī territory did not extend to Khāndeś. Khāndeś districts formed part of the southern boundaries of the Tughluk empire.

MALIK RAJA.

This state of affairs continued till 1370 when Malik Rājā[1] a private horseman in the army of Firoz Tughluk attracted the attention of the emperor. It appears that Malik Rājā, had not participated in the revolt of the Deccan nobles. He, however, opposed the newly founded Bahamanī rule. During the reign of Muhammad Śāh, Bahrām Khān Māzendarāṇī, the governor of Daulatābād rebelled.[2] Many chieftains of Berār and Bāglāṇa including Malik Rājā joined the rebels. The rebels were, however, defeated and forced to flee to Gujarāt. Malik Rājā established himself at Thāḷner. At this time he seems to have directly entered the services of Firoz Tughluk.[3] His family claimed descent from the Khaliph Umar Faruk. This is what Ferishta has to say about the descent of the Fāruqī family.

"Mullik Raja, the first Mahomedan ruler of Khandesh is descended from the Caliph Umar Farook and traces his pedigree thus: Mallik Raja, the son of Khan Jahan, the son of Ally Khan, the son of Oothman Khan, the son of Simeon Shah, the son of Ashab Shah, the son of Armian Shah, the son of Ibrahim Shah of Bulkh, the son of Adhum Shah, the son of Ahmud Shah, the son of Mahmood Shah, the son of Mahomed Shah, the son of Azim Shah, the son of Asghur, the son of Mahmood Ahmud, the son of Imam Nasir Abdoolla, the son of Oomrool Farook, the Khaleefa, or representative of the last of the prophets.[4]" His forefathers were among the most respectable nobles of Alāuddin Khiljī and Muhammad Tughluk. The father of Malik Rājā, Khān Jahān Fāruqī, was a minister in the court of the Khiljīs. Firoz Tughluk, while on a hunting expedition in Gujarāt, was rendered timely help by Malik Rājā and the emperor on learning him to be the son of Khān Jahān resolved to promote him. At the very first *durbār* he made him an officer of two thousand horse. Shortly afterwards he conferred on him

[1] He was known as Raja Ahmad.

[2] Haig-*Turks and Afghans*, III, p. 294.

[3] Haig-*Cambridge History of India*, III, p. 294.

[4] *Ferishta*, IV, p. 284.

**CHAPTER 8.**

**The Faruqis of Khandesh.**

the districts of Thāḷner and Karanda.[1] Thus was laid the foundation of a future dynasty which was to rule over Khāndeś for over two hundred years.

MALIK RAJA.

In the year 1370 Malik Rājā marched with a force to take possession of his assignment. At the same time he reduced Bahirjī, the *Rājā* of Bāglāṇa and forced him to consent to the payment of an annual tribute to the King of Delhi. He received from the *Rājā* of Bāglāṇa five large and ten small elephants, besides a quantity of pearls and jewels by way of tribute. On returning to his capital, he covered the elephants with velvet housing, embroidered with gold and having laden several camels with muslins and other manufactures of Khāndeś and also some pearls sent them as offering to the Emperor. The Emperor Firoz remarked that this duty which the governor of Gujarāt should have performed long ago had been fulfilled by Malik Rājā. In consequence the Emperor honoured Malik Rājā with the title of *Sipāh Sālār*-Commander-in-Chief of Khāndeś and raised him to the rank of three thousand horse. In spite of the independent position held by Malik Rājā, he and his successors for a few generations abided by the title of Khān from which his state came to be known as Khāndeś—"the country of Khāns"[2]. Malik Rājā acquired great power in a short time. In a few years he could muster twelve thousand horse and levy contributions from the *rāys* of Goṇḍvana as far as Gaḍh Maṇḍlā. Ferishta says that "such was his fame that the Ray (*Rājā*) of Jajnuggur notwithstanding the distance, established a friendly intercourse with him."[3]

Before Malik Rājā's time, the state of Khāndeś was in a very bad state. For years without any regular government, it had lately been visited by a famine, so severe, that not more than two or three thousand Bhils and Koḷīs survived. The only prosperous part of the district was near Asirgaḍ, where, Asā, a rich *ahir* or herdsman, was one of the principal landholders. Asā at this time had many storehouses both in Goṇḍvana and Khāndeś which his agents opened in order to sell the corn. His wife who was of a charitable disposition, however, persuaded Asā to allow the grain to be distributed to the poor and suffering, without payment. It was also with a view to employ many of the sufferers as labourers that Asā levelled the old walls of Asir

---

[1] The account given by *Ayeen Akbery* in this regard is very interesting. It says, "Formerly this country was desolate except that a few people inhabited Asseer which was their place of worship and called Aseotahma. It is said that Mullick Rajee, from whom Bahader was the ninth, in lineal descent, through the versatility of fortune came from Bundur to this country and settled in the village of Keerandeey, dependent upon Tahleenir. But being molested by the natives, he went to Dehli and entered the service of *Sultan* Feeroz. As he was an expert huntsman, the king was pleased with him and told him he should have anything he could wish for. Upon this he obtained a grant of the village of Keerandeey. By his prudent management he peopled the deserted lands and brought them into cultivation" (Gladwin p. 334.)

[2] *Ayeen Akbery* says that Malik Raja sat on his throne at Thalner in *Hijri* 784 under the title of Adil Shah and reigned for 17 years. (Gladwin p. 344.)

[3] *Briggs*, IV, p. 282.

and constructed a fort built of masonry. Asā also distributed food to the aged and decrepit who were unable to perform manual labour.

MALIK RAJA.

When Malik Rājā assumed authority all over Khāndeś, Asā, being of a peaceable and unambitious disposition was the first of all the landholders to acknowledge fealty to him. He also presented Malik Rājā with many other things which he required on the establishment of his family. Malik Rājā soon realised that a strong fort like that of Asir, in the hands of a person of such distinguished qualities as Asā, in the very heart of his dominion would be a danger to his government. However, Malik Rājā felt himself under too many obligations to Asā to wrest it by force from him. He therefore desisted from any attack on Asā and thought it prudent to maintain a *status quo*.

During the reign of Firoz Tughluk, Dilāvar Khān Ghorī was appointed the governor of Māḷvā. Dilāvar Khān declared his independence when disorders prevailed at Delhi subsequent to the invasion of Amir Timur. Both the families *viz.*, the Fāruqī and the Ghorī were now matrimonially connected. Dilāvar Khān Ghorī gave his daughter in marriage to Malik Nasir, the son of Malik Rājā. At this time great commotion prevailed in the bordering province of Gujarāt where Farhāt-ul-mulk, the governor thought of declaring his independence. To suppress the revolt, Zafar Khān was sent by Muhammad Tughluk as governor of Gujarāt with the title of Muzaffar Khān. He succeeded in defeating the recalcitrant governor. The invasion of Timur and the escape of Muhammad Tughluk to Gujarāt and his subsequent return to Delhi hastened the declaration of independence by Muzaffar Khān who now assumed the title of Muzaffar Śāh. Malik Rājā, relying upon the support of Dilāvar Khān, invaded the territory of Gujarāt and laid waste the districts of Sultānpūr and Nandurbār. Muzaffar Śāh, was at that time engaged in an expedition to Somnāth. On hearing of the invasion of Malik Rājā he turned his arms towards Khāndeś. By rapid marches he reached Sultānpūr and forced Malik Rājā, to retreat towards Thāḷner where the latter took shelter. The fort of Thāḷner was besieged by Muzaffar Śāh. Though Muzaffar Śāh was in a commanding position, he did not press his advantage. He accepted the overtures made by Malik Rājā for a negotiated settlement and withdrew to his territory. During the remaining period of his rule Malik Rājā confined his military operations entirely to his own country and spent his time in promoting architecture and improving agriculture. From the monastery at Daulatabād Malik was presented with a robe of Śaikh Zain-ud-din. So long as the dynasty lasted, this robe was carefully handed from ruler to ruler. Before his death Malik Rājā sent for his two sons Malik Nasir and Malik Iftikār and invested the former with this sacred robe and nominated him his successor. Of his two chief forts, he bequeathed Lāliṅg

CHAPTER 8. The Faruqis of Khandesh.

to his elder son and Thāḷner to Malik Iftikār, the younger son. He died in 1399 and was buried in a handsome tomb at the town of Thāḷner.

MALIK RAJA. MALIK NASIR.

Malik Rājā was succeeded to the throne by his son Malik Nasir, also called Garib Khān. The family rose to great fame and power during the reign of this monarch. Learned men were invited from all parts of the country and arts and letters were patronised.

The first act of Malik Nasir after assuming power was the capture of Asirgaḍ, held by Asā. The Ahir Chief had, in spite of his wealth and the strength of his fort, acknowledged the supremacy of Malik Rājā, Malik Nasir's father. He had also rendered him help in many ways to establish his power. Malik Nasir, on his accession to throne had also received many personal favours from Asā. The father of Malik Nasir had realised the danger of such a principality thriving within the boundaries of his Kingdom. He could not, however, precipitate an attack on Asā. Asā had not given him any ground for an attack on Asir. Malik Nasir, however, decided upon seizing Asirgaḍ and making it his own capital. He, therefore, wrote to Asā complaining that he was in great straits as the Chiefs of Bāglāṇa, Antur and Kherlā were rising against him. Of these, two chiefs had collected large forces. He also informed Asā that Thāḷner was in possession of his brother Iftikār and Lāliṅg, which was too close to the enemy territories was not a safe place for retreat. He, requested Asā to afford his family a safe retreat. The unsuspecting Asā willingly consented little knowing of the fatal consequences of his act. Asā ordered suitable apartments to be fitted up for the reception of Malik Nasir's ladies. Shortly after, several covered litters with women were brought into Asirgaḍ and were visited by Asā's wife and daughters. Next day another troop of 200 litters arrived reportedly occupied by the wife, mother and the rest of Malik Nasir's family. Asā along with his sons went to receive them. To his astonishment he found the litters full of armed soldiers who leapt up and murdered Asā and his innocent sons in cold blood. Not a single male child in the family was left alive. The inhabitants of the fort were so stunned by the ruthless massacre that they fled with their families from the fort. The treacherous and cunning Malik Nasir, on learning of the success of his scheme, repaired from his camp at Lāliṅg to the fort of Asir. He strengthened and fortified the fort and made it his headquarers[1]. Shortly after this a disciple of Śaikh Zain Uddin, the tutelary saint of the family came to congratulate Malik Nasir on his success. On his

[1] Ferishta, the noted historian, tries to minimise the gravity of the act by observing that " It is however well authenticated fact that the property of Asa was never appropriated by any of the Farooky dynasty to their own use ; and all the money and jewels taken on this occasion fell into the hands of Akbur *Padshah*, when he marched southwards and took the fortress of Aseer, two centuries afterward." Such assumption is unbelievable and even if it be true cannot be a sufficient recompense for the murderous villainy of Malik Nasir. (*Briggs'* IV, p. 290.)

advice, Malik Nasir built two cities on the Tāpī, one on the east bank called Zainābād after the Śaikh and the other on the west bank called Burhāṇpūr after Śaikh Burhāṇuddin of Daulatābād. The latter city became the capital of the Fāruqī dynasty.

It will be recalled that Malik Rājā, Malik Nasirs' father had bequeathed the fort of Thāḷner and the surrounding district to his younger son Malik Iftikār. Malik Nasir, after his success against Asā, cast an avaricious eye on the fort of Thāḷner, the possession of which he regarded as essential for the security of his territory. In 1417 he solicited the help of *Sultān* Hośaṅg of Māḷvā who was his brother-in-law. The latter dispatched a force of 5,000 under the command of his son Ghizny Khān to the assistance of Malik Nasir. The combined armies of Malik Nasir and *Sultān* Hośaṅg laid siege to the fort of Thāḷner. Malik Iftikār remonstrated with his brother and wrote in vain to Ahmad Śāh of Gujarāt to send succour. However, the fort of Thāḷner fell after the siege had continued for some time. Malik Iftikār was taken prisoner and kept in confinement in the fort of Asirgaḍ. Malik Nasir was flushed with this success. To forestall any attack from Ahmad Śāh of Gujarāt, Malik Nasir, led the combined forces of Māḷvā and Khāndeś and entering the Gujarāt territory, attacked Nandurbār and invested the fort of Sulṭānpūr. On hearing of this invasion Ahmad Śāh of Gujarāt marched with the whole of his army to the south. He sent a considerable detachment under Malik Mahmūd Turk in advance to disperse the forces of Malik Nasir and Ghizny Khān. Malik Turk worsted the combined forces of Khāndeś and Māḷvā and forced them to flee the battle field. Ghizny Khān fled to Maṇḍū, while Malik Nasir retreated to Thāḷner. Thāḷner was closely besieged by Malik Turk. The siege continued for some time. With no prospects of any succour, and having been reduced to extreme distress, Malik Nasir made overture of peace to some of Ahmad Śāh's ministers. He succeeded. Ahmad Śāh, accepted the presents which Malik Nasir sent to him. He further bestowed on Nasir a white canopy and scarlet pavilion and honoured him with the title of Khān. Malik Nasir swore fealty to Ahmad Śāh and promised to abstain in future from aggression. Nasirs' brother Iftikār Hasan retired to Gujarāt where he found a home. His descendents intermarried with the royal house. It may be noted here that the reluctance of the *Sultān* of Māḷvā to help Malik Nasir during the siege of Thāḷner estranged the relations between the two. Henceforward Malik Nasir, in spite of his matrimonial connection with *Sultān* Hośaṅg, never directly or indirectly helped that *Sultān* in all his subsequent adventurous campaigns against the *Sultāns* of Gujarāt.

In 1429 Ahmad Śāh Bahamanī deputed his ambassador Azim Khān to Nasir Khān soliciting the hand of his daughter in marriage for his son Alāuddin. Apprehensive of the power of the neighbouring *Sultān* of Gujarāt, Nasir Khān received this

**CHAPTER 8.**

**The Faruqis of Khandesh.**

MALIK NASIR.

offer favourably and sent his daughter in great state with the ambassador to Ahmadābād Bidar. The nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence. This union, however, only engendered strife. Khāndeś, after a disastrous war with the powerful Bahamanīs was to be driven into the arms of Gujarāt. In the meanwhile, the Rājā Kānhā, the Jhālāvār King fled from Gujarāt and took refuge with Malik Nasir at Asir. He presented Nasir with some elephants and other valuables and requested him to assist him in recovering his country from his Gujarāti overlord. Nasir Khān who knew the power of Ahmad Śāh of Gujarat refused to be drawn in an immediate conflict with Gujarāt. He advised the *Rājā* to seek the help of Ahmad Śāh Bahamanī. The *Rājā* accordingly was sent to Bidar with a letter from Nasir soliciting his help to the *Rājā*. Ahmad Śāh Bahamanī put a small force at the disposal of the *Rājā* to recover his country. The detachment arrived at Nandurbār and laid waste the district. Ahmad Śāh of Gujarāt sent a force to oppose the aggressors under the command of his son Muhammad Khān, and Malik Mukarrib, an officer. Muhammad defeated the aggressors in the engagement which took place near Sultānpūr. A large number of Deccanies were killed. The Bahamanī forces retreated to Daulatābād and thence conveyed the news of the disaster to Bidar. When the news reached Ahmad Śāh Bahamanī he assembled a force under his son Alāuddin commanded by Khān Jahān and Kuddas Khān at Daulatābād. They were joined by Malik Nasir. *Rājā* Kānhā who had fled to Khāndeś also joined them. The combined army moved several marches in the direction of the Gujarāt army. It encountered the latter at the Māṇikpuñj pass about 38 miles north-west of Daulatābād. An action ensued in which Kuddas Khān was killed and the combined army fell back. They, however, rallied and, forming into a solid body, made a desperate charge on the Gujarāt army. They were, however, so steadily opposed that they fell back and were completely routed. Alāuddin fled towards Daulatābād. Malik Nasir and *Rājā* Kānhā took refuge in the fort of Lāliṅg. The prince of Gujarāt withdrew to Nandurbār, where he remained on the alert after laying waste part of Khāndeś.

In 1435 when Ahmad Śāh of Gujarāt was engaged in hostilities with the *Sultān* of Māḷvā, Malik Nasir involved himself in hostilities with his son-in-law, Alāuddin who had succeeded his father, Ahmad Śāh Bahamanī. Malik Nasir's daughter Malikā Jahān had been married to Alāuddin Bahamanī. She complained to her father that she was being neglected by her husband for a beautiful Hindu wife, the daughter of the *Rājā* of Saṅgamner, entitled *Paricahrā* (Fairy Face)[1]. To avenge his daughter's wrong, Malik Nasir, invaded Berār with his own forces. He was supported by many malcontent Deccani Chiefs. He had made private overtures to them promising them great

[1] *Briggs*, II, p. 427.

MALIK NASIR.

rewards if they would join his standard. A considerable force was also received from the *Rājā* of Goṇḍvana. The Bahamanī officers who had joined hands with Malik Nasir designed a plot to arrest Khān Jahān, the governor of Berār. On receiving information of the plot Khān Jahān fled to the fortress of Narnāḷā. He wrote an account of the disaster, to Alāuddin Śāh Bahamanī. In the meanwhile Malik Nasir was advancing in Berār. He had his *Khutbā* read on Fridays in the principal mosques of the province as the king of Berār[1].

On receiving this serious news, Alāuddin called a council of ministers and military chiefs. He appointed Khalaf Hasan *Malik-ut-tujjār* to lead the campaign. Khalaf Hasan proceeded with a well equipped army of 7,000 Arabs. He entered Berār. He was joined by Khān Jahān at Mehkar. Khān Jahān was dispatched to Ellicpūr to ward off any attack from the *Rājā* of Goṇḍvana. Khalaf Hasan himself moved with the main body towards Rohankheḍā Ghāṭ where Malik Nasir had his camp. At the foot of the Ghāṭ an encounter took place between a detachment of Malik Nasir's forces and the Bahamanī troops. The Khāndeś troops were defeated with great slaughter. Malik Nasir retreated from the field and fell back on Burhāṇpūr. He was very closely pursued by *Malik-ut-tujjār,* up to the gates of Burhāṇpūr. Nasir Khān, then fled to Lāliṅg. *Malik-ut-tujjār* sacked the city of Burhāṇpūr and levied heavy contributions from its citizens. He proceeded to lay waste the province of Khāndeś. At this time he received the news that the army of Malvā had joined hands with the Gujarāt forces at Nandurbār and Sultānpūr to help Nasir Khān. *Malik-ut-tujjār* decided to attack Malik Nasir before reinforcements could reach the latter. He moved on to Lāliṅg by forced marches with a select body of four thousand troops. Nasir Khān had a force of over 12,000 with him. Underestimating the real strength of the Bahamanī army, he issued out of the fort and gave battle. He was, however, completely defeated. Many of his principal officers, together with the rebel chiefs of Berār were slain in the battle. *Malik-ut-tujjār* returned to Bidar with a haul of seventy elephants and a large booty[2]. Malik Nasir, frustrated and overcome with anxiety and grief, died a few days after. He was buried at Thāḷner. Adil Khān, who was also the nephew of *Sultān* Hośaṅg of Mālvā, succeeded his father as the ruler of Khāndeś.

MIRAN ADIL.

In spite of the reverses which Malik Nasir suffered, he was able to strengthen the position of his house and kingdom. Without taking into consideration his matrimonial relationship with the Bahamanīs, he wisely acknowledged the suzerainty of the *Sultāns* of Gujarāt. This step was to save his successors on several occasions.

---

[1] *Bahamanis of the Deccan*—H. K. Shervani p. 234.

[2] *Briggs*, II, p. 430. The account given by Sayyad Ali Tabataba does not substantially differ from that given by Ferishta. See *Bahamani Gharanyacha Itihas*, pp. 95-96.

**CHAPTER 8.**

**The Faruqis of Khandesh.**

MIRAN ADIL.

After Mirān Ādil assumed Kingship, he wrote pressing letters to the *Sultāns* of Gujarāt and Māḷvā to come to his succour. Shortly after, the Gujarāt army arrived at Sultānpūr. *Malik-ut-tujjār* was forced to raise the siege of Lāliṅg and retire to the Deccan. Mirān Ādil Khān reigned subsequently for three years till 1441. According to Ferishta he suffered Martyrdom[1] at Burhāṇpūr. He was buried at Thāḷner by the side of his father. Mirān Ādil Khān was succeeded by his son Mirān Mubārak. He reigned for a period of sixteen years without undertaking any foreign conquest or drawing upon himself the hostility of his neighbours. However, he led two campaigns against the *Rājā* of Bāglāṇa. This brought him into conflict with Mahmūd Khiljī of Māḷvā.

MIRAN MUBARAK

It may be mentioned here that after the death of Muhammad Śāh II of Gujarāt in February 1451, Mahmūd Khiljī of Māḷvā resolved to seize the opportunity of conquering Gujarāt. He assembled a strong army and invaded Nandurbār. The commander of the fortress of Nandurbār, Alāuddin Śuhrāb made no attempt to hold the fort against such a force. He surrendered it to Mahmūd Khiljī who then advanced to Baroda. He was, however, ultimately defeated and had to flee to his own territory. After a few years Mahmūd led a desultory was against the Bahamanīs. On being forced by a superior army he beat a hasty retreat. Soon after his return, Mahmūd Śāh was approached by his vassal, the *Rājā* of Bāglāṇa whose territory had been invaded by Mubārak Khān Fāruqī of Khāndeś. Mahmūd sent an army to help the *Rājā*. Mubārak was completely defeated and fled after suffering heavy losses. Mubārak again attacked the *Rājā* of Bāglāṇa next year. However, on hearing of the approach of the Māḷvā army to the help of the *Rājā*, Mubārak had to retreat to his country without risking a battle. Mirān Mubārak Khān Fāruqī died on June 5, 1457. He was succeeded by Ādil Khān II. Ādil Khān had a very long and fruitful reign of 46 years. Ferishta remarks that under his government, the province of Khāndeś attained a degree of prosperity which it had never known under any of its former rulers[2]. He was one of the most powerful and energetic rulers of Khāndeś. He spread his power over the neighbouring chiefs of Goṇḍvana and Gaḍha Maṇḍalā whose *rājās* acknowledged fealty to him. He suppressed the depredations of the Koḷīs and Bhils, thus ensuring safety to the travellers in his dominion. He further carried his conquest as far as Jhārkhaṇḍ, the modern Chotā Nāgpūr and assumed in consequence of these circumstances, the title of *Śāh-i-Jhārkhaṇḍ* (King of the forest region). Ādil Khān strengthened Asirgaḍ, by fortifying the strong outwork of Malaigaḍ, built the citadel of Burhāṇpūr and raised many magnificent buildings in that town. It was during his reign that in 1462, Mahmūd Śāh Begāḍā, the *Sultān* of Gujarāt, received a call for help from

ADIL KHAN II.

[1] *Briggs*, IV, p. 296. The expression implies assassination.

[2] *Briggs*, IV, p. 298.

the infant Bahamanī ruler Nizām Śāh. The latter had been attacked by Mahmūd Khiljī of Māḷvā. Mahmūd Begāḍā marched to Nandurbār and thence eastward into Khāndeś. He forced the Malwese army to retire to its own country in utter confusion. During the reign of Muhammad Śāh Bahamanī III, Ādil Khān II of Khāndeś paid a complimentary visit to the former and was accorded a royal reception at Bidar. There is evidence to show that Bahamanī coins were current in Khāndeś and the Bahamanī *Sultān* was mentioned in the Friday prayers in Khāndeś. When Ādil Khān was in the Bahamanī capital the city was given to pleasure and rejoicing and no stone was left unturned to make the visit of Ādil Khān a grand success[1]. Perhaps this new relationship between the Bahamanī *Sultān* and the *Sultān* of Khāndeś which developed and was built up over a period of time encouraged Ādil Khān to severe his relations with the *Sultān* of Gujarāt. Ādil Khān openly declared that he owed no allegiance to the *Sultān* of Gujarāt. He withheld the payment of the usual tribute to the *Sultāns* of Gujarāt. This brought upon him the invasion of Mahmūd Śāh Begāḍā. Mahmūd Śāh ordered his army into Khāndeś and directed that it should not return till the arrears of the tribute had been paid. This event took place in 1498. The Gujarat army led by *Sultān* Begāḍā moved into Khāndeś. The Khāndeś army retreated within the walls of Thāḷner and Asir. Both the places were invested by the forces of Mahmūd Begāḍā. Ādil Khān, unable to cope up with the superior strength of the Gujarāt forces, agreed to pay arrears of tribute. The Gujarāt forces then retired to their kingdom[2]. After this Ādil Khān maintained cordial relations with the *Sultāns* of Gujarāt whose court he visited[3]. Ādil Khān died in 1503 A.D. He was buried, at his request, near the palace of *Daulat Maidān* (Royal Grounds) in Burhāṇpūr[4].

---

[1] *Bahamanis of the Deccan*, p. 330.

[2] In this connection Ferishta says, "Some historians state that Mahmood Shah marched in person against Adil Khan, and having arrived on the river Tapti, received his submission there," (*Briggs*, IV, p. 73.)

A very interesting account of the campaign of Mahmud Bagada is given by Ferishta in his history of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. He says that "when Mahmud arrived with his army at Sultanpur, Adil Khan requested the aid of *Imad-ul-Mulk* and Ahmad Nizam Shah to oppose Mahmud Bagada. Ahmad Nizam Shah was at this time investing Daulatabad. He raised the siege and marched with 15,000 troops to Burhanpur where the allies camped. The allies brought about the defeat of the Gujarat forces by employing a stratagem of doping an elephant in the Gujarat army and by creating confusion in it thereby. Ferishta concludes by saying that the "Guzerat historians have omitted to mention this defeat, desirous, perhaps, to conceal this blot on the fame of Mahmood Shah Begurra, so that god only knows whether it be true or false." *Briggs*, III, p. 203.

[3] *Cambridge History of India*, III, p. 313.

[4] *Briggs*, IV, p. 299. It may be mentioned here that Khandesh did not remain unaffected by the upheavals that were rocking the Bahamani Kingdom. After the death of Mahmud Gawan the prime minister of the Bahamani *Sultans* the rivalry between the Deccanis and the foreigners erupted again and hundreds were killed on both sides in the streets of Bidar, the Bahamani capital. When peace was restored *Malik Naib*, Qasim Barid and *Imad-ul-Mulk* administered the city and kept the young king Mahmud Shah under subjugation. Dilawar Khan, the African, resenting his exclusion from the highest office, attempted, in obedience to the secret orders of

CHAPTER 8.

The Faruqis of Khandesh.

DAUD KHAN.

Ādil Khān had left no male issue. The Kingship of Khāndeś devolved on his younger brother Dāud. It will be recalled here that Malik Nasir had expelled his younger brother Iftikār Hasan, to Gujarāt where he and his descendants were given protection by the *Sultāns* of Gujarāt. 'Ādil Khān, the great great grandson of Malik Hasan was now enjoying the protection of Mahmūd Begāḍā. He was, incidently, Begāḍā's grandson too. Most of Malik Hasan's descendants had married princesses of the royal house of Gujarāt. Mahmūd Begāḍā had induced Ādil Khān shortly before the latter's death to nominate his grandson Ādil Khān as heir apparent. Mahmūd Śāh, however, could not press the claim at that time and Dāud succeeded to the throne of Khāndeś without opposition. He was a feeble but reckless prince. He fell under the influence of two scheming brothers, Husain Ali and Yār Ali. He appointed the former as his *Vazīr* and gave him the title of Hisāmuddin. At the instigation of his new *Vazīr* he declared his intention of attacking some of the frontier towns of the Ahmadnagar Kingdom. It may be mentioned here that after the murder of Mahmūd Gāvān, the Bahamanī prime minister, that Kingdom had disintegrated and provincial governors had assumed independence. Malik Ahmad of Ahmadnagar was the first to assume the royal title. He was followed by Yusuf Ādil of Bijāpūr and Fatehullāh *Imād-ul-mulk* of Berār. Ahmad Nizām Śāh, anticipating the movement of Dāud Khān, marched an army into Khāndeś. Unable to face Ahmad Nizām Śāh, Dāud Khān retired into the fort of Asir and appealed to the *Sultān* of Māḷvā, Nasiruddin, for help. A force was sent by Nasiruddin under Ikbāl Khān to assist Dāud Khān. Malik Ahmad, unwilling to embroil himself in a fresh dispute with the *Sultān* of Māḷvā, retreated to his own territory. Dāud Khān had, however, to pay a price for inviting the assistance of the *Sultān* of Māḷvā. Ikbāl Khān did not withdraw on hearing of the retreat of Malik Ahmad. He advanced up to Burhāṇpūr and forced Dāud Khān to agree to the *Khutbā* to be recited in the name of Nasiruddin. Ikbāl Khān retired to Maṇḍū after taking a tribute of two elephants and sundry articles of value from Dāud Khān[1]. The inglorious rule of Dāud

---

*contd.*

the young king who chafed under the restraint to which he was subjected, to assassinate the ministers. He, however, failed and was in his attempt obliged to flee to Khandesh to the asylum of Adil Khan Faruqi.

Subsequently when Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Berar declared their independence, Qasim Barid became supreme and seized power in Bidar. Dilawar Khan, with the support of Adil Khan of Khandesh, returned to help the king. He defeated Qasim Barid but was killed accidently while in pursuit of Qasim Barid, who now emerged victorious.

[1] Some historians say that the attack of Ahmad Nizam on the kingdom of Khandesh was not the result of the proposed aggression of Daud Khan against the Ahmadnagar territory alone but the invitation Ahmad Nizam Shah had received from a nobleman of the Court of Khandesh who plotted to depose Daud Khan and put Alam Khan on the throne. Sayyad Ali gives a fictitious account of this episode stating that after the death of Adil Khan, Mahmud Shah ascended the throne of, Khandesh. Feeling insulted on the assumption of his name by the *Sultan* of Khandesh, Mahmud Bagada attacked Khandesh, being invited at the same time by the brother of Mahmud Shah. Sayyad Ali then states, like Ferishta, how Ahmad Shah by a stratagem wrought defeat upon Mahmud Bagada of Gujarat who returned to his dominion

Khān ended on 28th August 1508, after eight years. It may be mentioned here that after the death of Qāsim Barīd in 1504, Amir Ali Barīd, Ahmad Nizām Śāh and *Qutb-ul-mulk* conspired against Yusuf Ādil Śāh whom they regarded as a *Siāh* heretic. Yusuf was unable to withstand the confederacy arrayed against him and fled to Berār. *Imād-ul-mulk* could not protect him against his enemies. He advised him to retire to Khāndeś and take asylum with Dāud Khān. From Khāndeś, Yusuf sowed dissension among his enemies. He succeeded in bringing Ahmad Śāh and *Qutb-ul-mulk* to his side. He then left Khāndeś to attack Ali Barīd with the help of *Imād-ul-mulk,* defeating Ali Barīd at Kalam in Berār.

DAUD KHAN.

Dāud Khān's son Ghaznī Khān was placed on the throne by Malik Hisāmuddin and other officers of the Kingdom. Ghaznī Khān was, however, poisoned by Hisāmuddin after a reign of only ten days. There was now no male heir to the throne residing in Khāndeś. The nobles of the court therefore decided to raise to the throne one Ālam Khān, a scion of the Fāruqī family then residing at Ahmadnagar. Ahmad Nizām Śāh and *Imād-ul-mulk* of Berār decided to support and acknowledge Ālam Khān as the king of Khāndeś and, invaded Khāndeś. Mahmūd Begāḍā, however, decided to dispute the claim of Ālam Khān. He upheld the claim of Ādil Khān, the son of Hasan and grandson of Malik Nasir by the daughter of Mahmūd Śāh, who was then residing at Thāḷner and had begged Mahmūd Śāh for his support, to capture the government of his ancestor. Mahmūd Śāh, with his forces, marched towards Asir and halted at the town of Cikhali. Khāndeś was thus divided into two factions, one supporting the Gujarāt claimant and the other, the Ahmadnagar claimant. When Malik Ahmad and *Imād-ul-mulk* heard of the arrival of Mahmūd Śāh at Thāḷner they decided to leave four thousand cavalry each to assist Ālam Khān. They themselves retired to Gāvilgaḍ. Perceiving themselves unable to resist, the Khāndeś officers dispersed. Hisāmuddin joined hands with the king of Gujarāt. The troops left to support Ālam Khān soon deserted him, thus forcing Ālam Khān to flee from Burhāṇpūr and again seek the protection of Ahmad Nizām Śāh. In the meanwhile Malik Larun, an officer in charge of Asir, who had refused to acknowledge allegiance to either of the contestants, submitted to Mahmūd Śāh of Gujarāt. With the opposition thus liquidated Mahmūd Śāh of Gujarāt held a court at Thāḷner and installed Ādil Khān III to the throne of Khāndeś with the title of Azim Humāyūn. He cemented the alliance between the two kingdoms by giving his grand daughter[1] in marriage to Ādil Khān III and presenting him a sum of Rs. 2,00,000.

GHAZNI KHAN.

ADIL KHAN III.

---

*contd.*
defeated and humiliated and for which the *Sultan* of Khandesh ever remained grateful to Ahmad Nizam Shah. This account is purely fictitious because no one ascended the throne of Khandesh by the name of Mahmud Shah. (*Ahmadnagarchi Nizam Shahi* pp. 32—34).

[1] Daughter of Muzaffar Shah who later succeeded his father Mahmud Shah Begada.

CHAPTER 8.
The Faruqis of Khandesh.
ADIL KHAN III.

On assumption of power, Ādil Khān bestowed upon Malik Larun the title of Khān Jahān and the *Jāgir* of Ahulas. Hisāmuddin was given the title of Śer Yār Khān, and the town of Danwar as his fief. He was placed in charge of Thāḷner. Ādil Khān now removed his family and property from Thāḷner to Burhāṇpūr and Hisāmuddin proceeded to Thāḷner. Ādil Khān had some trouble with this noble. He suspected his loyalty. Hisāmuddin and Ahmad Nizām Śāh seem to have plotted to place Ālam Khān on the throne. Ādil Khān ordered Hisāmuddin to the court. Not suspecting any foul play, Hisāmuddin visited Ādil Khān in the audience hall. No sooner had he left the hall than he was murdered by the king's servants. They had received previous instructions to that effect. The officers of Hisāmuddin were attacked and cut down by Malik Burhāṇ, an officer of the *Sultān* of Gujarāt. This vigorous but sanguinary measure restored to the king the whole of the Thāḷner district, which formed nearly half of his territory. It also removed an ambitious and powerful rival. Subsequently Ādil Khān visited the fort of Asir. He discovered that Śer Khān and Saif Khān, the two Gujarāt nobles, whom he had left in charge of Asir were intriguing, with Ahmad Nizām Śāh. Nizām Śāh had actually arrived with Ālam Khān on the frontiers of the Kingdom. Ādil Khān, thereupon, sent urgent messages to Muzaffar Śāh of Gujarāt, who had succeeded Mahmūd Śāh Begāḍā, to send a force to his assistance. Muzaffar sent eight lac rupees to Ādil Khān to enable him to raise an army. A large force under Dilāvar Khān and Safdar Khān was also sent to his aid. Muzaffar Śāh informed the ambassador of Ahmad Śāh at his court, of his determination to support the lineal descendant of the House of Faruq even at the risk of his crown.

Ahmad Nizām Śāh, too weak to face such a formidable adversary, thought it prudent to retreat. Ādil Khān employed the forces sent by the *Sultān* of Gujarāt to help him in levying tribute from the *Rājā* of Bāglāṇa, a vassal of the *Sultān* of Ahmadnagar. He realised a large sum of money from Bāglaṇa. The Gujarāt forces then returned to their country. In the year 1517 A. D. Ādil Khān accompanied his father-in-law, Muzaffar Śāh, in a campaign in Māḷvā where the Rajputs under *Mahārāṇā* Saṅga and Medini Rāi, had deposed *Sultān* Mahmūd II of Māḷvā. Ādil Khān, along with Kivām-ul-mulk, first marched against *Mahārāṇā* Saṅga of Citoḍ while Muzaffar marched against Maṇḍū. After the fall of Maṇḍū, Ādil Khān, with a small body of light cavalry, went in pursuit of Rāṇā Saṅga again. The latter had retreated to Citoḍ. However, Rāṇā Saṅga and Medini Rāi, regrouped their forces shortly and inflicted a crushing defeat upon Mahmūd II of Maḷvā and the Gujarāt contingent of 10,000 horse led by Ādil Khān and *Kivām-ul-mulk*. Muzaffar Śāh sent further reinforcements. Their services were, however, not required as the great *Mahārāṇā* Saṅga had already restored Mahmūd to the throne of Māḷvā. Ādil Khān then returned to Khāndeś. The rest of the reign of Ādil Khān is

undistinguished and is not marked by any noteworthy event. In the year 1520, Ādil Khān fell dangerously ill and died at Burhāṇpūr after a reign of 19 years. He was succeeded by his eldest son Mirān Muhammad whose mother was the daughter of Muzaffar Śāh and sister of Bahādur Śāh of Gujarāt.

ADIL KHAN III.

MIRAN MUHAMMAD.

At the time of the accession of Mirān Muhammad, Imād Śāh of Berār and Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh of Ahmadnagar were embroiled in a war with each other. Imād Śāh was defeated and took refuge with Mirān Muhammad of Khāndeś. Mirān Muhammad and Imād Śāh wrote to Bahādur Śāh of Gujarāt seeking his mediation, in the dispute with Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh. Bahādur Śāh agreed and sent *Ain-ul-mulk,* his ambassador, to mediate a peace. Burhāṇ agreed to a temporary truce. However, on the return of *Ain-ul-mulk* to Gujarāt, he overran the territory of Berār by attacking Māhūr and other places. Imād Śāh now formed an alliance with Mirān Muhammad who marched with all his army and elephants to the aid of *Imād-ul-mulk*. In a desultory action *Imād-ul-mulk* defeated a contingent of Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh and gave himself to plunder. Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh rallied and with a body of three thousand cavalry attacked the allied army. He completely routed both Imād Śāh and Mirān Muhammad. The allies lost several of their elephants. A considerable number from their army were slain on the battlefield. Mirān Muhammad fled towards Asir. Imād Śāh fled towards Gāvilgaḍ. Mirān Muhammad entreated Bahādur Śāh of Gujarāt to send assistance[1] in his fight against Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh. Bahādur Śāh decided to march in person. He arrived at Nandurbār where he was met by Mirān Muhammad and the *Rājā* of Bāglāṇa. Bahādur gave his sister in marriage to Mirān Muhammad and bestowed upon him the title of Śāh. After the rainy season of 1528 Bahādur Śāh marched towards the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar by way of Berār. On the way he was joined by Imād Śāh. Bahādur advanced through Berār. He asked Imād Śāh to dismiss his officers and appoint his nominees in their place. This threat put Imād Śāh in a quandary. He therefore pleaded with Bahādur Śāh, on the advice of Mirān Muhammad, to march towards Ahmadnagar. Bahādur accepted this advice and occupied Ahmadnagar. He was accompanied by the Berār and Khāndeś

[1] After the death of Muzaffar Shah a war of succession ensued between his sons Sikandar, Latif and Bahadur. The town of Nandurbar was a scene of great activity during this great turmoil in Gujarat. *Imad-ul-mulk*, a nobleman of Gujarat court raised Sikandar to the throne whereas Latif started collecting army at Nandurbar. When a force was sent against him he retreated from Nandurbar and fled to Baglana but subsequently returned to Gujarat. In the meanwhile, Sikandar was assassinated by *Imad-ul-mulk* Khush Kadam and his infant son was raised to the throne under the title of Mahmud II. Prince Bahadur was returning to Gujarat from the north at the express invitation of the principal nobles of the Gujarat who detested the behaviour of *Imad-ul-mulk*. *Imad-ul-mulk* now wrote to Burhan Nizam Shah to invade Nandurbar sending him monetary gifts. Burhan accepted the gifts but did nothing in return. Bahadur Shah now reached the territory of Gujarat and entered Champaner. *Imad-ul-mulk* was unable to oppose him. Latif Khan who was lurking in the town fled to Nandurbar and was joined by a number of partisans. Ghazi Khan who was upholding Bahadur's cause in the Nandurbar district defeated Latif and made him prisoner. Latif died on his way to capital where he was being sent at the orders of Bahadur Shah.

**CHAPTER 8.**

**The Faruqis of Khandesh.**

MIRAN MUHAMMAD.

troops. The Ahmadnagar army was active in cutting off the supplies of the invaders. Bahādur now turned towards the fort of Daulatābād which he invested. Here he was attacked by Burhāṇ Nizām. Burhāṇ tried to seduce *Imād-ul-mulk*. The latter had grown suspicious about the intentions of Bahādur Śāh. Burhāṇ succeeded in his plan. Bahādur Śāh now realised his difficult position. One of his allies was deserting him. Mirān Muhammad desired peace. Bahādur therefore permitted Mirān Muhammad to carry negotiations for peace and agreed on terms sufficiently humiliating to Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh. Burhāṇ agreed to recite the *Khutbā* in the name of Bahādur Śāh and return the elephants of the allies captured in the battle. It was with great difficulty that Mirān Muhammad succeeded in recovering his elephants from Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh. With the treaty thus concluded, Bahādur Śāh, Mirān Muhammad and *Imād-ul-mulk* returned to their respective dominions.

In 1532 disputes arose between Bahādur Śāh of Gujarāt and Mahmūd Śāh of Māḷvā. The former decided to settle the issue by recourse to arms. He advanced towards Maṇḍū. He was accompanied by Mirān Muhammad Śāh of Khāndeś. Maṇḍū was captured and the whole of Māḷvā was annexed to Gujarāt. Bahādur Śāh returned to Gujarāt. On his way he was entertained by Mirān Muhammad Śāh at Burhāṇpūr. Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh, alarmed at the conquest of Māḷvā, sent Śāh Tāhir and Narsu Paṇḍit to Burhāṇpūr. He requested Mirān Muhammad Śāh to intercede on his behalf with Bahādur Śāh to reconcile some differences which existed between him and the *Sultān* of Gujarāt. On the advice of Mirān Muhammad Śāh, Bahādur Śāh agreed to the proposal. The meeting between the two took place at Burhāṇpūr in the presence of Mirān Muhammad Śāh. Bahādur gratified Burhāṇ's vanity by recognising his title of Śāh.

In 1532, Bahādur Śāh of Gujarāt, on learning of the disloyalty of Rajput Silahdi, a vassal of the *Sultāns* of Māḷvā, marched to Māḷvā. He dispatched a force under Mirān Muhammad Śāh and *Imād-ul-mulk* Malikji against Silahdi. Mirān Muhammad Śāh established Bahādur's authority over the outlying districts of Māḷvā and met Bahādur Śāh at Sāraṅgpūr. Bahādur Śāh, then returned to Champaner and Mirān Muhammad went to Khāndeś. After the rainy season of 1532 Mirān Muhammad again joined Bahādur. They proceeded to Citoḍ which was captured. Both the Kings then retired to their respective kingdoms. They returned to Māḷvā again in 1534. Bahādur Śāh now became estranged from Humāyūn. The Moghal emperor attacked him. Bahādur Śāh could do nothing against the skilled Moghal archers and had to beat a hasty retreat to Gujarāt with Mirān Muhammad Śāh and his other officers in Māḷvā. He was hotly pursued by Humāyūn who occupied the whole of Gujarāt and marched into Khāndeś. Muhammad Śāh begged Humāyūn to spare his small kingdom the horrors of an invasion. At the same time, he wrote to the Sultanates of the

Deccan to unite, against Humāyūn in defence of the Deccan. But Humāyūn's affairs were confined to a military promenade through Khāndeś whence he returned to Maṇḍū[1]. The sudden eruption of Śer Śāh from Bengal into Delhi territory obliged him to return hastily to Agra. Bahādur closely followed the retreating Moghals and re-established his hold on Gujarāt. Bahādur then requested Mirān Muhammad Śāh to invade Māḷvā and drive away the Moghal Officers who had been stationed there. Mirān Muhammad Śāh, in concert with Mallu Khān, the Gujarāt Governor of Māḷvā, took possession of Maṇḍū. Here he heard of the death of Bahādur Śāh. He himself was chosen to succeed the vacant throne of Gujarāt by the mother of Bahādur Śāh and the nobles of Gujarāt[2]. He was formally crowned at Maṇḍū. His reign as *Sultān* Muhammad II was, however, short-lived. On his journey to Ahmadābād he was taken ill and died in May 1535. He lies buried at Burhāṇpūr in the vault of his father Ādil Khān.

MIRAN MUHAMMAD.

Mirān Muhammad Śāh was succeeded by his brother Mirān Mubārak Khān[3]. He immediately brought upon himself an invasion from Gujarāt. The late king Mirān Muhammad had brought up Mahmūd Khān, the son of Latif Khān, the rebel brother of the late *Sultān* Bahādur Śāh of Gujarāt. The Gujarāt nobles decided to put Mahmūd Khān on the throne of Gujarāt. Mirān Mubārak hoped to receive a summons to the throne of Gujarāt. Seeing the circumstances taking a turn contrary to his wishes, he refused to surrender Mahmūd Khān, the declared heir to the throne of Gujarāt. The Gujarāt army under Ikhtiyār Khān invaded Khāndeś. They forced Mirān Mubārak to surrender Mahmūd Khān. He was taken to Gujarāt and crowned king. Differences soon developed between Ikhtiyār Khān who had now become regent and *Imād-ul-mulk* Malikji, another prominent noble of the kingdom. These led to the assassination of the former. Another noble Daryā Khān now came into prominence. A rift developed between *Imād-ul-mulk* and Daryā Khān leading to an open clash. *Imād-ul-mulk* was defeated and driven into Khāndeś. He was hospitably received by Mirān Mubārak who encouraged him to collect a body of 12,000 troops. Both of them then marched to meet Daryā Khān, their ostensible object being, to secure the throne for Mubārak Śāh. Daryā Khān, in the meanwhile, along with Mahmūd Śāh followed *Imād-ul-mulk*. A battle was fought at Dangri, near Tāpī in which the Khāndeś troops were defeated. Mubārak fled to Asir and *Imād-ul-mulk* went away to Māḷvā. Daryā Khān, following up his success, plundered and laid waste the country of Khāndeś. He compelled Mubārak to pay a heavy indemnity. A

MIRAN MUBARAK.

---

1 Haig, III, p. 333.

2 Sultan Bahadur Shah had during his lifetime indicated to the assembled nobles this his sisters son Miran Muhammad Shah, ruler of Khandesh, should succeed him to the throne of Gujarat.

3 The nobles of Khandesh raised Raja, the son of Miran Muhammad Shah to the othrne but Miran Mubarak deposed him and assumed royalty. *Ayeen Akbery* p. 345.

**CHAPTER 8.**

**The Faruqis of Khandesh.**

MIRAN MUBARAK.

treaty was concluded. Mirān Mubārak paid a visit to Mahmud Śāh accompanied by his respectable nobles. Daryā Khān and Mahmūd Śāh then returned to Gujarāt[1]. It may be recalled here that after the annexation of Māḷvā by Humāyūn and later, with the occupation of the Delhi throne by Śer Śāh, Śujāt Khān had been appointed governor of Māḷvā. Later, when Humāyūn recovered his throne, Śujāt Khān refused to acknowledge him as his sovereign. After his death his son Bāz Bahādur assumed royal titles. When Akbar ascended the throne he invaded Māḷvā and forced Bāz Bahādur to flee. Bāz Bahādur sought protection with Mirān Mubārak Śāh of Khāndeś. Pīr Muhammad Khān, the Moghal General, pursued him to the very centre of Khāndeś, and devastated the country. He sacked the city of Burhāṇpūr, dishonoured the females and committed enormities unfit to relate[2]. Mirān Mubārak Śāh therefore wrote to Tufāl Khān of Berār, who had become all powerful by usurping authority from Imād Śāh of Berār, to assist him in this moment of crisis. Tufāl Khān responded to the entreaty of Mirān Mubārak Śāh and marched with all his forces to Khāndeś. Pīr Muhammad Khān who was withdrawing with all his booty and spoils without order and discipline, was surprised by the allied forces on the banks of Narmadā. He was defeated and put to flight with heavy losses. The allies marched right up to Maṇḍū and reinstated Bāz Bahādur on the throne. They then returned to their respective territories. Mirān Mubārak Śāh did not survive for long after this. He died in December 1566 after a reign of thirty-two years.

MIRAN MUHAMMAD KHAN.

Mirān Mubārak was succeeded by his son Mirān Muhammad Khān. Immediately on his accession he had to face an attack from Gujarāt. Gujarāt was troubled by the warring nobles who had practically divided the country among themselves. Itimād Khān was the regent in Gujarāt to whom a demand was made by Caṅgiz Khān, a fief holder, for additional territory to support

---

[1] It was at this time that Miran Mubarak acquired for himself the districts of Sultanpur and Nandurbar. Mahmud Shah when in confinement in Asir (under Miran Muhammad Shah) had promised that if ever he succeeded to the government of Gujarat he would give the districts to Miran Mubarak. Upon this occasion he fulfilled the promise. *Briggs*, IV, p. 315.

The account given by Commissariat based on *Mirat-i-Sikandari* is as under :

"Twice during this reign, Sultan Mubarak Shah, ruler of Khandesh who was closely related by blood to the Gujarat dynasty and who resented the fact that the nobles of that Kingdom had not only passed over his claims to the succession in favour of boy-rulers like Mahmud III and Ahmad III but had also partitioned the country among themselves, led his army to the Gujarat frontier in order to take advantage of the distracted conditions of that country. On the first occasion he was induced to abandon his designs upon the pious remonstrances of Saiyid Mubarak. But the second invasion was instigated by Itimad Khan himself who had taken refuge at the court of Burhanpur when he found his power at Ahmadabad temporarily eclipsed. This time the invader could only be bought off by the surrender of the districts of Sultanpur and Nandurbar which were thus alienated from the Gujarat Sultanate in this unhappy reign" I, p. 549. The version of this episode given by *Mirat-i-Sikandari* appears to be correct because a victorious Mahmud Shah would never have agreed to the cession of these two districts to Miran Mubarak as narrated by Ferishta.

[2] *Briggs* IV, p. 315.

his troops. Imād Khān advised Cangiz Khān to recover the district of Nandurbār which formerly formed part of Gujarāt but was now held by the *Sultān* of Khāndeś. Cangiz Khān fell for the bait, invaded and occupied Nandurbār. He forced the Khāndeś army to retreat and advanced towards Thāḷner. Mirān Muhammad wrote pressing letters to Tufāl Khān to send assistance to fight this aggression from Gujarāt. Tufāl Khān responded favourably. On arrival of the Berār troops both the armies marched to the western frontier. On their arrival at Thāḷner they found Cangiz Khān strongly posted with ravines on his flanks and his artillery and carriages of all descriptions forming a barrier in his front. Mirān Muhammad avoided an attack during daylight. He reconnoitred Cangiz Khān's position and made every effort to induce him to quit his position. However, at night time, Cangiz Khān fled to Broach, leaving all his army and artillery in the hands of the combined forces. Nandurbār was immediately retaken and Mirān Muhammad occupied the territory vacated by Cangiz Khān. The affairs in Gujarāt had not improved much and many noblemen even refused to acknowledge the right of Muzaffar Śāh to the throne. Mirān Muhammad thought it a splendid opportunity to stake his claim to the throne of Gujarāt. He expected to get support from this faction of the nobility. He, therefore, collected a force of 30,000 horse and marched to Ahmadābād. Cangiz Khān, who had emerged successful in the power struggle in Gujarāt, on hearing of the attack of Mirān Muhammad, collected a force of 7,000 and assisted by the Mirzās, the cousins of Emperor Akbar opposed Mirān Muhammad and inflicted a crushing defeat upon him. Mirān Muhammad retreated to Asir, leaving behind, his elephants, artillery and all the royal equipage which the rulers of Khāndeś possessed[1]. The Mirzās had now become a nuisance. Not only did they carry out depredatory activities in Gujarāt but they extended their arms to Khāndeś as well. They invaded Khāndeś. Before Mirān Muhammad could collect an army sufficient to oppose them, they laid waste and levied contributions in several districts. They then quitted the province[2] in 1572. This coincided with the annexation of Gujarāt by Emperor Akbar in the same year.

Shortly after this, Khāndeś was engaged in conflict with Murtazā Nizām Śāh of Ahmadnagar who had invaded Berār. Tufāl Khān of Berār had imprisoned Burhān Imād Śāh and had usurped all power. Tufāl Khān was defeated and fled to Khāndeś to seek protection from Mirān Muhammad Śāh. He, however, refused to give him asylum, fearing revenge from Murtazā Nizām Śāh. Ultimately Tufāl Khān was captured and the whole of Berār was annexed to Ahmadnagar. The northward expansion of Ahmadnagar roused the suspicions of Mirān Muhammad Śāh and also of Ibrāhīm Qutb Śāh of Golconḍā. A revolt in

[1] *Briggs*, IV, p. 318.

[2] *Briggs*, IV, p. 319.

**CHAPTER 8. The Faruqis of Khandesh.**

MIRAN MUHAMMAD. KHAN.

Berār encouraged Mirān Muhammad Śāh to intervene. He sent an army of 3,000 horse and seven to eight thousand infantry under the command of his minister Zainuddin[1] to Berār. It was in support of the cause of a pretender, probably a scion of the Imādśāhī family, who had taken refuge in his court. This force occupied a large portion of Berār. On hearing of this Murtazā marched in haste towards Berār. His officer Sayyad Murtazā, who had preceded his master, came up with the pretender at the head of eight thousand troops. Sayyad Murtazā attacked and defeated Zainuddin. Murtazā Nizām Śāh, in the meanwhile, had entered Khāndeś by the Rohankheḍā ghāṭ and laid waste the country to the very gates of Burhāṇpūr. Mirān Muhammad Śāh shut himself up in the fortress of Asir. It was invested by Caṅgiz Khān, the *Vazir* of Murtazā Nizām Śāh with 8,000 troops. Mirān Muhammad Śāh sent a detachment of his troops to cut off the rear of the besieging forces. The detachment was repulsed with heavy losses. A few officers of the Khāndeś army were taken prisoners. Murtazā Nizām Śāh then himself marched in person to Asir from whence he sent out parties to devastate the surrounding country. Mirān Muhammad Śāh was compelled to purchase peace by the payment of an indemnity of 10,00,000 *Muzaffari* coins of Gujarāt. It was only then that the Nizāmśāhī troops retired to their own country. In the year 1576 Mirān Muhammad Śāh fell sick. He died a few months after.[2]

RAJA ALI KHAN.

Mirān Muhammad Śāh was succeeded by his minor son Husain Khān. But Rājā Ali Khān, the late King's brother, who was at Agra at the time of the death of Mirān Muhammad, hurried towards Burhāṇpūr. He was received by the nobles of the Kingdom who placed him on the throne. Husain Khān was deposed.[3] Emperor Akbar had lately annexed the Kingdoms of

---

1 Sayyad Ali places the strength of the army at 20,000 troops. *Ahmadnagarchi Nizamshahi*, p. 173.

2 The account of this estrangement between Khandesh and Ahmadnagar and the subsequent attack by Ahmadnagar on Khandesh given by Sayyad Ali does not differ substantially from the one given by Ferishta. His account is as under: Miran Muhammad was incited to attack Berar by Qutbshah and Adil Shah who promised help. When the commander in chief of Khandesh marched in Berar all the officers of Ahmadnagar except Chagtai Khan left their posts and fled to Ellichpur. Khurshid Khan, the Sarlashkar of Ahmadnagar, in Berar, left for Gavilgad and from there he harassed the Khandesh army. The Khandesh army overtook the Ahmadnagar troops at Narnala which it besieged and inflicted a crushing defeat upon them. The Ahmadnagar army regrouped on the banks of Purna but had to fall back with heavy losses after being attacked by Miran Muhammad Shah. When the news of this disaster reached Murtaza Nizam Shah he marched with his general Sayyad Murtaza. This unnerved Zain-ul-Abidin the commander of Khandesh forces who withdrew to his own country. Miran Muhammad fled to Asir fort. Murtaza in the meanwhile marched to Burhanpur and completely sacked the town. Murtaza then proceeded to besiege Asir fort. On his way he defeated a contingent of Khandesh troops sent to oppose him. He devastated the entire districts of Asir and Burhanpur and marching further besieged the fort of Asir. The siege continued reducing Miran Muhammad to a miserable plight. Miran Muhammad, therefore, sent Khan Khanan to Murtaza Nizam Shah begging for peace. Murtaza Nizam Shah agreed to raise the siege of Asirgad and retire to his territory on condition of receiving an indemnity of 1 lakh *Muzaffari* Rupees. The siege was raised and the amount was paid to Murtaza Nizam Shah after he crossed the river at Burhanpur on his way to his Kingdom. (*Ahmadnagarchi Nizamshahi*, pp. 173—176).

3 *Briggs*, IV, p. 321.

CHAPTER 8.

The Faruqis of Khandesh.

RAJA ALI KHAN.

Mālwā and Gujarāt to his empire. In the summer of 1577 he sent an expeditionary force to Khāndeś which secured the submission of Rājā Ali Khān. The importance of the submission of Rājā Ali Khān to Akbar cannot be minimised because it was a part of a grand scheme of the Moghal emperors to subjugate the entire Deccan. Between the Deccan and the Moghal empire Khāndeś was the only political barrier. Rājā Ali Khān earnestly desired the maintenance of independence of the Deccan states. He was, however, apprehensive of their future as well as his own. The internecine strifes and bitter and bloody domestic feuds prevailing in the Deccan could, in the event of an imperial attack, prevent the Deccan states from rendering him any active assistance. This situation forced Rājā Ali Khān to forego his sympathies for the Deccan states and submit to Akbar. In the same year there was a rebellion in Gujarāt by one Muzaffar Husain Mirzā, who occupied Nandurbār and Baroda. The expeditionary force stationed in Khāndeś was sent against him. It was defeated. On hearing of the news Toḍar Mal who was at Patan hastened to Gujarāt and defeated the rebel. On the return of Toḍar Mal, Muzaffar Husain again raised his head and defeated Vazīr Khān, the viceroy of Sarnal. However, an accidental bullet shot, killed Mihar Ali, Muzaffar's deputy. Muzaffar fled in panic to Nandurbār. He was seized by Rājā Ali Khān and surrendered to Akbar.

In 1586 Akbar planned an invasion of Berār in support of a few discontented nobles of he Ahmadnagar court. They had rebelled against Salābat Khān, the prime minister of Ahmadnagar and had fled to Akbar's court. Khān Āzam, the governor of Mālvā was ordered to attack Berār. Rājā Ali Khān now sided with Ahmadnagar and the combined forces of the two effectively cut the raiders off their base and forced Khān Āzam to beat a hasty retreat to Gujarāt. While on his way to Gujarāt he suddenly came upon Sultānpūr and Nandurbār. He plundered them and retired to Māḷvā. The armies of Khāndeś and Ahmadnagar then retired to their respective territories.

In 1589, Akbar again sought the opportunity of interfering in the affairs of the Deccan. He supported Burhāṇ, the younger brother of Murtazā Nizām Śāh. The latter had been murdered. His son Husain had ascended the throne. However, Husain was also murdered in the same year. Burhāṇ's son Ismāīl was put on the throne. Burhāṇ now marched to the Deccan to depose his son and secure for himself the throne of Ahmadnagar. Akbar now wrote to Rājā Ali Khān to support Burhāṇ in his designs. After initial reverses Burhāṇ fled to Khāndeś. There he was reinforced by Rājā Ali Khān with an army. Rājā Ali Khān also sought the assistance of Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh. Jamāl Khān, the Ahmadnagar commander defeated the Ādilśāhī troops sent under Dilāvar Khān. He then turned to face the combined forces of Rājā Ali Khān and Burhāṇ. Jamāl Khān was, however, defeated and slain. Ismāīl Nizām Śāh was captured on the battle field Burhāṇ now ascended the

CHAPTER 8.

The Faruqis of Khandesh.

RAJA ALI KHAN.

throne of Ahmadnagar as Burhān Nizām Śāh II. Soon after he quarrelled with Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh about the employment of Dilāvar Khān, who had been disgraced by Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh. However, the intervention of Rājā Ali Khān and Muhammad Qulī Qutb Śāh saved the situation from deteriorating further.

In 1591 Akbar sent missions to the courts of the *Sultāns* of the Deccan. Faizi was accredited to Rājā Ali Khān of Khāndeś and Burhān Nizām Śāh II of Ahmadnagar. Faizi reported stubbornness on the part of the latter. Akbar then stationed a permanent force in Mālvā under Murād with instructions to intervene in the Deccan affairs at an opportune time.[1]

---

[1] The following extracts give information about the arrival of the *amirs* with an Imperial army at Asir and Burhanpur and the subsequent events.

It has been mentioned above, that Shahab Khan and other *amirs* were sent with 10,000 horse against Asir and Burhanpur. When Raja Ali Khan heard of the approach of this force, he drew in his horns and crept into his fortress. The *amirs* entered the country, and did not stop till they reached Bijanagar. Great dissension arose in the country of Asir, and Raja Ali Khan was reduced to beg pardon for his offences. He promised the *amirs* to send suitable tribute and some elephants in charge of his people to the Emperor's Court. At this time, Kutbu-ddin Muhammad Khan separated from the other *amirs*, and went off to Nandurbar and Sultanpur, in consequence of disturbances which had arisen in his *jagirs* of Broach and Baroda, through the proceedings of Muzaffar Husain. The disorders in Asir and Burhanpur which the *amirs* had been sent to settle being ended, by the submission of Raja Ali and his payment of tribute, the *amirs* retired to their respective jagirs. When Hakim *Ain-ul-mulk*, who had gone on an embassy to Adil the ruler of the Dakhin, returned, he was sent with the elephants and the tribute to the Imperial Court.

At this time Mir Murtaza and Khudawand Khan, ruler of the country of Birar in the Dakhin, marched to attack Ahmadnagar. They were defeated in battle by Salabat Khan, the *vakil* of *Nizam-ul-Mulk*, and then came complaining to the Imperial Court. A *farman* was sent to Azam Khan, ruler of Malwa, directing him to march against the Dakhin, and subdue Birar. *Farmans* were also sent to Mir Murtaza, Khudawand Khan, Tirandaz Khan, and other men of the Dakhin. Many of the great nobles, such as Abdul Matlab Khan, **Rai Durga, Raja Askaran, **and many others, too numerous to mention, were sent with artillery, three hundred elephants, and the army of Malwa on this expedition. Mir Fath-ulla, who had received the title of *Azdu-d-daula*, was sent to make arrangements in the Dakhin. *Khwajagi* Fath-ulla was appointed *bakhshi*, and Mukhtar Beg, *diwan* of this army.

This force concentrated at Hindia, on the borders of the Dakhin. 'Azam Khan had a feud with Shahabuddin Ahmad Khan, then ruler of Ujjain, because he suspected Shahabuddin and *Azdu-d-daula*. For six months the force remained inactive at Hindia, and at length matters reached such a pitch that Shahab-uddin, being offended with Azam Khan, went off to his *jagir* of Raisin. Azam Khan marched to attack him, and a dire calamity was upon the point of falling upon the royal army; but *Azdu-d-daula* managed to effect a reconciliation.

When Raja 'Ali Khan, the ruler of Asir and Burhanpur saw these dissensions in the Imperial army, he gathered his forces and marched against *Azdu-d-daula*. On his approach, *Azdu-d daula* went to him, and sought to win him over; but he did not succeed, so he retreated to Gujarat to strengthen Khan khanan.

The above-named (Azam Khan) went towards Birar, and plundered Elichpur, but not being able to maintain his ground, proceeded towards Nandurbar. The Dakhinis followed march by march, and Azam Khan, notwithstanding his great strength fell back before them, till he reached Nandurbar. He wrote letters to Khan-khanan at Ahmadabad, calling for assistance, and Khan-khanan sent me and a number of *amirs*, such as * *, on in advance, and declared his own intention of following. When I arrived at Mahmudabad, Azam Khan, left his army at Nandurbar, and proceeded with a few attendants to Ahmadabad. Khan khanan came out quickly from Ahmadabad to receive him, and they met at the place where I was resting, and then returned to Ahmadabad. 'Azam Khan's sister was wife of Khan-khanan, so he went to see her, and the two Khans resolved to proceed afterwards against the Dakhinis.

I and my associates marched against the rebels to Baroda, and Khan-khanan and Azam Khan followed me; but the latter went on quickly, in order to get the army at Nandurbar ready. Khan khanan wrote to me, directing me to wait at Baroda,

In 1593, dispute arose between Salābat Khān, the Ahmadnagar regent and Sayyad Murtazā, the governor of Berār. An action was fought between the two near Ahmadnagar wherein the latter was defeated. Sayyad Murtazā was closely pursued. He reached Burhāṇpūr where he sought the help of Rājā Ali Khān. Growing impatient, Sayyad Murtazā sacked the town of Burhāṇpur and marched towards Agra. Rājā Ali Khān, however, overtook Murtazā on the banks of Narmadā and defeated him. Murtazā, however, managed to escape and sought asylum with Akbar. Akbar enrolled him in his service and decided upon invading the Deccan. Rājā Ali Khān, on learning of the turn the events had taken, deputed an envoy to Akbar and presented all the elephants he had captured from Sayyad Murtazā. In the following year, however, Akbar sent Sayyad Murtazā and other Deccan chiefs to Māḷvā for the specific purpose of invading Berār. Ahmadnagar sent Mirzā Muhammad Taqī to oppose the invading army. When the imperial forces arrived at Handia, their commander deputed an envoy Śāh Fathullāh Śirājī to Rājā Ali Khān asking him to bring about accommodation with Ahmadnagar. On the other hand Mirzā Muhammad Taqī made overtures to Rājā Ali Khān and induced him to join with Ahmadnagar. Rājā Ali Khān preferred to side with the Ahmadnagar forces. The combined armies arrived within two miles of the Moghal camp at Handia. But no action took place. A contingent of the Moghal army made a diversionary attack on Berār, and before being contacted by the Ahmadnagar forces retired to Handia. The forces of Khāndeś and Ahmadnagar also retired to their respective territories.

At this time the affairs at the court of Ahmadnagar were in a state of utter confusion. With the death of Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh II, the court was divided into various factions. One of the

*contd.*

till he arrived. When the Khan arrived, he proceeded with the army to Broach, and on reaching that place he received letters from Azam Khan, in which he said, that as the rainy season had begun, operations must be postponed to the following year, and then they would proceed together against the Dakhin. Azam Khan returned to Malwa, Raja Ali Khan went with the Dakhinis to their homes, and Khan Khanan returned to Ahmadabad, where he occupied himself in matters of administration for five months.

At this time, the Prince of Poets, Shaikh Faizi, returned from his mission to Raja Ali Khan and *Burhan-ul-Mulk* Dakhini. Mir Muhammad Amin, Mir Munir, and Amin-uddin also returned from their missions to the different rulers of the Dakhin. *Burhan-ul-Mulk* had received favours and assistance from His Majesty, but now he did not send suitable tribute, nor did he act in a grateful and becoming way. His tribute did not exceed fifteen elephants, some fabrics of the Dakhin, and a few jewels. So the Emperor determined to effect the conquest of the Dakhin, and on the 21st *Muharram* he appointed Prince Daniyal to command the invading army. Khan khanan, Rai Singh, Rai Bil Hakim *Ain-ul Mulk*, and other *amirs* of Malwa, and *jagirdars* of the *subas* of Ajmir and Delhi were appointed to attend him. Seventy thousand horse were ordered on this campaign. The Emperor himself went out with them, hunting as he went, as far as the river of Sultanpur, thirty-five *kos* from Lahore. Khan khanan, in attendance upon Prince Daniyal, had come as far as Sirhind, and was summoned to hold a council with the Emperor. He joined the royal party at Shaikhupur, and the campaign in the Dakhin was reconsidered. Khan khanan was now ordered to proceed on the service alone, without troubling Prince Daniyal. An order was published that the army of the Dakhin was to serve under Khan khanan. He took leave of the Emperor at Agra, and His Majesty returned, hunting as he went, to the capital Lahore.

(Elliot and Dowson, Vol. V, pp. 406, 441-442 and 467-468.)

**CHAPTER 8. The Faruqis of Khandesh.**

RAJA ALI KHAN.

factions led by Miyān Mañjū invited Akbar to intervene. Akbar willingly accepted the invitation and sent Khān Khānān and prince Murād with a large force to subjugate the Deccan. Rājā Ali Khān was asked to join the imperial army. His sympathies lay entirely with Ahmadnagar. He sent secret messages of encouragement to the defenders of Ahmadnagar.[1] The siege lasted for a considerable time. Peace was concluded when Ahmadnagar agreed to cede Berār to the Moghals. The peace, however, did not last long. Hostilities erupted between the Moghals and Ahmadnagar. A battle was fought on 8th and 9th February 1597, at Sonpet when on the first day both the wings of the imperial army were put to flight. In the left wing Rājā Ali Khān made a heroic stand. He was slain with thirty of his officers and 500 of his men. Khān Khānān made a determined stand but the imperial troops finding the left wing suddenly empty plundered the Khāndeś camp. Victory ultimately declared for the imperialists. On the following day the body of Rājā Ali Khān was found on the field of battle. His body was taken to Burhāṇpūr where he was buried with due honours.

BAHADUR SHAH.

Rājā Ali Khān was succeeded by his son Qadr Khān under the title of Bahādur Śāh. In 1599 Akbar had sent Abul Fazl from Agra to summon prince Murād. Abul Fazl was received by Bahādur Khān near Burhāṇpūr. The meeting was far from cordial and Bahādur Khān refused to join the imperial army in person, offering a contingent of 2,000 horse under the command of his son Kabir Khān. Prince Murād, however, died on 12 May 1599 and was succeeded by prince Dānial in command of the imperialist troops. The condition of the imperial army stationed in the Deccan was unsatisfactory. Akbar left Agra for Māḷvā to supervise the operations in the Deccan. Prince Dānial had also proceeded to take command. He arrived at Burhāṇpūr in January 1600. Bahādur Khān remained in the citadel and refused to come and see the prince. Akbar hastened to Burhāṇpūr, and ordered Dānial to proceed to Ahmadnagar. He decided to deal with Bahādur Khān himself. It may be recalled here that the behaviour of the imperial troops on the battle of Sonpet must have embittered Bahādur Khān against Akbar. Bahādur shut himself up in the fort of Asir and commenced preparations to defend himself. Akbar arrived at Burhāṇpūr on 8 April 1600. He sent Khān Āzam to besiege Asir. He appointed Abul Fazl as governor of Khāndeś. Bahādur Khān now tried to open peace talks with Akbar. He wanted to play for time. He hoped that Akbar might raise the siege for want of supplies. The siege of Asir, however, progressed languidly due to the sloth and venality of some of the imperial officers. On 9 December an important outwork of the fort was carried by escalade. On 21 December 1600, Bahādur appeared before

[1] It was chiefly through the persuasion of Khan Khanan that Raja Ali Khan declared his allegiance to Akbar. Coins were also struck and prayers read in Akbar's name. Khandesh was given as grant to Raja Ali Khan and he was enrolled among the nobles of 5,000. (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI, p. 241.)

Akbar in the imperial camp and made his submission. The submission of Bahādur did not mean the submission of the fortress because Bahādur had given clear instructions to Yākut, the commander of the fortress to hold it to the last. Yākut carried these orders faithfully even when his son Muqarrab Khān brought orders for the surrender of the fort from Bahādur Khān, then in the imperial camp. Yākut Khān even went to the extent of placing on the throne one of the numerous princes from the royal family imprisoned in the fort. None consented to this step. The disappointed commander exclaimed "Would to God that Ye were women", took poison and died. The fort surrendered to Akbar on January 6, 1601 and Khāndeś, was thus finally annexed to the Empire. Prince Dānial arrived in the imperial camp and was made the governor of the new province. Khāndeś was fancifully named by Akbar as Dāndeś, after his son Dānial. Akbar then reorganised the provinces of Khāndeś and Berār. Portions of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar which had been conquered were joined to this province. They constituted the viceroyalty of the Deccan. Akbar appointed prince Dānial as the viceroy of the new province[1].

[1] The details of the conquest and annexation of Khandesh are as follows :—

The Emperor Akbar had subjected to his rule the whole wide expanse of Hindustan, with the exception of a portion of the Dakhin, the rulers of which had, nevertheless, sent in former years representatives and presents to the Imperial throne. But some of these rulers had since failed in duly discharging their obligations, and had thus, wounded the pride of the Emperor. Prince Shah Murad, Khan-khanan, and other *amirs* had been sent to effect the conquest of the country. The Prince went to that country, and distinguished himself by his services. Other *amirs* were afterwards sent, who fought bravely, and subjugated a considerable portion of the country. The work of conquest was still progressing, when it entered the heart of Prince Salim, that he would proceed thither to support the *amirs*, and to accomplish the reduction of the remainder of the country, so that diversities of religion might be swept away, and that the whole country might repose in peace under the Imperial rule. For five or six years the conquest had been retarded by the bickerings of the *amirs*, and so he resolved to proceed from Lahore to the Imperial presence at Agra, there to obtain information of the true state of affairs, because that place was nearer to the scene of action ; and after due consultation, to proceed thither in person should it seem necessary. When intelligence arrived of the death of Prince Shah Murad Prince Daniyal was sent thither ; but the Emperor not feeling at ease upon the state of affairs in the Dakhin, resolved to proceed in that direction, by making a hunting excursion to Malwa. His intention was to send a strong reinforcement to Prince Daniyal, under Bahadur, son of Raja' Ali of Khandesh, and rest a while in Malwa till events took a favourable turn. The Emperor accordingly left Agra and on the 21st of the month after showing great honour and favour to Khan Khanan, he sent him on in advance. On the 7th *Rabi-us-Sani*, the Emperor reached Dholpur. The river Chambal was crossed by fords, and His Majesty went over on an elephant. On the 17th he reached the fort of Gwalior. * * * On the 29th *Jumadas Sani*, he passed through Sironj, and on the 1st *Rajab* the royal camp was pitched between Kaliyada and Ujjain. This city Ujjain is one of the most ancient in Hindustan and contains many relics of antiquity. Kaliyada is the name of one of the most delightful places in the world. * * * Here the Emperor rested for awhile, expecting that Bahadur Khan, son of Raja' Ali Khan of Khandesh, would come to wait upon him.

Raja 'Ali Khan of Khandesh, had been slain fighting bravely under Khan-khanan against the Dakhinis, and it was expected that his son would now come forward to give his services to the Imperial army, in the hope of revenging his father's fall, and of gaining the Imperial favour. Even while the Emperor was encamped at Ujjain, some intimation was received about his intentions, and his great kindness sent Miran Sadar-i-Jahan to Khandesh to ascertain the exact state of affairs and to remove any doubts which might have crept into the mind of Bahadur Khan.

The ambassador proceeded to Khandesh, and ascertained that when Bahadur Khan succeeded Raja' Ali Khan, he was a prisoner in the fort of Asir. For it was the established custom among the rulers of Khandesh, that the reigning potentate

CHAPTER 8. *contd.*

The Faruqis of Khandesh.

BAHADUR SHAH.

kept his sons, brothers, and other relations in confinement, to guard against attempts upon the throne; so these unhappy persons, with their wives and families, passed all their lives in confinement. Bahadur Khan had passed nearly thirty years in prison, and knew nothing whatever of the ways of the world, and the business of government. When he came out of prison, and the title of ruler devolved upon him, he plunged recklessly into dissipation. No trace of the tact and nobility which had distinguished Raja 'Ali Khan was to be found in him. Unmindful of his obligations and obedience to the Imperial throne, he showed no gratitude and sent no tribute; nor did his craven spirit entertain one thought of avenging his father. When this became known to the Emperor, he remembered the loyalty and devotion of that late Raja and sent Miran *Sadr-i-Jahan* to give good counsel to the young prince.

Miran proceeded to Asir. Bahadur Khan received him at first with great respect and honour, and acknowledged the allegiance and duty he owed to the Emperor. The envoy on his side gave him good counsel and advice, and endeavoured to excite in him a spirit of loyalty. But fate was against the young ruler; he paid but little heed to good counsel, and persisted in his own perverse conduct. Sometimes he said he would go to see the Emperor; at others, that suspicions had been aroused in his mind by people's talk, which would not allow him to make this visit at present: but he promised to send his son with suitable offerings, if the Emperor would graciously direct him to do so. After a while, when all the dependents of the Imperial throne should have been confirmed in their places, and he should be able to throw off his feeling of shame, he would proceed in person to pay his respects to the Emperor. These excuses proceeded either from his wavering disposition, or from settled design to act treacherously. When Miran, the envoy, found that his representations had no effect upon Bahadur, he communicated the result to the Emperor. This roused great anger in the breast of the Emperor, and was the cause of his sending Shaikh Farid Bokhari to Khandesh.

On the 14th *Sha'ban*, while the Imperial camp was at Dhar, Shaikh Farid *Bakhshi-ul Mulk* received orders to lead a considerable force against the fort of Asir. His instructions were to reassure and advise Bahadur Khan. If he proved tractable he was to be brought to the presence of the Emperor; if not, the *Bakhshi* was to invest the fort of Asir, and reduce it with a possible speed. The Imperial officers were eager to proceed on this service, partly out of zeal in the service of the Emperor, partly from the wish to serve under the *Bakhshi*. Among those who accompanied him were** and a large number whose names are too numerous to recount.

With this select force, the *Bakhshi* crossed the Nerbadda, and sought to get information about the enemy. He then learned that the forces of Bahadur Khan were under the command of Sadat Khan, son-in-law of the late Raja 'Ali Khan, the greatest and the most trusted of all his servants. He had been sent towards Sultanpur and Nandurbar, to make a diversion against the Imperial forces in that quarter. It was resolved to detach a force to watch this party, while the remainder marched through Khandesh. On arriving at Gharkol, a humble and submissive letter was brought from Bahadur Khan, recounting the services of his ancestors, and offering to send his son with suitable offerings to the Emperor. He also made excuses for his conduct and solicited the kind intercession of Shaikh Farid to avert the consequences of his faults. The Shaikh sent this letter to the Emperor, and waited for an answer. The Emperor sent a gracious reply, offering to forgive his transgressions and to receive him into favour if he would hasten to pay his allegiance.

Marching forwards, the army passed over the summit of Sabalgarh, and arrived on the confines of Khandesh. Miran *Sadr-i-Jahan* had previously advised that the force should be sent to Burhanpur, lest its advance upon Asir should drive Bahadur Khan to desperation. But when this opinion was represented to the Emperor, he, the same day, gave orders that no attention was to be paid to it; that the army was not to go to Burhanpur, but was to march direct to Asir, and invest the place. Accordingly, it advanced to within two or three *kos* of Asir.

On arriving there, it was learned that Miran *Sadr-i-Jahan* and Peshrau Khan, who had also been sent by the Emperor to Bahadur, after alternately trying persuasion and menace, were unable to make any impression upon him, and has retired from Asir to Burhanpur. From thence they reported the failure of their mission, and left the emperor to determine what was best to be done. On the 21st *Shaban* the Emperor proceeded to Mandu. (*Description of buildings*). When Shaikh Farid came near to Asir, Bahadur Khan sent him another letter, containing the same appeals for merciful consideration, and offering the same excuses as he had made before. In reply, he was reminded how, the kings of the Dakhin had united their armies, and had made war upon the Emperor's allies, and how Raja 'Ali had fallen fighting bravely and loyally upon the Imperial side. The Emperor was now resolved upon revenging his death, and, with God's help, would annex the territories of all the three kings to the Imperial dominions. His duty, therefore, was to join the army with his followers without delay, and to take revenge for his father's blood—not

*contd.*



to be a thorn in the way, and to say to the Emperor, "First strike me, and then the murderers of my father". But fortune had turned her back upon the family, and the graceless fellow would listen to no reason or expostulation.

The rulers of Khandesh were of the Faruki tribe, and the family had held rule in the country for more than 200 years. An ancestor who had connections with the Dakhin, and had served there as a soldier, being aggrieved, left that country and went to Khandesh, which country was then held by different *Zamindars* and *Rajas*. He came to a village which pleased him and there a dog which accompanied him set off in pursuit of a hare, but the hare turned round and attacked the dog. This unusual exhibition of courage greatly impressed him, and he thought that the land where such a sight could be seen must be fertile in courage and daring, so he resolved to take up his abode there. He expressed his wish to the *Zamindar* of the place, but it was refused. Afterwards he seized an opportunity of seeking assistance from the King of Dehli, and having collected some of his brethren (tribesmen ?), he overpowered that *Zamindar*, and took possession of the village. He extended his power over other villages around, and in the end he was master of several *paraganas* and commander of an armed force.

When he died, his authority descended to his grandson, who saw the value that a fortress would be as a place of safety for his family and dependents. Asir, which is situated on the top of a hill, was at that time an inhabited place. He contrived by various stratagems to obtain this place from the *Zamindar* who held it, and fortified it strongly. He then assumed the name of ruler, and at length the whole country of Khandesh, about 150 *kos* in length, and 50 in breadth, more or less, came under his sway. These rulers acted so wisely and carefully that the kings of Dehli did not interfere with them. **Upon the Government descending to Raja' Ali Khan, he showed himself to be a man of great administrative powers, and it is probable that no one of the dynasty had been his equal in intelligence and ability. People of neighbouring and distant countries had been induced by his just and generous rule to take up their abode in his country. Among the best proofs of his intelligence was his loyalty to the Imperial throne, his obedience, and the magnificence of his offerings, in all which he excelled the other princes of the region.

His successor, Bahadur Khan, had none of his ability, and advice was thrown away upon him. The line was drawing to a close, and fortune had averted her face. Shaikh Farid invested the fort, and reported the fact to the Emperor, who sent him reinforcements, and himself passed over the Nerbadda on his way to superintend the siege. On the 4th *Ramazan* the *Nauroz-i-sultani* occurred, and His Majesty halted three days to celebrate the festival. **The march of the imperial force was then resumed.

Letters now arrived from *Nawab' Allami* Shaikh Abu-l-Fazal, who was coming from the Dakhin with the elephants and valuable effects of the late Prince, and who, announced his arrival at Burhanpur. He had received orders to join Shaikh Farid and to concert measures with him for the punishment of the recusant Prince. On the 4th *Farwardin* the army marched, and encamped at two *kos* distance from the fort of Asir, because on that side there was no ground near the fort which was fit for a camp. Baz Bahadur Uzbek and Karabeg were sent forward immediately to select positions for the trenches and for the encampment of the besiegers.

On their return, they reported that they had never seen in any country a fort like this; for however, long an army might press the siege, nothing but the extraordinary good fortune of the Emperor could effect its capture. Old soldiers, and men who had travelled into distant lands, men who had seen the fortresses of Iran and Turan, of Rum, Europe, and of the whole habitable world, had never beheld the equal of this. It is situated on a high and strong hill, and three smaller hills, each having a fort, stand around it, like a halo round the moon. The ways of entrance and exit were difficult to discover. Near it there was no other hill commanding it, and no way of approach. All around was level ground, and there were no trees or jungle to serve as cover. All the time the country had been held by the dynasty, each prince as he succeeded, did his best to keep the place in repair, to add to its strength, or to increase its stores. It was impossible to conceive a stronger fortress or one more amply supplied with artillery, warlike stores, and provisions. There were 500 *mans* of opium, *Akbar-shahi* weight, in its stores. Were the fortress placed upon level ground, its reduction would be difficult; but such a hill, such a well secured fortress, and such artillery, were not to be found in any one place on the face of the earth.

After the capture of the fortress accounts were taken of the munitions. Of pieces of artillery (*zarb-zan*), small and great, there were more than 1,300, besides some which were disused. The balls varied in weight from nearly two *mans* down to a *Sir* or a half *Sir*. There were great numbers of mortars (*hukkadan*), and also many *manjaniks*,

**CHAPTER 8.** *contd.*

**The Faruqis of Khandesh.**

BAHADUR SHAH

each of which threw stones of 1000 or 2000 *mans*. On every bastion there were large iron cauldrons, in each of which twenty or thirty *mans* of oil could be boiled and poured down upon the assailants in case of assault. No account was taken of the muskets. Of provisions of all sorts, wines, medicines, aromatic roots, and of everything required for the use of man, there was vast abundance. When, after a protracted siege of eleven months, the place fell into the hands of the Imperial army, the quantities of grain, oil, etc., which remained, after some thousands of men had been fed (during the siege), seemed as if the stores had never been touched. The stores of ammunition were such, that thousands of *mans* were left, although the quantity consumed had been enormous. For, throughout the siege a constant firing was kept up night and day, with object and without object; so that in the dark nights of the rainy season no man dared to raise his head, and a demon even would not move about. There were large chambers full of powder. There were no springs of water in the fortress; but there were two or three immense reservoirs, in which the (rain) water was collected and stored from year to year, and amply sufficed for the requirements of the garrison. In the dwelling of each officer of importance there was a separate reservoir, containing a sufficient supply of pure water for his household. Nor had all this preparation been made for the occasion; it had been kept up from the foundation of the fortress. The rulers of the country had incessantly cared for the strengthening and provisioning of the fort more especially in respect of artillery. The revenues of several *parganas* were specially and separately assigned to keep up the supply of artillery, so that the officers of the department had independent sources for maintaining its efficiency. The population in the fortress was like that of a city, for it was full of men of every kind. After the surrender, the inhabitants came out, and there was a continuous throng night and day for a week.

The houses of the chiefs were fine lofty buildings, and there were open spaces, gardens and fountains. In the walls of the fort, which were of great thickness, chambers and rooms were constructed for the officers of the artillery, where, during all seasons, they could live in comfort, and keep up a fire of cannon and musketry. The fortress has one gate, and outside this gate there is another fort called Kamargarh, the walls of which are joined on both sides to the great fort. This was looked upon as an outwork, and was held by inferior ranks of men, such as musketeers and archers. Below this fort, but still on an elevated spot, is another fort called Malgarh, which also is very strong. In comparison with the fortress, it seems at the bottom of the earth; but compared with the surface of the ground, it looks halfway up to the sky. This being the most advanced of the works, great care had been taken to strengthen it with guns and other implements.

Below this was an inhabited place called Takhati, as large as a city. In short, the fortress is one of the wonders of the world, and it is impossible to convey an idea of it to any one who has not seen it.

Shaikh Farid, after collecting all available information about the fortress, wrote a description to the Emperor, and devoted himself to devising a plan for its capture. As the actual strength of the place was not fully known to the Emperor, envious men represented its reduction as being an easy matter, and thus vexed him. **A letter at length arrived from the camp, announcing the Emperor's intention to come and examine into matters with his own eyes. About the same time also Shaikh Abul Fazl arrived from Burhanpur, and encamped three or four *kos* from Asir, as he was hastening to join the Emperor. He sent to inform Shaikh Farid of his presence, and the Shaikh set off to see him. He had gone but a little way, when he remembered that Bahadur had promised to see him next day; so he stopped and returned to camp. Next day Bahadur came down from the fort to meet the Shaikh, and his spies busied themselves in observing all they could. It so happened that on that day a letter was coming from the Emperor, and the Shaikh mounted to go and meet it. But just as he was starting, his spies brought him word that the cavalcade was approaching. Although Shaikh Farid had with him a large force of horse and foot, musketeers, rocket-men, and elephants, the matter seemed to him important, and he was apprehensive that there was some design against him. So he halted where he was, and sent a messenger to Shaikh Abul Fazl, to say that he should not come to see him that day, as circumstances prevented him. **Shaikh Farid sent messengers to re-assure Bahadur, and he came with a large escort to the Shaikh's tent, and had an interview with him. Every argument was used to induce him to make his submission to the Emperor, and as he had no answer to give, he merely shook his head. At length he returned to his old excuse of being afraid, and rejecting all advice, he returned to the fortress. Some men have maintained that the Shaikh ought to have made him prisoner at this meeting; but resort to subterfuge and want of faith and truth never prove successful. Besides this, Bahadur had with him a force sufficient to resist the weak army of the Shaikh. Next day the Shaikh went to visit Shaikh Abu-l Fazl at his camp, three or four *kos* from the fortress, and the meeting with Bahadur was discussed, and report sent off to the Emperor.

*contd.*

All expectation of Bahadur's submission being now given up, Abul Fazl, who had waited to see the result of the interview, proceeded to join the Emperor. Having first directed his attention to the occupation of the country, the closing of the roads, the way into and out of the fortress, the forming of the trenches, and other matters connected with the siege, Shaikh Farid sent a detachment to Burhanpur, to arrest the officers of Bahadur, and to occupy the city. But on arriving there, it was found that the governor had already made his submission to the Emperor. Some experienced officers thought it desirable that a force should be stationed there, **and Shaikh Farid finally decided that 1000 horses should be stationed between Burhanpur and Asir. This force took up a position about two *kos* from the fortress, and cut off all communication between it and the city. Next day Shaikh Abu-l Barakat, brother of Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, joined the besieging force with the elephants and artillery which had been sent under his command. The army now removed to a more favourable position, and it was resolved to form trenches in every suitable place near the fort, and to close the roads and entrances. Another letter was received from Bahadur Khan, **to which Shaikh Farid replied. **But Bahadur Khan trusted in the strength of his fort, and thought that its height and strength were such that no mortal force could take it.

One day when the commander rode towards the fort to examine it, a large gun was fired at him. It is related that some of the battlements of the tower on which it was placed fell down, and the gun itself also fell. This was received as a good omen by the Imperial army. Mir *Sadr-i Jahan*, who had returned to the Emperor, now came back charged with an Imperial message. Next day Miyan Saiyid went round and looked after many things in the construction of the trenches, so that they might afford protection to the men, and enable them to stay there day and night. The Emperor's mind was intent upon this undertaking. Letters constantly arrived from him with instructions and urgent directions. Every day some one of his officers came to inspect and report upon the business of the siege. **

Having received orders to wait upon the Emperor, Shaikh Farid proceeded on the 18th to the royal camp at Burganw, seven or eight *kos* from Asir. He was received very kindly, and he related all the details of the siege. He remained there the next day, and on the following day the Imperial camp moved towards Asir. On the 21st *Farwardin*, or 25th *Ramazan*, it reached the city of Burhanpur, and the Emperor took up his abode in the palace of the old rulers. Intent upon the siege, he then marched on, attended by numerous *amirs*, and arrived under the fort on the 3rd *Shawwal*. Shaikh Farid then received orders to attend to his own duties as *Bakhshi*, and wait upon His Majesty, and to appoint the other *amirs* to the direction of the trenches, so that he might be ready, upon emergency, to lead a force in any direction.

The trenches were then allotted to the different *amirs*. The first to Khan-i-Azam **another to *Nawab* Asaf Khan, another to Mirza Jani Beg of Tatta.** A fourth trench he placed in charge of his brethren and adherents, and having well examined it, he gave it into their charge while he himself proceeded with a chosen force to attend upon the Emperor. It was impossible to dig mines or construct *sabats*; so the men in each trench endeavoured to bring the investment as close as possible. At the end of the month, 'Azam khan and Asaf Khan reported that the garrison kept up a fire from different kinds of guns all night and day, with object and without object, necessary and unnecessary; and that the besiegers endured it with great bravery.

In the early days of *Zil-ka' da*, Bahadur sent out of the fortress sixty-four elephants, along with his mother and son, to the Emperor, and begged forgiveness of his offences. The Emperor replied, that if he desired pardon, he must come out at once to make submission, and trust to the Emperor's mercy. **On the 16th *Zil-hijja* sortie was made, in which many of the garrison lost their lives in a desperate struggle. When they were driven back, a little hill called Koriya fell into the hands of the besiegers. This eminence is so close to the fortress as to have command over it. The besiegers then saw that by occupying this commanding position, and by getting possession of another which was strongly fortified, they might overawe the garrison. The former masters of the place had seen the importance of this position, and had scarped the rock so that no one could climb up. ***After hard fighting, this position was carried.

On the 21st *Safar* news arrived of the capture of Ahmadnagar on the 18th. The fortress had long been defended by Chand Bai, the sister of Nizamul-Mulk, and when formerly besieged, dissensions among the Imperial *amirs* averted its capture. Prince Daniyal, assisted by some of the great *amirs*, had now taken it by assault. The siege had now been carried on for nearly six months, and a constant fire had heen kept up without effect. Khan-khanan thought that mining must be resorted to, and the other *amirs* coinciding with him, a mine was formed. It was charged with 180 *mans* of gunpowder, and had exploded on 20th *Shahryur*, in the 45th year of the reign. A bastion was blown up with seventy or eighty *gaz* of the wall. Khan-khanan, Raja

**CHAPTER 8.** *contd.*

**The Faruqis of Khandesh.**

BAHADUR SHAH.

Jagannath, and the other *amirs*, exerted themselves to incite their troops, and gave orders that the troops were to rush in and finish the work directly after the explosion. This order was duly executed; and a force under Yusuf Khan scaled the wall, by means of a mound, in another place. The assailants pressed on, and after a severe fight, in which 1000 of the besiegers fell the fortress was captured. The grandson of *Nizamul-Mulk* was taken prisoner, and carried to the Emperor.**

A few days after, Bahadur sent Sadat Khan and Shaikh Pir Muhammad Husain, two of his chief men, to the Emperor, with ten elephants and as entreaty for forgiveness. Two days afterwards Shaikh Pir Muhammad was sent back into the fortress, and Sadat Khan was kept as the guest of Shaikh Farid. The escort which had come out with him was ordered to return with Pir Muhammad; but the men, about a hundred in number, declared that they would not return into the fortress and become prisoners (*asir*) in Asir. Permission to remain was given to those who could give some bail that they would not run away, otherwise they were to be put in confinement. In the end some found the required bail, and some went back into the fortress.

Among the causes which brought about the surrender of the fortress was the impurity of the atmosphere, which engendered two diseases. One was paralysis of the lower extremities, from the waist downwards, which deprived the sufferer of the powers of motion; the other was a weakness of sight. These maladies greatly distressed and discouraged the men of the garrison, so that men of all ranks and degrees were of one mind and voice in urging Bahadur to capitulate. At their instance he wrote to the Emperor offering to surrender. The siege thus ended.

When Bahadur came out, the Emperor held a grand *darbar*, at which all the great men were present, and Bahadur was amazed at the splendour and state. Mukarrib Khan, and several other of Bahadur's nobles, were sent into the fortress, in advance of Shaikh Abu-l Fazl, to inform the garrison of the surrender, and to require the giving up of the keys. When they approached, Mukarrib Khan's father mounted the top of the fort, and reviled him for having thrown his master into bonds and surrendered the fort. Unable to endure his abuse, the son stabbed himself two or three times in the abdomen, and a few days afterwards he died. On the 17th Safar the royal forces were admitted, and the keys were given up. ***Khan-khanan, who had come from Ahmadnagar, went into the fortress and placed the royal seal on the treasure and warlike stores, which were then placed in charge of responsible officers. Just at this time Mirza Jani Beg of Tatta died.

On the 8th *Shaban* the Emperor bestowed great honours on Shaikh Abul Fazi, including a banner and kettle-drums; and a hundred *amirs* were placed under his orders to assist in the subjugation of the Dakhin. Khan-khanan was sent to Ahmadnagar, and general conquest of the Dakhin was committed to him. The Emperor went in and inspected the fortress. All the treasures and effects of Bahadur Khan, which had been collected by his ancestors during two hundred years, were brought out, and the wives and women of Bahadur, two hundred in number, were presented. The Emperor stayed in the place three days, and then proceeded to Burhanpur**.

On the 28th *Shawwal* all the country of the Dakhin, Birar, Khandesh, Malwa, and Gujarat were placed under the rule of Prince Daniyal.

(Elliot and Dowson Vol. VI, pp. 132—146.)

# CHAPTER 9 —THE MOGHALS IN MAHARASHTRA



BACKGROUND

THE CIRCUMSTANCES AT THE CLOSE OF THE 16TH CENTURY in the Deccan were very similar to those prevailing at the close of the 13th century. At that time the Turks, who had consolidated their position in the north, were poised for their first aggression against the Deccan. The Deccan had been then a conglomeration of warring Hindu states. The rulers of the Deccan could have, with foresight and judgment, united their warring states, presented a bold front to the invaders from the north, and defeated them. But none of these rulers namely, the Yādavas of Devagiri, the Hoyasalas of Dvārāsamudra, and the Kākatiyas of Waraṅgaḷ possessed the intelligence to anticipate the future. The Deccan, thus succumbed to the incessant pressure of the Turkish invaders from the north. The close of the 16th century told a similar story but in a different perspective. The fourteenth century witnessed the destruction of the northern hold over the Deccan, the establishment in the Deccan of a separate Muslim dynasty, the Bahamanīs, and in the south, the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar, the Muslim state of Khāndeś, and numerous petty principalities in Telaṅgaṇa, Goṇḍvana, and Bāglāṇa under Hindu chiefs. The Bahamanī kingdom continued its existence for well over a century and a quarter till 1490, when it disintegrated. Out of its remains were established the kingdoms of Ahmadnagar, Bijāpūr, Berār, Goḷconḍā and Bidar. The history of these kingdoms is one of internecine and fratricidal wars. Over a period of 100 years these kingdoms thoroughly exhausted themselves. By the close of the 16th century the Moghals were poised for the invasion of the Deccan. The Fāruqī dynasty had already fallen and the kingdom of Ahmadnagar was reeling under the heavy blows it had received from the Moghals. The Ahmadnagar dynasty, which had appropriated Berār in 1574, could manage to survive only by the cession of Berār to the Moghals. In the face of this new danger the surviving Muslim dynasties had not the foresight to judge the danger that lay ahead of them. Slowly the process of the southward Moghal expansion which had begun in 1600 engulfed the whole of the south. The kingdoms of Ahmadnagar, Bijāpūr and Goḷconḍā capitulated and in 1687 the conquest of the Deccan by the Moghals was completed. It was only the Marāṭhās, under the supreme leadership of Śivājī who sustained the Moghal onslaught and defied the Moghal might. In this chapter, it is proposed to describe the history of the Moghal

**CHAPTER 9. The Moghals in Maharashtra.**

conquest of the Deccan from 1600 to 1687 and narrate the history of the dynasties of Ahmadnagar, Bijāpūr, Bidar and Goḷcoṇḍā from 1600 till their extinction.

BACKGROUND.

As noted earlier in the history of the Nizāmśāhī Kingdom of Ahmadnagar, in 1600 A.D. Akbar had captured Ahmadnagar. The capital of what remained of the Ahmadnagar territory was shifted to Pareṇḍā where Malik Aṁbar raised to the throne the son of Śāh Ali, the third son of Burhāṇ I, under the title of Murtazā Nizām Śāh II[1]. Malik Aṁbar succeeded in defeating the Moghal troops in south-eastern Berār. This defeat, however, could not invigorate the energies of the Ahmadnagar kingdom and a treaty of peace was signed between the two on 23 January 1602. After the fall of Khāndeś and Ahmadnagar, Akbar had planned the conquest of Bijāpūr, Goḷcoṇḍā and Bidar. On 28 April 1605, the Moghal prince Dānial, died in the Deccan due to excess of drinking. Akbar, died on the midnight of 25-26 October 1605. On 3 November 1605, Salim was crowned emperor and assumed the title of Jahāṅgīr.

JAHANGIR.

Jahāṅgīr's accession to the throne was followed by the rebellion of his son Khuśrāv, and unrest in Bihār. There was a plot against his own life. He put down these risings with a firm hand and proceeded to reduce Mevār. When Jahāṅgīr was busy reducing Mevār, Malik Aṁbar decided to take advantage of the absence of an able Moghal general in the Deccan. He had strengthened the position of Murtazā Nizām Śāh by his wisdom and sagacity. He now thought of harassing the imperial army which was in possession of Ahmadnagar, by following guerilla tactics of warfare. His army included a substantial element of Marāṭhā infantry and cavalry. Jahāṅgīr appointed Rājā Mānsiṅgh to the command of the imperial forces. He was soon replaced by Khān Khānān.

All the attempts of Khān Khānān spread over a period of one year failed to subdue Malik Aṁbar. Jahāṅgīr, thereupon, appointed Prince Parviz to take command, with Asaf Khān[2] as his principal general. Another expedition against Malik Aṁbar failed to subdue him. Khān Khānān was forced to come to terms with Malik Aṁbar and retired to Burhāṇpūr. The cessation of hostilities was short-lived and Malik Aṁbar soon laid siege to Ahmadnagar which was bravely defended by Khvājā

---

[1] It may be mentioned here that the kingdoms of Bijapur, Golconda and Bidar, however, remained intact. Bidar was later annexed by Bijapur in 1619.

[2] When Parviz was appointed to the viceroyalty of Khandesh and the Moghal Deccan, he left Agra for Burhanpur. The situation in the Deccan was very crucial and he expected an attack from Ibrahim Adil Shah. To thwart such an eventuality he requested the emperor to depute a resident envoy to the court of Bijapur. Though Ibrahim Adil Shah did not actually ally himself with Malik Ambar, he conceded Malik Ambar's request to hand over the fortress of Kandhar to him. Malik Ambar took possession of the fort and used it as base of operations against the Moghals. As the fort was a long way from the frontiers of Moghal Ahmadnagar, it gave Malik Ambar a distinct advantage against the Moghals.

Beg Mirzā. Succour from Burhāṇpūr could not reach in time and Ahmadnagar had to be surrendered[1].

When the news of these disasters reached Jahāṅgīr, he first decided to take the command in person. Later, he thought it fit to change the Generals in command. He first sent Pīr Khān Lodī *alias* Khān Jahān to the Deccan with reinforcements. After making an appraisal of the situation he put Khān Jahān in overall command of the imperial forces in the Deccan in 1610. Khān-i-Āzam was deputed as his second-in-command. Khān Khānān was recalled and Mahābat Khān was sent to escort him back to the capital. The change in the command and the arrival of reinforcements made no impression upon Malik Aṁbar. Malik Aṁbar's forces were accustomed to fight a war which suited the difficult terrain of the Deccan. The Moghals were not adept in the tactics of guerilla warfare. To crown all this, the imperial command lacked unity of action and purpose. What the Moghals gained in men and material by way of reinforcements, they lost on the battle fields. Jahāṅgīr now sent another General Abdullāh Khān to the Deccan in 1611. The imperial command now planned a two-pronged drive against Ahmadnagar. One was to be led from the west by Abdullāh Khān and the other from Khāndeś and Berār was to be commanded by Khān Jahān and Rājā Mānsiṅgh. Abdullāh Khān advanced as far as Daulatābād but failed to keep contact with the Berār forces as decided earlier. The concerted move to trap Malik Aṁbar failed miserably. Abdullāh Khān was harassed by the Deccani bands of cavalry which continuously hovered round his army. Rājā Mānsiṅgh tried in vain to retrieve the situation. Abdullāh Khān was reduced to such miserable straits that he was forced to retire to Gujarāt after sustaining heavy losses[2]. In the mean-

[1] The details of these operations were as under: In the year 1610 Parviz decided to attack the Ahmadnagar territory by the little known and difficult eastern route. Khan Khanan, the Moghal general, strongly advised against such an expedition. But Parviz undertook the expedition with disastrous results. He was defeated and his supplies were cut off by the Maratha auxiliaries. The situation became so critical for him that he faced the possibility of total capitulation. But Malik Ambar did not force the issue and Parviz escaped by his hurried retreat to Burhanpur through Berar. He was, however, hotly pursued and his baggage was plundered. It was with difficulty that he reached Burhanpur.

[2] The details of this are as follows:

*Defeat in the Dakhin.*—Affairs in the Dakhin were in a very unsatisfactory state in consequence of the bad generalship and want of care of Khan-i-Azam, and a defeat had been suffered by Abdulla Khan. I summoned Khwaja Abu-l Hasan to my presence, and after inquiry, I ascertained that the disaster was attributable partly to the conceit and rashness of 'Abdulla Khan, and partly to discord and want of co-operation among the *amirs*.

Abdu-lla Khan and the officers who had been appointed to serve under him marched with the army of Gujarat by way of Nasik Tirbang. This force was well equipped; its numbers were from 10,000 to 14,000, and the officers serving in it were**. It had been arranged that another force should advance from the side of Birar under the command of Raja Man Singh, Khan Jahan, the *Amiru-l Umarah* and other officers. These two armies were to keep up communications, and to be informed of each other's movements, so that they might at an appointed time close in upon the enemy. If this plan had been carried out frankly and cordially without jealousy, it is very probable that under God's grace it would have succeeded.

Abdu-lla Khan, having passed the *Ghats*, entered the country of the enemy, but made no arrangements for sending messengers to obtain intelligence of the other force, and to regulate his movements in concert, so as to place the enemy between

**CHAPTER 9.**

**The Moghals in Maharashtra.**

JAHANGIR.

while, Khurram, who had been appointed to the Mevār campaign, had succeeded there beyond expectations. As a matter of fact the Rāṇā of Mevār had agreed to accept Moghal suzerainty. The Deccan campaign, however, could not achieve any appreciable results and Parviz, the governor of the Deccan and his officers made very little progress. Of Parviz, it was said that he was addicted to wine and had very little heart in the business on hand. Jahāṅgīr, therefore, decided once again to change the overall command of the Deccan campaign as he had done in 1608. He transferred Parviz to Allahābād and appointed Khurram to take his place (1616). Jahāṅgīr himself moved over to Maṇḍū so as to be near to the scene of operations.

In the Deccan, Khurram took over his new charge, and succeeded in achieving, partly at least, by negotiations, what his predecessor could not succeed in achieving through a protracted and tortuous war.

The officers of the Sultanates of Deccan, which had been waging costly wars among themselves and had grown very weak, were easily bribed by Khurram. They offered peace terms to the Moghals totally humiliating to their masters. Ibrāhīm Ādil of Bijāpūr agreed to pay tribute. At the same time he expressed his willingness to surrender the territory of Ahmadnagar conquered by him. The Bijāpūr envoys who had gone to Maṇḍū to offer the terms of surrender to Jahāṅgīr were warmly received. Khurram was given the title of Śāh Jahān. It is difficult to visualise the material Moghal gains at the so called conclusion of this campaign by Khurram. The Moghals did not

---

*contd.*

the two armies. He trusted entirely to his own power, and thought that if he could effect the victory himself, it would be all the better. Acting upon this view, he paid no heed to Raja Man Singh when the latter wished to settle a concerted plan.

The enemy kept a sharp watch over his movements, and sent a large force of Mahrattas (*bargiyan*), who skirmished with him all day, and harassed him at night with rockets and other fiery projectiles, till the main body of the enemy drew near, and he was quite unware of their proximity, although he approached Daulatabad, a stronghold of the Dakhinis.** Ambar the black-faced, who had placed himself in command of the enemy, continually brought up reinforcements till he had assembeled a large force, and he constantly annoyed ' Abdu-lla with rockets and various kinds of fiery missiles (*atash-bazi*), till he reduced him to a sad condition. So, as the Imperial army had received no reinforcements, and the enemy was in great force, it was deemed expedient to retreat, and prepare for a new campaign. All the chiefs were unanimous in favour of this, and before dawn they began to fall back. The enemy pressed upon them to the boundaries of their own territory, but either side held its own. But a party of our force courted a serious encounter, and 'Ali Mardan Khan, after a valorous conflict, was left wounded in the hands of the enemy. ** After another day, when they reached the frontier of Raja Baharjiu, an adherent of the Imperial throne, the enemy retired, and ' Abdu-lla Khan proceeded to Gujarat. It seems clear, that if proper precautions had been taken, and the two forces had been kept in co-operation, the objects of the campaign would have been accomplished. On the retreat of 'Abdu-lla, the army, which marched by way of Birar, had no alternative but to retire; so it retreated and joined the camp of Prince Parwez, near Burhanpur. On receiving this information, I was greatly excited, and felt inclined to proceed thither myself to retrieve the position. But Khwaja Abu-l Hasan remonstrated ** and I resolved to send Khan-Khanan**.

The Dakhinis now made proposals for peace. Adil Khan professed amity, and promised, if the affairs of the Dakhinis were left to him, that he would restore sundry districts to the Imperial officers. I did not come to any decision on the matter, but left it to Khan-Khanan. —*Wakiat-i Jahangiri* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI, pp. 332—34.

succeed in physically reducing the Deccan. Malik Aṁbar was growing stronger everyday. The necessity to maintain a strong army in the Deccan to contain the activities of Malik Aṁbar imposed a growing burden on the Moghals. The Moghal administration had also not taken cognisance of another factor in the political atmosphere of the Deccan. It was the emergence of a new fighting spirit among the local populace which had a preponderant majority over the local Muslim element. They had been subdued for centuries. Their capacity to offer resistance was only dormant. It had not died out.

With the conclusion of the treaty with Bijāpūr and a temporary halt to hostilities Jahāṅgīr moved away first to Gujarāt and then to Kāśmīr. His health was fast deteriorating due to his intemperate habits. After two years the situation in the Deccan again became explosive.

Malik Aṁbar had conciliated the *Sultāns* of Bijāpūr and Golconḍā[1]. He recruited large bands of Marāṭhā cavalrymen and besieged Ahmadnagar. The Moghals were harried by the guerilla tactics of the Deccani troops and suffered heavily through the hit and run tactics followed by the Marāṭhā cavalry. They fell back on Burhāṇpūr. The situation was so uncertain that contingents of Deccani cavalry strayed into Māḷvā and endangered Maṇḍū. At this time Malik Aṁbar commanded a strong force of 60,000 under him. The emperor who was then at Lāhore appointed Śāh Jahān and Khuśrāv to the joint command of the Deccan expedition[2]. Both Śāh Jahān and Khuśrāv marched towards the south in 1620. They beat

[1] It may be noted here that the *Sultans* of Golconda did not show much concern about the life and death struggle that was going on in the north-west Deccan between the Moghals and the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. Muhammad Quli Kutb Shah died in 1612 and was succeeded by his nephew Muhammad Qutb Shah. Both these *Sultans* were busy with their wars in the Karnatak, Orissa and Bastar. The Golconda court was embroiled in the useless confiict between the Deccanis and the foreigners. As such they evinced no keen interest in the struggle between the Moghals and Malik Ambar, except by supporting Malik Ambar through pecuniary contributions. In 1626 Muhammad Qutb Shah died and was succeeded to the throne by his thirteen year old son Abdullah Qutb Shah.

[2] The details of this are as follows :

*Shah Jahan sent to the Dakhin.*—In these happy days, when I was enjoying myself in hunting and travelling in Kashmir, successive despatches arrived from the Dakhin. When the royal Court left the capital, evil disposed men in the Dakhin, failing in duty and loyalty, raised the standard of rebellion. They got many of the dependencies of Ahmadnagar and Birar into their power, and the despatches related how they were maintaining themselves by plunder and devastation, and were burning and destroying ships and provender. On the former occasion, when I marched with the Imperial army to effect the conquest of the Dakhin, Khurram, who commanded the advance, arrived at Burhanpur. The insurgents, with that craft which distinguished them, made him their intercessor, and abandoned the Imperial territory. They presented large offerings of money and valuables as tribute, and engaged to remain quiet and loyal. At the instance of Khurram, I remained for some days in the palace of Shadiabad at Mandu, and consented to forgive their misdeeds. Now that they had once more thrown off their allegiance, it was my wish to send the Imperial army again under the command of Khurram, to inflict upon them the punishment they deserved, and to make them an example and warning tor others. But he was engaged in the siege of Kangra, and many experienced officers were with him on that service, so that for some days I could not determine what to do,

**CHAPTER 9. The Moghals in Maharashtra.**

JAHANGIR.

back the marauding Deccani bands in Mālvā and reached reinforcements to Burhāṇpūr. They threw back the Deccani army which had besieged the town for almost two years. The imperial troops advanced further and reached Khaḍkī where Malik

*contd.*

Letters arrived one after the other reporting that the insurgents having gathered strength, numbered nearly 60,000 horse, and had occupied many parts of the Imperial dominions. The forces which had been left in occupation had taken the field, and for three months had been operating against the rebels, over whom they had obtained several advantages. But the rebels employed themselves in plundering and laying waste the country about the Imperial forces, and there was no road left open for the supply of provisions, so great want arose. Suddenly they descended from the Balaghat, and stopped at Balapur. Emboldened by their impunity, they mediated a raid round Balapur. The Imperial forces numbered 6,000 or 7,000 horse, and in some fighting which occurred, they lost their baggage. Many were killed or taken, and the rebels returned unmolested and plundering to their quarters. Gathering forces from all sides, the rebels advanced fighting as far as Azdu. Nearly 1,000 men fell on both sides. They stayed at Balapur for three months. The scarcity in the royal camp became very great, and many of the men fled and joined the rebels. The royal force retreated to Burhanpur, and was followed and besieged there by the rebels. They remained for six months round Burhanpur, and took possession of several districts in Birar and Khandesh, where they by force exacted contributions from the people. The royal forces suffered great hardships and privations, and being unable to endure longer, they came out of the city (?). This increased the insolence and pride of the rebels. By the favour of God, Kangra had fallen and so on Friday, the 4th *De*, I sent Khurram to the Dakhin, and I conferred upon him ten *krors* of *dams*, to be collected from the country after its conquest. * * I now turned back on my return to the capital.

*War in the Dakhin.*—On the 4th *Khurdad*, letters arrived from Khurram. When the Imperial forces reached Ujjain, a letter arrived from the force which held Mandu with the information that a rebel force had boldly crossed the Nerbadda, had burnt several villages in sight of the fort, and was engaged in plundering. The commander-in-chief sent forward Khwaja Abu-l Hasan, at the head of 5,000 horse, to march rapidly and inflict punishment on the rebels. The Khwaja arrived at daybreak on the banks of the Nerbadda, but they had got information of his approach, and had crossed over just before he came. The royal forces pursued them for nearly four *kos*, and put many of them to the sword. The rebels retreated to Burhanpur. Khurram then wrote to the Khwaja, directing him to remain on that side of the river until he himself arrived. Shortly afterwards Khurram joined the advanced force, and they marched rapidly to Burhanpur. On their approach the rebels took to flight, and removed to a distance from Burhanpur, For two years the royal forces had been shut up in Burhanpur, and had suffered greatly from want of food and supplies. They were greatly in want of horses. The army remained there nine days to refit, and during that time thirty *lacs* of rupees and many coats were distributed among the Imperial soldiers. They had no sooner begun to move, than the rebels, unable to make any resistance, fled. The royal forces pursued, and put many of them to the sword. Thus giving them no time for repose, they drove them to Khirki which was the abode of *Nizamu-l Mulk* and other rebels. But before the royal army arrived, the rebels carried off *Nizamu-l Mulk* with all his family and dependents to the fortress of Daulatabad. Some of their men were scattered about the country.

The royal forces stayed three days at Khirki, and so destroyed that town, which had taken twenty years to build, that it will hardly recover its splendour for the next twenty years. Having destroyed this place, it was determined to march to Ahmadnagar, which was besieged by a rebel force, and after driving off the besiegers, and revictualling and reinforcing the place, to return. With this determination they marched to Pattan. The rebel now resorted to artifice, and sent envoys and nobles to express his repentance and ask forgiveness. He promised ever afterwards to remain loyal, and not to depart from the old arrangement, and also to send his tribute and a sum as an indemnity to the Imperial Court. It happened that just at this time there was great want of provisions in the royal camp, and the news arrived that the rebels, who were laying siege to Ahmadnagar, being frightened at the approach of the royal army, had moved off to a distance. So a reinforcement and some cash to supply his needs were sent to Khanjar Khan (the commandant). Having made every necessary provision, the royal army set out on its return. After much entreaty on the part of the rebel, it was settled that, besides the territory which was formerly held by the Imperial officers, a space of fourteen *kos* beyond should be relinquished, and a sum of fifty *lacs* of rupees should be sent to the Imperial treasury. *Wakiat-i Jahangiri* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI, pp. 376-80.

Aṁbar had shifted his capital. The new capital was razed to the ground[1].

JAHANGIR.

Malik Aṁbar now moved to Daulatābād with the royal family for safety. In the meanwhile the imperial army was advancing to retake Ahmadnagar. Malik Aṁbar who realised the impossibility of further resistance decided to negotiate for peace. Śāh Jahān, whose supply line had now stretched over a very long distance, and who was faced with the problem of scarcity agreed to negotiate[2]. Under the provisions of the treaty all the territory captured by Malik Aṁbar from the Moghal possessions of Ahmadnagar was to be restored to the Moghals. Besides, an additional strip of territory about 25 to 28 miles wide was also to be ceded to the Moghals. A heavy tribute amounting to 50 lakhs of rupees was also levied upon the three allies *viz.*, Ahmadnagar, Bijāpūr and Golconḍā. The rainy season of 1621 was now approaching. Śāh Jahān retired to Burhāṇpūr. He embarked upon the task of reorganising the administration of the province which had been laid waste by the war. In 1622 Jahāṅgīr's favourite son Khuśrāv died. Many suspected foul play by Śāh Jahān. He, however, informed the emperor that Khuśrāv had died of colic. The relations between the Emperor and Śāh Jahān were now estranged due to Śāh Jahān's refusal to proceed to Quandhār posthaste to thwart the attack of the Śāh of Persia[3]. There was also some dispute regarding the assignment of Ranthambore and Dholpur. The unwillingness of Śāh Jahān to obey the commands of the emperor could be mainly attributed to his resentment at the growing influence of his step-mother Nūr Jahān in the administration of the empire and his fear that his claims to the throne would be set aside in favour of his youngest brother Śāhriyār. Then followed the tragic episode of Śāh Jahān's unsuccessful rebellion[4]. Deserted by his trusted officers and soldiers, the rebel

Shah Jahan's Rebellion.

[1] Shah Jahan "so devastated a city which had taken twenty years in the building that it was doubtful whether another twenty years would suffice to restore it to its pristine splendour."

[2] Shah Jahan now experienced a foretaste of the Maratha warfare which, later brought his son to the grave. He had driven before him like chaff before the wind an enemy who dared not withstand him in the field; he had confined his principal antagonist within the wall of a fortress, but his own troops were starving. By all rules of war he was the victor. In fact he was as helpless as his adversary and was obliged to come to terms, which, however, were honourable to the empire.

[3] The delayed departure of Shah Jahan, however, gave Malik Ambar the breathing space he required. He regrouped his forces and marched to the frontiers of Golconda to demand the tribute which was in arrears for two years due to Malik Ambar's pre-occupation with the Moghals. Muhammad Qutb Shah paid the arrears of tribute and promised to pay it regularly in future. It was when Malik Ambar was engaged with the Moghal forces that Ibrahim Adil Shah had attacked Bidar in 1620 and annexed it to his territory. Malik Ambar had regarded this as an act of treachery and attacked Bidar after returning from the frontiers of Golconda. He defeated the Adil Shahi garrison of Bidar and plundered the town. He then retired to Daulatabad.

[4] Details of the rebellion of Shah Jahan are given in the following paragraphs :—

*Rebellion of Shah Jahan.*—Intelligence was brought that Khurram had seized upon some of the *jagirs* of Nur Jahan Begam and Prince Shahriyar. He had fought with *Ashrafu-l-Mulk*, an officer of Shahriyar's, who had been appointed *faujdar* of Dholpur and the country round, and several men had been killed on both sides.

**CHAPTER 9.**

**The Moghals in Maharashtra.**

JAHANGIR.

Shah Jahan's Rebellion.

was reduced to sorry straits. He strayed into the Deccan for support. Malik Ambar refused him help, busy as he was in preparing for an attack on Bijāpūr. Śāh Jahān sent dispatches to Qutb Śāh of Golconḍā. There too, he could find no support. Even Khān Khānān, his most trusted lieutenant deserted him at this critical hour and offered his submission to Parviz, the Governor of the Deccan. In despair, Śāh Jahān, hotly pursued by imperial troops, entered the territory of Golconḍā. Qutb

*contd.*

I had been offended by his delaying at the fort of Mandu, and by his improper and foolish statements in his letters, and I had perceived by his insolence that his mind was estranged. Upon hearing of this further intelligence, I saw that, notwithstanding all the favour and kindness I had shown him, his mind was perverted. I accordingly sent Raja Roz-afzun, one of my oldest servants, to inquire into the reasons of this boldness and presumption. I also sent him a *farman*, directing him to attend to his own affairs, and not to depart from the strict line of duty. He was to be content with the *jagirs* that had been bestowed upon him from the Imperial Exchequer. I wanted him not to come to me, but to send all the troops which had been required from him for the campaign against Kandahar. If he acted contrary to my commands, he would afterwards have to repent.*** When Khurram's son was ill, I made a vow that, if God would spare his life, I would never shoot an animal again with my own hand. For all my love of shooting, I kept my vow for five years to the present time; but now that I was offended with Khurram, I resolved to go out shooting again.

On the 24th I crossed the Jhelam. On the same day Afzal Khan, *diwan* of Khurram, arrived with a letter, in which Khurram endeavoured to make excuses for his undutiful actions. He hoped also that by Afzal Khan's persuasion and plausibility might obtain forgiveness; but I took no notice of him and showed him no favour.

Letters arrived from I'tibar Khan and other of my officers whom I had left at Agra, stating that Khurram persisted in his perverse course, and preferring the way of disobedience to the path of duty, had taken a decided step in the road to perdition by marching upon Agra. For this reason, said I' tibar, I have not deemed it advisable to send on the treasure, but have busied myself in making preparation for a siege. A letter from Asaf Khan also arrived, stating that this ungrateful son had torn away the veil of decency, and had broken into open rebellion; that he (the Khan) had received no certain intelligence of his movements, so, not considering it expedient to move the treasure, he had set out alone to join me.

On receiving this intelligence, I crossed the river at Sultanpur, and marched to inflict punishment on this ill-starred son (*siyahbakht*). I issued an order that from this time forth he should be called "Wretch" (*be-daulat*).

On the 1st *Isfandarmuz*, I received a letter from I'tibar Khan, informing me that the rebel had advanced with all speed to the neighbourhood of Agra, my capital, in the hope of getting possession of it before it could be put in a state of preparation. On reaching Fathpur, he found that his hope was vain, so he remained there. He was accompanied by Khan-Khanan (Mirza Khan) and his son; and by many other *amirs* who held office in the Dakhin and in Gujarat, and had now entered upon the path of rebellion and perfidy.** The rebels took nine *lacs* of rupees from the house of Lashkar Khan, and every where they seized upon whatever they found serviceable in the possession of my adherents. Khan-Khanan, who had held the exalted dignity of being my tutor, had now turned rebel, and in the seventieth year of his age had blackened his face with ingratitude. But he was by nature a rebel and traitor. His father, at the close of his days, had acted in the same shameful way towards my revered father. He had but followed the course of his father, and disgraced himself in his old age—

"The wolf's whelp will grow a wolf,
E'en though reared with man himself".

After I had passed through Sirhind, troops came flocking in from all directions, and by the time I reached Dehli, such an army had assembled, that whole country was covered with men as far as the eye could reach. Upon being informed that the rebel had advanced from Fathpur, I marched to Delhi.

In this war I appointed Mahabat Khan commander-in-chief of the army, and Abdu-lla Khan to the command of the advanced force of chosen and experienced troops. His business was to go on a *kos* in advance, to collect information, and take possession of the roads. I forgot that he was an old companion of the rebel; but the result was that he communicated information about my army to the rebel.

Śāh refused him any active support. He asked him to leave the territory of his kingdom. It is not necessary here to recount in detail the story of Śāh Jahān's further adventures in Orissa and Bengal as they do not concern us. He was incessantly on the march being pursued by Parviz and Mahābat Khān. They had entered into an understanding with Bijāpūr. Victory eluded Śāh Jahān and he now made his toilsome journey back to the Deccan. The atmosphere in the Deccan, though not friendly to

---

*contd.*

The eighteenth year of my reign commenced on 20th *Jumada-l-awwal*, 1032 H. (10th March, 1623). On this day intelligence was brought that the rebel had advanced near to Mathura, and had encamped in the *paragana* of Shahpur. **The next intelligence was that he had deviated from the direct course, and had gone twenty *kos* to the left. Sundar Rai, who was the leader in this rebellion, Darab son of Khan-Khanan, and many other *amirs*, had been sent on with the army against me. The command was nominally held by Darab, but Sundar was the real commander, and the prop of the revolt. They encamped near Biluchpur. I sent forward 25,00 horse under Asaf Khan, and he was opposed by Kasim Khan and others. **The Almighty has at all times and in all places been gracious unto me; so when 'Abdu-lla Khan went over to the enemy with 10,000 men under his command, and a great disaster menaced my army, a bullet directed by fate killed Sundar, and his fall made the rebels waver. Khwaja Abu-l-Hasan drove back the force opposed to him, Asaf Khan also brought up his division opportunely, and we achieved a great victory.**

When the rebel passed near Amber, the birth-place and abode of *Raja* Man Singh he sent a party of men to plunder it, and lay it waste. **I also learnt that he had sent Jagat Singh, son of Raja Basu, to stir up disturbances in his native land in the Panjab.**

On the 25th *Urdibihish*, I appointed my son Shah Parwez to the command of the army operating against the rebel. He was to have the supreme command, but *Mu'tamadu-d-daula al Kahira* Mahabat Khan was charged with the general direction of the army. *Khan-i' alam*, *Maharaja* Gaj Singh, Fazil Khan, Rashid Khan, *Raja* Giridhar, *Raja* Ram Das, and others were also sent with him. The force consisted of 40,000 horse, with suitable artillery, and twenty *lacs* of rupees were assigned to it. **On the 30th, agreeing with 19th *Rajab*, 1034, I encamped by the tank of Ana-sagar, within sight of Ajmir.

When the Prince's army passed over the mountains of Chanda, and entered Malwa, Shah Jahan came out of the fort of Mandu with 20,000 horse, 600 elephants and powerful artillery, with the intention of giving battle. ** Mahabat Khan opened communications with several persons, who, through apprehension or compulsion, had joined the army of the rebel, and they, perceiving that his case was hopeless, wrote to Mahabat, asking for assurances of safety. Shah Jahan, not daring to risk, a general action, and thinking always of his retreat, sent his elephants over the Nerbadda. He then sent his forces against the royal army near the village of Kaliya; but he himself, with Khan-khanan and several others, remained a *kos* in the rear. Barkandaz Khan, who had been in correspondence with Mahbat, and had received his promise, when the opposing armies approached each other, seized the opportunity of coming over to the royal army with the body of matchlockmen that he commanded. Rustam also, one of the chief and most trusted officers of the rebel, received assurances from Mahabat, and came over with several other officers. When Shah Jahan heard of this, he gave up resistance, and being unable to place reliance upon any one, he determined to fly. With his forces in disorder, he crossed the Nerbadda, and several of his followers took advantage of the confusion to join the royal army.

Shah Jahan, having crossed the Nerbadda, kept all the boats on his side, and placed strong guards over the fords. Leaving Bairam Beg Bakhshi with a force of his most trusty soldiers and men of the Dakhin, and with the artillery drawn up by the river, he himself went off towards the fort of Asir and Burhanpur. At this time his men caught a messenger whom Khan-khanan had sent to Mahabat Khan. He sent for the Khan, and showed him the letter taken from the messenger. Khan-khanan endeavoured to excuse himself, but could not give a satisfactory answer. An order was accordingly given that he and Darab and his other sons should be kept under arrest.

Rustam Khan, Muhammad Murad, and several others who had abandoned the service of the rebel, and had paid their respects to my dutiful son, according to order were sent to my Court, and were received by me. Rustam Khan received a *mansab* of 5,000, and 4,000 horse. Muhmmad Murad a *mansab* of 1,000 and 500 horse, and prospects of future promotion were held out to them.

CHAPTER 9.

**The Moghals in Maharashtra.**

JAHANGIR.

Shah Jahan's Rebellion.

him, was not hostile either. The conclusion of a settlement by the Moghals with Bijāpūr had broken the triple alliance between Ahmadnagar, Bijāpūr and Golconḍā. Malik Ambar, therefore, decided to join hands with Golconḍā and invade Bijāpūr territory. He was encouraged in his adventure by the dispatch of a division of the Bijāpūr army to Burhāṇpūr to reinforce the Moghal troops there. Parviz and Mahābat Khān were away in the pursuit of Śāh Jahān. Malik Ambar marched a force of

---

*contd.*

When the rebel Shah Jahan reached Asir, he placed Khan-khanan, Darab, and all his other children in confinement in the upper part of the fortress. He remained there three or four days, attending to the victualling and preparation of the fortress, which he placed under the command of Gopal Das, a Rajput.* * When he departed, he left some of his women and superfluous things there in charge of Gopal; but he took with him his three wives, his children and such maids as were necessary. His first intention was to leave Khan-khanan and his children prisoners there; but he changed his mind, and carried them with him to Burhanpur. * * Mahabat Khan was very desirous to separate Khan-khanan from the rebel, and thus to promote a peace. Shah Jahan also, in the strait he then was, took Khan-khanan out of confinement, and bound him by oath upon the *Kuran* to be faithful. To give force to the oath and agreement, he took him into his female apartments, and giving him the previleges of near relation, presented to him his wives and children and with tears and great earnestness, said "In case of evil falling upon me, I trust myself and the honour of my family to you; somthing must be done, that I may proceed no further in this wretched and miserable course."

Khan-khanan separated from him, intent upon peace, and proceeded towards the Imperial army. It was arranged that he should stay on that side of the river to carry on the negotiations for peace. But before he reached the bank of the river, some dashing young men of the royal army one night found a place which the rebels had left unguarded, and passed over the river. This caused some dismay, but Bairam Beg gallantly resolved to contest the passage. While he was getting his forces together some more men passed over, and the same night the rebels retreated. Khan-khanan was left in a difficult position, he did not know whether to advance or retreat. But the men of my son's army continually pressed forward, and Khan-khanan was relieved from the trammels of rebellion, and was presented by Mahabat Khan to my son.

Shah Jahan, when he heard of the defection of Khan-khanan, the passage of the river by the Imperial troops, and the retreat of Bairam Beg, fell back. Notwithstanding heavy rain and inundations, he crossed the river Mati in a wretched state and went off towards the Dakhin. In the confusion many officers, who willingly or unwillingly had joined him, now separated from him.

On the 9th *Aban* Khawas Khan brought a despatch from Prince Parwez and Mahabat Khan, informing me that they had reached Burhanpur, but that many men had fallen in the rear in consequence of the violence of the rain. But acting in obedience to orders, they had taken no rest, and had pressed on in pursuit of the rebel across the river (Tapti). The fugitives, on hearing of their arrival, continued their flight in disorder, and lost many of their animals through the heavy rain and the mud and mire. The royal forces then continued the pursuit to the *pargana* of Ankot, forty *kos* from Burhanpur. * * The rebel then went on to the territories of *Kutbu-l Mulk*. When my son Parwez found that the rebel had quitted my dominions, he and Mahabat and all the *amirs* returned to Burhanpur on the 1st *Aban*.

Intelligence arrived that Shah Jahan, with Darab and other fugitives, had passed out of the territory of *Kutbu-l Mulk*, and was making for Orissa and Bengal. On the way they had to endure great hardships, and many of the rebel's companions abandoned him when they found opportunity. * * After performing a long march Shah Jahan arrived at Machhli (Masulipatam), which belonged to *Kutbu-I-Mulk*. When his arrival there became known, *Kutbu-l Mulk* sent one of his people to the fugitive, and gave him every kind of relief and assistance in money and provisions. He also directed his margrave to convoy the fugitive safely out of his dominions, and he further appointed grain-dealers and *Zamindars* to attend his camp, and supply it with corn and other necessaries.

The *Nau-roz* of my nineteenth year corresponded with 29th *Jumada-l awal*, 1033 (10th March 1624). Intelligence next came that the rebel had reached the confines of Orissa. Upon which I issued a *farman* to Prince Parwez, Mahabat Khan, and the other nobles who had been sent to support them, with orders to provide as far as possible, for the safety of that province, and to march towards Allahabad and Bihar. * * Upon the arrival of these orders, the Prince prepared to obey

nearly fifty thousand men and attacked Bijāpūr. He met with little opposition. He defeated a contingent sent against him and invested Bijāpūr itself. On receipt of the news of attack on Bijāpūr, the Bijāpūr contingent marched back to its territory. It was reinforced by a division of the Moghal army. Malik Ambar was forced to raise the siege. He then retired to his own territory. The military tactics adopted by Malik Ambar display his qualities as an excellent commander. Under his unfettered

---

*contd.*

and to march towards Allahabad, notwithstanding the violence of the rains. On the 6th *Farwardin*, he marched with the Imperial army from Burhanpur to Lal Bagh; but Mahabat Khan remained at Burhanpur, awaiting the arrival of Mulla Muhammad Lari.

A despatch arrived from Ibrahim Beg Khan, with the information that Shah Jahan had entered the province of Orissa. The explanation of this was, that between Orissa and the Dakhin there is a difficult pass, on one side of which are mountains, on the other a marsh(?) and a river. In this place the ruler of Golkonda had built a fort, and had armed it with guns and muskets. It was impossible to pass this place without the consent of *Kutbu-l Mulk* but the escort which he had sent to conduct Shah Jahan had enabled the rebel to pass this fortress and to enter Orissa. ** On hearing of the rebel's approach, Salih, brother of the late Asaf Khan, who held the *jagir* of Bardwan, put the fort in a state of defence. * * Ibrahim Khan being frightened, took refuge in Akbar-nagar, where he occupied himself in gathering forces and preparing for resistance. *Wakiat-i-Jahangiri* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI, pp. 383—91.

Further details of Shah Jahan's rebellion are as follows:

The nineteenth year of the reign of Jahangir began. The intelligence of the march of Shah Jahan's army towards Orrisa and Bengal was confirmed. An order was sent to Prince Parwez and Mahabat Khan, to make provision for the security of the Dakhin, and then to march towards Allahabad and Bihar; so that if the governor of Bengal was unable to prevent the advance of the rebel Shah Jahan, the Prince might be there to oppose him with the Imperial army. The Emperor also sent Khan Jahan to the capital, to watch the turn of affairs, and to take such steps as might seem necessary.

Mahabat Khan sent an ambassador from Burhanpur to 'Adil Khan, * *who wrote in reply that he would meet Mahabat Khan at Dewal-ganw, and would send his son to enter the Imperial service. The ambassador also wrote to say that 'Adil Khan was loyal, and had determined to send his minister, Mulla Muhammad Lari, to join Mahabat with 5,000 horse. In compliance with repeated *farmans*, the Prince marched for Bengal, notwithstanding the severity of the rains and the difficulties arising from the mud and mire of Malwa. Mahabat Khan, having sent forward the Prince, remained at Burhanpur, awaiting the arrival of Mulla Muhammad Lari.

Ahmad Beg Khan, nephew of Ibrahim Khan, and governor of Orissa, had gone forth against the *Zamindars* of Garha. When he heard of Shah Jahan's arrival he retreated in alarm to Pipali, the residence of the governor, and there collecting his property, he carried it with him to Katak (Cuttack), which is twelve *kos* from Pipali, in the direction of Bengal. But not feeling himself able to make a stand even there he went off to Bardwan, and carried the news to Salih, nephew of Jafar Beg * *Salih received a letter from Abdu-lla Khan, which was written for the purpose of winning him over, but Salih rejected the proposition, and put Bardwan in a state of defence.

Ibrahim Khan, when he received the threatening intelligence, although he had forces scattered at different posts, fled to Akbar-nagar, and there collected men and munitions for the conflict. He now received a letter from Shah Jahan (*proposing an arrangement*); but he wrote in reply that * * he would fight for his master to the death. When the Prince's army arrived at Bardwan, the short-sighted Salih put forth the foot of ignorance and folly, and made resistance. 'Abdu-lla Khan did not give him much grace, but invested the fort, and soon brought it to extremity. When Salih perceived that there was no hope of relief. he went out to see the Khan, who led him with a sash round his neck to the Prince. This obstacle being removed, the Prince marched on to Akbar-nagar. It was Ibrahim Khan's first intention to hold Akbar-nagar, but the fort was large, and his force was insufficient for its defence; so he retired to the tomb of his son, which was smaller and more secure. Here he was joined by forces from different stations.

Shah Jahan's army having arrived at Akbar-nagar, invested the tomb, and death began to be busy both within and without. Ahmad Beg Khan came, and found an entrance into the besieged place, which greatly inspirited the garrison. The wives and families of many of the besieged were on the other side of the river; so

CHAPTER 9.

The Moghals in Maharashtra.

JAHANGIR.

Shah Jahan's Rebellion.

leadership the military situation in the Deccan would have taken an entirely different turn. The Deccan would have been in a position to resist the Moghals, through the formation of an united front against them. Malik Ambar now opened negotiations with the Moghal commander who had accompanied the Bijāpūr troops to withdraw from the alliance with Bijāpūr. He informed him that the dispute between the two kingdoms was an internal matter connected with the Deccan politics and that

---

*contd.*

'Abdu-lla Khan and Darya Khan Afghan crossed over, to commence operations on that side. This movement alarmed Ibrahim Khan, who hastened thither, taking with him Ahmad Khan Beg, leaving others in charge of his fortified post. He sent over before him some war-boats, called in Hindi *niwara*, to prevent the passage of the enemy. But before the boats arrived, Darya Khan had crossed over. On hearing this, Ibrahim Khan sent Ahmad Beg over the river against Darya Khan; but when he landed, a fight began on the bank of the river, and he lost many of his men; so he turned back and rejoined Ibrahim Khan, carrying with him the news of his defeat. Ibrahim sent to the fortress for a reinforcement, and a party of well-mounted horsemen came to his aid. On hearing of this, Darya Khan retreated some *kos*, and 'Abdu-lla Khan, under the guidance of the landholders, crossed the river some *kos* higher up and joined him. The united forces took up a position, with the river on one flank and a thick jungle on the other. Ibrahim Khan crossed over and gave battle. * * The advanced force was defeated, * * disorder arose, and many fled. Ibrahim Khan, with a small party of followers, disdained to escape and although some of his men seized his bridle, and tried to drag him out of the fight he exclaimed, " My life does not need such a course; what can I do better than die on the field of battle ? " He had scarcely uttered the words, when the enemy gathered round and despatched him.

The news of his fall discouraged the garrison, and the besiegers exploded a mine under the fortress. The storming party rushed in, and the place was carried. * * Some of the garrison cast themselves into the river, and others, who were fettered by their families being in the hands of the enemy, submitted to the victor. The children and the property of Ibrahim Khan were in Dacca, so the Prince's army proceeded thither by the river. Ahmad Beg, Ibrahim's nephew, arrived before them; but submission was the only course open to him, and he obtained grace through one of the Prince's attendants. The victors took possession of the property, nearly forty *lacs* of rupees in cash, besides various effects, and elephants.

Darab Khan had hitherto been kept in confinement, but he was now released and after being bound by an oath, was made governor of Bengal; but his wife, a daughter, a son, and a son of Shah Nawaz Khan, were kept (as hostages). Raja Bhim, son of Rana Karan, who had never left the Prince in any of his troubles, was sent forward in command of the advanced force towards Patna. The province of Patna was in the *jagir* of Prince Parwez, and it had been left in charge of Mukhlis Khan, the Prince's *diwan*, and of Iftikhar Khan and Sher Khan Afghan, his *faujdars*. But before even Raja Bhim arrived, they were frightened; and giving up all hope of support, they did not even set the fort of Patna in order, and wait a few days for the approach of the army; they abandoned the place, and made off to Allahabad setting their own safety above the loss of such a country. So Raja Bhim entered the fort of Patna, and took possession of the province of Bihar without resistance.

A few days afterwards Prince Shah Jahan arrived there, and the *jagirdars* of the province waited upon him, and made their submission. Saiyid Mubarak made over to him the fort of Rohtas. The *zamindar* of Ujain also came in and was received. Before advancing himself, Shah Jahan sent on 'Abdulla Khan with an army towards Allahabad, and Darya Khan Afghan with another force towards Oudh. A few days after, the Prince himself marched, leaving Bairam Beg in charge of Bihar. Before 'Abdulla Khan passed over the ford of Jausa, Jahangir Kuli Khan, son of 'Azam Khan Mirza Koka, who held the government of Jaunpur, left that place and went to Mirza Rustam at Allahabad. 'Abdu-lla pursued him hotly, and came up to the town of Jhaunsi on the river Ganges, opposite Allahabad. Shah Jahan then advanced to Jaunpur. The war boats (*niwara*) had been brought up from Bengal, and 'Abdulla now employed them in effecting a passage of the river under a fire of guns and muskets and pitched his camp in Allahabad.

*Dakhin*

We must now return to the affairs of the Dakhin. 'Ambar Habshi had sent his envoy' Ali Sher to Mahabat Khan, to express his obedience and devotion, in the hope that the management of the Dakhin would be entrusted to him. He was at

the Moghals should stay away from it. However, Malik Ambar's attempts to dissuade the Moghals failed. Malik Ambar then made a surprise move and made a sudden attack on the combined army of the Moghals and Bijāpurīs in 1624. In the battle of Bhātvadī he defeated the combined forces and took many imperial officers as prisoners of war. Marching further, he laid siege to Ahmadnagar. Thinking that the siege would

---

*contd.*

war with 'Adil Khan, and he hoped to obtain Imperial assistance, and so triumph over his enemy. On the other hand, 'A'dil Khan in the same way hoped to get charge of the province, and so to repel the assaults of 'Ambar. In the end 'A'dil Khan prevailed. Mahabat Khan rejected the proposals of 'A'mbar, and decided in favour of 'A'dil Khan. 'Ambar was on the road, and Mulla Muhammad, the envoy of 'A'dil Khan, was in dread of him; so Mahabat Khan sent a detachment from the Imperial army to the Balaghat, to escort him to Burhanpur. When 'Ambar was informed of this, he turned back, vexed and disappointed, and proceeded with *Nizamu-l Mulk* from Khirki to Kandahar, on the borders of Golkonda. He sent his children with his wives and attendants to the fortress of Daulatabad and left Khirki empty. He gave out that he was going to the frontier of *Kutbu-l Mulk*, in order to receive his fixed payment (*zar-i mukarrari*).

When Mulla Muhammad Lari approached Burhanpur, Mahabat Khan went forth as far as Shahpur to meet him, and received him with great attention. Then they proceeded to wait upon Prince Parwez. Mahabat Khan left Sarbuland Rai to support him; but he took with him the son of Jadu Rai and the brother of Uda Ram by way of precaution. When Mulla Muhammad Lari had his interview with the Prince, it was arranged that he should go to Burhanpur with his 5,000 horse, to assist Sarbuland Rai, and that his son Aminu-d din, with another 5,000 horse, should accompany the Prince. * *

A despatch arrived from Fazil Khan, the *bakhshi* of the army of the Dakhin, stating that Mulla Muhammad Lari had gone to Burhanpur, and the Imperial commanders felt that the Dakhin was secure. Prince Parwez and Mahabat Khan had therefore marched towards Bihar and Bengal. The commanders having considered the rebellious actions of Khan-khanan, and the fact of his son Darab being in the service of Shah Jahan, resolved that he should be kept under arrest. His tent was to be pitched near that of the Prince, and his daughter Jana Begam, who had been married to Prince Daniyal, and was an intelligent pupil of her father, was ordered to be detained in the same place with him and constant guard was to be kept round their tent by trusty men. * *

*Defeat of Shah Jahan.*—On the 1st of *Shahryur*, while the Emperor was at Virnag in Kashmir, a despatch arrived from Mahabat Khan, reporting that Shah Jahan's generals held all the passages of the Ganges, and had seized upon all the boats. The Imperial army had consequently been delayed some days in crossing the river; but they had been assisted by the *Zamindars*, thirty boats had been procured, and the army had crossed forty *kos* above the fords. * * The next intelligence was that a party of *Zamindars* in the service of Shah Jahan had carried off all the war-boats, with their guns and equipment, and had fled to Bengal. Shah Jahan was in the jungle of Kampat, where he had entrenched himself, and had mounted cannons and guns upon his earthworks. But the supply of provisions was small, and scarcity had begun to prevail.

A courier now arrived by *dak chauki* from Prince Parwez, with a despatch announcing that he had gained victory over Shah Jahan, who had gone off towards Patna and Bihar. The particulars of the engagment are as follows. The two armies were in sight of each other, and forming their array for several days. The royal army amounted to 40,000 men, that of Shah Jahan did not exceed 10,000 horse, including old and new troops; and some of the most devoted were averse to fighting. Raja Bhim, the son of the Rana, contrary to the opinions of all, was eager for war. He went so far as to say that if they did not fight, they must not reckon upon his support, for such marching and moving about was against the rules of the Rajputs. His voice prevailed, and the ranks were formed for battle. The guns were taken out of the redoubts. and the battle began. The royal forces encompassed the field on three sides like a bow, and arrows and bullets fell like hail. Raja Bhim, unheeding the numbers of foes, charged bravely with his Rajputs * *; but a chosen force which attended Prince Parwez and Mahabat Khan fell upon him and cut him down; still he fought fiercly as long as he could draw breath. * * The gunners abandoned their guns and fled, and the guns fell into the hands of the royal fórces. * * An arrow wounded the horse of Shah Jahan, and 'Abdu-lla, who was near him

**CHAPTER 9.**

**The Moghals in Maharashtra.**

JAHANGIR.

be a protracted one, he left a contingent to carry on the siege and marched towards Śolāpūr. He attacked and took the town. In this sudden dash Malik Ambar practically brought the whole of Bālāghāt under his occupation.

---

Shah Jahan's Rebellion.

*contd.*

seized his bridle, and led him out of the fight, when he exchanged his own for the Prince's wounded horse. Shah Jahan went to the fort of Rohtas, and there stayed his flight.

*Dakhin*

Advices now arrived from the Dakhin. Malik Ambar proceeded to the frontiers of *Kutbu-l Mulk*, to recieve the annual payment for the army, which was now two years in arrear. After receiving it, and making himself secure on that side by a treaty and oath, he proceeded towards Bidar. There he found the forces of 'Adil Khan, who were in charge of that country, unprepared, so he attacked them unawares, and plundered the city of Bidar. From thence he marched against Bijapur. 'Adil Khan had sent his best troops and officers along with Mulla Muhammad Lari to Burhanpur, and not deeming himself strong enough to resist the assailant, he shut himself up in the fortress of Bijapur, and doing all he could to secure the place, he sent a messenger to recall Muhammad Lari and his forces from Burhanpur. * * When Mahabat Khan and Prince Parwez marched for Allahabad, Sarbuland Rai was left in charge of Burhanpur, and was ordered to administer the affairs of the Dakhin in concert with Mulla Muhammad Lari. The Mulla now became very pressing, and gave three *lacs* of *huns*, nearly equal to twelve *lacs* of rupees, for the payment of the troops. When the Mulla's letters of recall reached Mahabat Khan, to acquiesced and directed the officials in the Dakhin to hasten with the Mulla to support 'Adil Khan. Sarbuland Rai of necessity remained at Burhanpur with a few men ; but sent Lashkar Khan and * * * all the *amirs* of the Dakhin along with Muhammad Lari, to oppose Malik 'Ambar. When the Malik received information of this, he wrote to the Imperial officers, asserting his loyalty to the Imperial throne and asking that *Nizamu-l-Mulk* and 'Adil Khan might be allowed to settle their own standing differences without interference. No attention was paid to this emonstrance by the *amirs*, who pressed steadily on. He renewed his appeal more earnestly than before ; but they displayed their forces, and he was compelled to depart from Bijapur, and go to his own territories. Upon the approach of the Imperial forces, 'Ambar endeavoured to conciliate and procrastinate and spared no effort to avoid war. But Mulla Muhammad Lari and the Imperial *amirs* followed him, and allowed him no rest. The more submissive and importunate he became, the more Muhammad Lari tried to humble him, and the harder he pressed him.

He was reduced to extremity, and compelled to take some decided course. So one day, when the Imperial forces were heedless, and were impressed with the notion that he would not fight, suddenly he appeared on the edge of their camp, five *kos* from Ahmadnagar. The battle began with the forces of 'Adil Khan. and, by the will of Fate, Muhammad Lari, who commanded them, was killed. His fall threw the Bijapur forces into confusion. Jadu Rai and Uda Ram fled without striking a blow, and a perfect rout followed. Ikhlas Khan and twenty-five other officers of 'Adil Khan, who were the props of his power, were taken prisoners. Of these Farhad Khan, who had sought the death of Malik 'Ambar, was executed ; the others were imprisoned. Lashkar Khan and some other chiefs of the Imperial army were also made prisoners. Khanjar Khan by great exertion escaped to Ahmadnagar, and prepared the fortress for a siege. Jan-sipar Khan went to Bir, which was in his *tuyul* (*jagir*), and set the fort in order. Of the rest who escaped from the field of carnage, some fled to Ahmadnagar, and some to Burhanpur.

Malik 'Ambar, successful beyond his hopes, sent his prisoners to the fortress of Daulatabad, and marched to lay siege to Ahmadnagar. But although he brought, up his guns and pressed the siege, he met with no success. He therefore left a part of his army to maintain the investment, whilst he marched against Bijapur. 'Adil Khan again took refuge in the fortress, and Malik Ambar occupied all his territories as far as the frontiers of the Imperial dominions in the Balaghat. He collected an excellent army and laid siege to Sholapur, which had long been a subject of contention between *Nizamu-l Mulk* and 'Adil Khan. He sent a force against Burhanpur, and having brought up guns from Daulatabad, he took Sholapur by storm.

The intelligence of these reverses greatly troubled the Emperor. By advice of Mahabat Khan, he summoned Khana-zad Khan, son of Mahabat, from Kabul, and sent him with his army to join his father. * * A despatch arrived from Mahabat Khan, informing the Emperor that Shah Jahan had quitted Patna and Bihar, and had gone to Bengal. Prince Parwez, with the Imperial army, was in Bihar awaiting instructions as to his future proceedings. It has already been related how Shah Jahan had made Darab, son of Khan-khanan, governor of Bengal, and having

He felt his position to be so strong that he offered the hand of friendship to Śāh Jahān and commandeered a force under him to attack Burhāṇpūr. Abdullāh Khān served as Śāh Jahān's second-in-command. The Moghal garrison of Burhāṇpūr defended stubbornly and held out until Parviz and Mahābat Khān hurried from the north. Śāh Jahān was now forced to raise the siege. Weary as he had grown of the prolonged war, he retired to Berār. He then decided to submit to his father. The two forts of Rohtas and Asir were taken away from him and he was appointed to the charge of Bālāghāṭ[1]. The subsequent four

*contd.*

first bound him by an oath, had carried off his wife and son and nephew as hostages. After being defeated, Shah Jahan placed the wife in the fort of Rohtas, and wrote to Darab, ordering him to come in person to the fort. Darab improperly and perversely took another view of the matter, and wrote to say that he was unable to come, because the *Zamindars* had banded together and held him in blockade.

When Shah Jahan found that he must not expect the arrival of Darab, and that he had not forces sufficient to carry on the war, he placed Darab's son in charge of 'Abdu-lla Khan, and went to Akbar-nagar, where he took all the munitions and baggage which had been left there, and returned to the Dakhin by the way in which he had come. Darab Khan had disgraced himself to all eternity by his detestable conduct, so 'Abdu-lla Khan relieved his own mind by putting Darab's son to death; and this he did, although Shah Jahan had sent to forbid him.

Prince Parwez, having given Bihar in *jagir* to Mahabat Khan and his son, started on his return. He sent notices to the *Zamindars* of Bengal, who held Darab in confinement, warning them not to hurt him, but to send him to the army. He soon arrived, and intelligence of his arrival having been communicated to the Emperor, he issued his mandate to Mahabat Khan, that there was no use in keeping such a worthless fellow alive, and therefore he was to be beheaded, and his head sent to Court. So Mahabat Khan had him decapitated, and sent his head to the Emperor. **Strict orders were sent to the Dakhin, forbidding warlike operations until the arrival of reinforcements, and commanding the troops to keep in the fortified places, and make them secure. *Ikbal-Nama-i Jahangiri* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI, pp. 407-17.

1. Moghal activities and accounts of Shah Jahan's rebellion are given in the following paragraphs:—

(The New Year began on a day corresponding with 29th *Jummad-al awwal*, 1033 H. (10th March 1624 A.D.).

When *Sultan* Parwez and Mahabat Khan arrived near Allahabad, 'Abdu-lla Khan raised the siege and returned to Jhaunsi. Darya Khan held the bank of the river in force and had carried all the boats over to his own side; the passage of the Imperial army was thus delayed for some days. The Prince and Mahabat Khan encamped on the other side of the river. Darya Khan held the fords, but the *zamindars* of the neighbourhood showed their loyalty, and collected thirty boats from various parts and guided the royal forces over at a spot some *kos* higher up. Darya Khan held his position to contest the passage until he heard that the royal army had crossed. He then knew that it was no longer tenable, and fell back to Jaunpur. 'Abdu-lla Khan and Raja Bhim proceeded to Jaunpur, and counselled a movement to Benares; so Shah Jahan sent his females and attendants to Rohtas, and himself proceeded to Benares. He was joined by 'Abdu-lla Khan, Raja Bhim, and Darya Khan, and having arrived at Benares, passed over the Ganges, and halted on the river Tunus. Prince Parwez and Mahabat Khan, having arrived at Damdama, they left Aka Muhammad Zaman Teherani there, while they passed over the Ganges with the intention of crossing over the Tunus. Shah Jahan, leaving Khan-dauran in charge of his position, crossed the Ganges, and confronted Muhammad Zaman, who fell back to Jhaunsi. Khan-dauran advanced in full confidence, and Muhammad Zaman hastened to meet him. A sharp action followed. Khan-dauran was defeated, and his soldiers abandoned him. Being left alone, he struggled and fought desperately in every direction until he was killed. His head was sent to Prince Parwez. Rustam Khan, an old servant of Shah Jahan's now left him and joined Prince Parwez. He said it was a good thing that the traitor (Khan-dauran) had been killed. Jahangir Kuli, son of Khan-i-azam, who was present, said "No one can call him rebel or traitor, a more devoted man cannot exist, for he served his master to the death and what more could he do? Even now his head is raised above all."

Shah Jahan took his departure from Bengal, and proceeded towards the Dakhin. Mukhlis Khan then went on the wings of haste to Prince Parwez, to send him and his *amirs* on to the Dakhin. **A despatch arrived from Asad Khan, the *Bakhshi* of

CHAPTER 9.

The Moghals in Maharashtra.

years witnessed the court intrigues at their worst in the Moghal court. Even the life of the emperor was in jeopardy. In 1626, Jahāṅgīr was in Kābūl when the news of the death of Malik

JAHANGIR. *contd.*

Shah Jahan's Rebellion.

the Dakhin, written at Burhanpur, to the effect that Ya'kub Khan Habshi, with 10,000 horse, had arrived at Malkapur, ten *kos* from the city, and that Sarbuland Rai had gone out of the city with the intention of attacking him. Upon this, strict injunctions were sent forbidding him to fight until reinforcement arrived.

At the beginning of 1034 A.H. Shah Jahan arrived in the Dakhin. Malik 'Ambar tendered him assistance, and sent a force under the command of Yakub Khan Habshi to Burhanpur to plunder. He communicated this movement to Shah Jahan who proceeded in that direction, and pitched his camp at Dewal-ganw. The Prince then sent 'Abdu-lla Khan to join Ya'kub Khan, and lay siege to Burhanpur. He himself followed, and pitched his tent in the Lal Bagh, in the outskirts of the city. Rao Ratan, and other Imperial officers who were in the place, did their best to put it in state of defence, and took every precaution to secure it. Shah Jahan ordered 'Abdu-lla to assail the town on one side, and Shah Kuli Khan on the other. The besieged, by dint of numbers and by hard fighting, held 'Abdu-lla in check ; but Shah Kuli's division breached the walls, and made their way inside.

Sarbuland Rai then left a force to keep 'Abdu-lla Khan in check, and hastened to attack Shah Kuli. Several of Shah Kuli Khan's men were scattered in the streets and bazars. but he, with the few around him, stood fast in the esplanade in front of the citadel. Several of them fell. He then entered the citadel, and closed the gates. Sarbuland Rai surrounded it and Shah Kuli, being hard pressed, capitulated.

Shah Jahan then ordered a second attack to be made ; but although great gallantry was exhibited, the assault failed, and several officers of distinction fell. He mounted his horse, and ordered a third assault. Great courage was again displayed and many officers and men fell, but without success. Saiyid Ja'far received a slight wound in the neck from a bullet, but he was so frightened that he went away. His departure affected all the Dakhinis, who broke up and went away, followed by many men who were disheartened by failure.

Intelligence now arrived, that Prince Parwez and Mahabat Khan, with the Imperial army, had reached the Nerbadda on their return, so Shah Jahan retired to the Balaghat. 'Abdu-lla Khan separated from him, and occupied the village (*mauza'*) of Indore.**

When the raising of the siege of Burhanpur was reported to the Emperor, he bestowed great favours on Sarbuland Rai. He gave him a *mansab* of 5,000 and the title of Ram Raj, than which there is no higher title in the Dakhin. When the siege was raised, Shah Jahan bent his course to the Dakhin, but he was seized with illness on the way. The error of his conduct now became apparent to him, and he felt that he must beg forgiveness of his father for his offences. So with this proper feeling he wrote a letter to his father, expressing his sorrow and repentance, and begging pardon for all faults past and present. His Majesty wrote an answer with his own hand, to the effect that if he would send his sons Dara Shukoh and Aurangzeb to Court, and would surrender Rohtas and the fortress of Asir, which were held by his adherents, full forgiveness should be given him, and the country of the Balaghat should be conferred upon him. Upon reading this, Shah Jahan deemed it his duty to conform to his father, with offerings of jewels, chased arms, elephants, etc., to the value of ten *lacs* of rupees. He wrote to Muzaffar Khan, directing him to surrender Rohtas to the person appointed by the Emperor, and then to come with Sultan Murad Bakshi. He also wrote to Hayat Khan directions for surrendering Asir to the Imperial officers. Shah Jahan then proceeded to Nasik.**

It was now reported to the Emperor that Mahabat Khan had married his daughter to Khwaja Barkhurdar, the eldest son of Nakshabandi. As this marriage had been contracted without the royal consent, the Emperor was greatly offended ; so he sent for the young man, and asked him why he had, contrary to rule, married the daughter of so great a noble. He was unable to give a satisfactory answer, so he was ordered to be beaten, and sent to prison.**

The Intelligence of Mahabat Khan's daring act having reached Shah Jahan, he was greatly incensed, and notwithstanding his bodily weakness and want of warlike munitions, he resolved to go to the assistance of his father, and inflict punishment for this presumptuous deed. On the 23rd *Ramazan*, 1035 A. H. (7th June, 1626 A. D.), he left Nasik with 1,000 horse, hoping to gather forces as he proceeded. On reaching Ajmir, *Raja* Kishan Singh, son of *Raja* Bhim, who accompanied him, died and 500 horsemen of the *Raja's* broke up and went away, leaving only 500 men in the suite of Shah Jahan, and these were in great distress. Unable to carry out his

Ambar reached him[1]. Parviz had also died in October 1626 of excess of wine. Khān Jahān assumed full command of the affairs of the Deccan. The death of Malik Ambar in 1626 had created a void in the situation of the Deccan. On the death of Malik Ambar his son Fath Khān succeeded him. He went to Jālnā and offered his submission to the Moghal governor Khān Jahān. But this show of friendship between the two was short-lived. For, shortly afterwards, Fath Khān invaded Berār. Khān Jahān was sent to repulse the aggressor. Murtazā Nizām Śāh now appointed Hamid Khān as his minister[2]. Hamid Khān was an African officer. He served his master well. When the imperial army marched against him he visited Khān Jahān and heavily bribed him. He came to an understanding with him according to which orders were issued to the officers commanding various parts in Bālāghāṭ to vacate their charges. Most of the officers obeyed the orders and withdrew to Burhāṇpūr. The garrison at Ahmadnagar, however, refused to comply with the plea of the absence of specific imperial orders to that effect.

Śāh Jahān was still in the Deccan. When he heard of the seizure of Jahāṅgīr by Mahābat Khān he decided to go north to the aid of his father and sounded Khān Jahān on the move. Khān Jahān declined to support him. Śāh Jahān, therefore, left Deccan for the north towards Sind. The governor of Sind prepared to resist him and Śāh Jahān, in the absence of reinforcement retraced his steps. He arrived at Nāśik through Gujarāt when he received news of the setback suffered by Mahābat Khān and the release of the emperor from his control. Now Mahābat Khān offered his services to Śāh Jahān and joined him at Junnar with a force of 2,000. But, in the absence of

---

*contd.*

original intention, he resolved to do the best he could under the circumstances, and to go to Thatta, and remain for a while in that obscure place. So he proceeded from Ajmir to Nagor, and from thence through Joudhpur and Jesalmir. *Tatimma-i Wakiat-i Jahangiri* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI, pp. 393—97.

[1] Ambar, whether as a commander or a strategist, was without an equal in the military art. He kept the rabble of that country (the Deccan) in perfect order and to the end of his days lived in honour. There is no record elsewhere in history of an African Slaves' attaining to such a position as was held by him.

[2] Hamid Khan obtained influence over Murtaza Nizam Shah through his wife. This woman of ability and unbounded energy secured access to the harem of Murtaza Nizam Shah and pampered to his depraved passions. The death of Malik Ambar now provided a welcome opportunity to Ibrahim Adil Shah to avenge the defeats suffered by him at the hands of Malik Ambar. He, therefore, invaded the territories of Ahmadnagar. The Bijapur armies approached Daulatabad when the wife of Hamid Khan obtained command of the Ahmadnagar army. She encouraged the officers and men under her command by cajoling them and distributing largesses among them. The impact of this was so tremendous that the Bijapuris were defeated and all their elephants and artillery fell into the hands of the Ahmadnagar army. Ibrahim Adil Shah II died in September 1627, and was succeeded by his son Muhammad Adil Shah. Early in his reign Hamid Khan invaded the Bijapur territory but was defeated near Bijapur and forced to retreat to Daulatabad. Muhammad Adil Shah had come to the throne with the help of a clique headed by Khawas Khan who blinded Darvesh, the elder son of Ibrahim Adil Shah. Shah Jahan had recognised the succession but not Murtaza Nizam Shah. The latter, to support the claims of Darvesh, invaded Bijapur. The invasion of Bijapur was followed by the descent of the emperor into the Deccan to suppress Khan Jahan's rebellion and if possible to crush Ahmadnagar.

substantial backing, they could do nothing. However, Khān Jahān deliberately refused to take any action against them and left both Śāh Jahān and Mahābat unmolested.

SHAH JAHAN.

Jahāṅgīr died on 7th November 1627.

Śāh Jahān succeeded to the throne on the death of Jahāṅgīr. All possible claimants to the throne were removed by Asaf Khān under the orders of Śāh Jahān. The Moghal governor of the Deccan, Khān Jahān, however, had marched northwards believing that either Śāhriyār or Dāvar Bakṣ (a son of Khuśrāv) would succeed to the throne. He approached Maṇḍū where many of his followers deserted him. Khān Jahān then sent his submission to Śāh Jahān. It was accepted and Khān Jahān was confirmed in the governorship of the Deccan. He then retired to Burhāṇpūr, the Moghal headquarters, in March 1628. With his position thus consolidated, Śāh Jahān now turned his attention to the Deccan. He ordered Khān Jahān to recover Bālāghāṭ which the latter had surrendered to Hamid Khān after the death of Malik Ambar. Khān Jahān proved to be an incompetent general. He failed to carry out the orders. Śāh Jahān, therefore, appointed him to Mālvā and put Mahābat Khān in charge of the Deccan provinces. Mahābat Khān did not assume the charge of his new appointment. In his absence his son Khān Zamān acted as his deputy.

Rebellion of Khan Jahan.

It was now the turn of Khān Jahān to rebel. As a matter of fact Śāh Jahān had completely forgiven him. But his over-anxiety and consciousness of his own treachery made him suspicious and leaving Agra in October 1629 he left for the south. He was closely pursued, but, evading the pursuers, he reached Daulatābād safely. He was well received, by Murtazā Nizām Śāh. He was put in charge of the province of Bīḍ. His associates were assigned tracts formerly in the Ahmadnagar kingdom but now in the possession of the Moghals. Orders were issued to them to conquer the territory from the Moghal officers.

Śāh Jahān now perceived the dangerous potentialities of the situation. He decided to march in person to suppress Khān Jahān's rebellion. He arrived in the Deccan in February 1630. Bālāghāṭ was invaded by the Moghals in 1630 but the campaign did not succeed and the imperial forces did not make much headway against Khān Jahān. As the rainy season was approaching, Śāh Jahān decided to halt the campaign to regroup his forces. He decided upon a concerted attack after the rains were over. Śāh Jahān carefully planned his campaign. He had to keep the supply route from Gujarāt open and at the same time keep pressure upon Ahmadnagar from its north-western frontiers. He, therefore, sent a force under the command of Khvājā Abul Hasan to Dhulia to serve this double purpose. He then decided to launch an attack upon Daulatābād as the second and the principal phase of his campaign. With this view he stationed the main bulk of his army at Deulgāṅv in southern Berār. He

had also to counter the possibility of the kingdoms of Ahmadnagar, Bijāpūr and Goḷconḍā forming a triple alliance for attacking the Moghals in unison. To counter such a move he sent a contingent of his army to Telaṅgaṇa. To Śāh Jahān, one of the heartening features of this campaign was the reacceptance of service under the Moghals by the Jādhav family. The death of Jādhav Rāv, one of the principal Ahmadnagar officers engineered by Murtazā Nizām Śāh in 1629, had estranged the relations between him and the relations of Jādhav Rāv. They now joined the Moghals.[1]

[1] The details of the murder of Jadhav Rao and the campaign against Nizam Shah and Khan Jahan are as under :—

**Murder of Jadu Rai.**

Jadu Rai, with his sons, grandsons, and other relations held altogether from the Imperial Government *Mansabs* amounting to 24,000 (personal), and 15,000 horse. He also had sundry *jagirs* in the Dakhin as *tankhwah*, so that he lived in wealth and comfort. But he was fickle and unfaithful, and went with his sons and relations to join the Nizam. But the Nizam well knew his perfidy, and resolved to put him in confinement. For this purpose the Nizam arranged with some of his servants to seize Jadu Rai, and he summoned him to his presence. Accordingly Jadu attended the Court with his family. The armed men who were in concealment suddenly attacked them, and killed him. his two sons Ujla and Raghu, and his grandson Baswant. His brother Jagdeo Rai, with Bahadur-ji his son, his wife and the others who escaped, fled from Daulatabad to Sindghar, near Jalnapur, in their native country.

**Campaign against Nizam Shah and Khan-Jahan.**

7th *Rabi'u-l awwal.* When the rains were over, A'zam Khan and the great nobles who were with him left Dewal-ganw, where they had rested during the rainy seasons and marched against the rebel Afghans.

At the conclusion of the rains, Khwaja Abu-l Hasan also, according to orders, marched from the vicinity of the fort of Alang by way of Baglana, towards Nasik and Trimbak. When he reached Baglana, the *Zamindar* of that country, by name Bahar-Ji, met him with four hundred horse. **The Khwaja entered the enemy's country by way of the *ghat* of Jarahi. He found that the revenue officers and *raiyats* had left their villages and had retired into the jungles and hills. So the country was desolate, corn was dear, and the soldiers of the royal army were in want of necessaries. The Khwaja then sent detached forces into the hills, and also into the inhabited country, and they returned from each raid with abundance of corn and other necessaries, having killed or taken prisoners many of the enemy. The Be-Nizam now appointed Mahaldar Khan with a party of horse and foot to vex the royal army at night with rockets. He was also directed to attack the parties sent out to gather fuel and fodder, and to carry off their camels and bullocks whenever he could get a chance, Shah-nawaz Khan was sent against these assailants, and he, making a forced march of twenty *kos*, attacked them and put them to flight, and returned with great plunder. The Khwaja next sent Khan-zaman to attack the enemy's camp at Sangamnir. This force made forced marches, and reached the camp of the enemy, who dispersed and fled to the fort of Chandor. **

At the close of the rains, the royal army left its quarters in Dewal-ganw,and marched forth against the Nizam-Shahis and the Afghans. On hearing of this, Mukarrab Khan and the other rebels left Jalnapur, where they had passed the rainy season, and retreated towards Pathri. A'zam Khan, being informed of their retreat, followed them march by march. When he reached the village of Rambhuri, on the Ban-ganga river, he learnt that the Nizam-Shahis had ascended the Balaghat at Dharur, and had taken refuge in the fort of that place, while Khan-Jahan had not yet left his quarters at Bir. Khan-Jahan, having been informed of the movements of the Imperial army, called in a detachment which he had sent to collect the revenues in the dependencies of Bir, and awaited the arrival of reinforcements from Mukarrab Khan, who was at Dharur. A'zam Khan conceived the design of attacking the forces of the rebel Khan before the reinforcements could reach him ; so he marched from Rambhuri to Mahganw. Here he received a message from Saf-shikan Khan Razwi, commandant of the fort of Bir, informing him that Khan-Jahan was at Rajauri, twenty-four *kos* from Machhli-ganw, employed in dividing the spoil which his predatory followers had obtained by plundering the merchants at Kehun and

**CHAPTER 9.**

**The Moghals in Maharashtra.**

SHAH JAHAN.

Rebellion of Khan Jahan.

In 1630 the campaign started after the rains were over. Āzam Khān, the Moghal commander at Deulgāṅv, moved out. The Ahmadnagar army under the command of Muqarrab Khān was at Jālnā a few miles away from the Moghal camp of Deulgāṅv. At the movement of the Moghal army he withdrew further south with the Moghal troops close at his heels. In the meanwhile Khān Jahān, the rebel, was at his camp at Bīḍ regrouping his forces and awaiting reinforcements from Muqarrab Khān and

---

*contd.*

Kiorai. Several detachments which had been sent out to make collections had rejoined him, and as he had heard of the arrival of the Imperial army at Pathri, he had made up his mind to move off as soon as it came nearer to Bir.

A'zam Khan left a detachment in charge of his camp at Machhli-ganw to follow him quietly while he marched off after night-fall to attack the rebels. Four *gharis* of night remained when he reached Pipalnir, six *kos* from Bir, when he directed Saf-shikan Khan to make a demonstration with his force on Khan-Jahan's flanks so that he might think this small force to be the whole of the royal army, and refrain from moving away. Saf-shikan Khan accordingly drew out his force upon a ridge about a *kos* in front of the rebel army, which had taken post at the foot of the hills about four *kos* from Bir. A'ziz, son of Khan-Jahan, advanced to attack Saf-shikan with a body of his father's troops, and at this juncture A'zam Khan came up with the main body of the royal army, and 'Aziz was compelled to fall back in disorder to his father, whom he informed that the force which had first shown itself was Saf-shikan Khan's division, and that the whole of the royal army was coming up with all possible haste.

Khan-Jahan, when he found that his retreat was cut off, determined to fight it out. **But the royal troops forced their way to the top of the hill. Khan-Jahan sent away the elephant litter with his women to Siu-ganw, and then rallied his troops for a struggle. He sent his nephew Bahadur, in whose courage and daring he had great confidence, against Bahadur Khan and some others of the royal army, who, being few in number, were very hard pressed. They dismounted, and, resolving to sell their lives dearly, they kept up a desperate struggle, and slew many of the enemy. Bahadur Khan received two wounds from arrows, one in his face, the other in his side, and several of his comrades were slain. Narhar Das also and many Rajputs fell. Sipahdar Khan and others, who had mounted the hill on the right, seeing the state of the battle, took shelter behind a stone wall, and kept up a discharge of arrows. *Raja* Bihar Singh Bundela now came up from the right wing to support Bahadur Khan. He joined valiantly in the struggle, and many of his men were killed. *Raja* Jai Singh and other *rajas* who were on another part of the hill, also joined in the fight. 'Azam Khan next came up in haste, and ordered a part of the left wing to advance. At this time, when many of the Imperial officers had fallen, and the result seemed doubtful, the favour of Heaven fell upon the royal forces. The ill-starred Bahadur, observing the successive arrivals of reinforcements for his adversaries, lost heart, and turned to flee with his Afghans. His father also fled. As the discomfited rebels hurried down the hill, they were harassed by showers of arrows and bullets. A ball struck Bahadur Khan, and he was unable to continue his flight. Paras Ram, a servant of *Raja* Bihar Singh's came up and despatched him with his dagger; then he cut off his head, and sent it with his ring, horse and weapons, to *Raja* Bihar Singh, who forwarded them to A'zam Khan. The Khan gave the horse to the man who had slain Bahadur, the ring he sent to the Emperor, and the head he caused to be set up as a warning over the gate of Bir.

The royal forces pursued the fugitives for three *kos*, and put many of them to the sword. But as the victors had been in the saddle from the first watch in the evening of one day to the third watch of the next day, and had marched more than thirty *kos*, men and beasts were both worn out, and were unable to go further. A'zam Khan then called a halt, to allow of a little rest, and to give strugglers time to come up.

Khan-Jahan and his followers, whose horses were fresh, took advantage ofthis to improve their distance; but A'zam Khan sent Muhammad Dakhni and the forces that were in Bir to maintain the pursuit, and he himself, after a brief interval, followed with the main force. When Khan-Jahan learnt that the victors were in full pursuit he removed his ladies from the *howda* in which they had been carried by a female elephant, and mounting them on horses rode away with them. Darwesh Muhammad, with a party of pursuers, captured the elephant and *howda*, and made a number of Afghans and their women prisoners. Most of Khan-Jahan's men who escaped were wounded, and in their panic they were able to carry off nothing but the clothes they wore and the horses they rode. Khan-Jahan, with a few faithful followers, escaped into the hill-country. **A'zam Khan halted at Bir, to give his army a

Daryā Khān. Āzam Khān anticipated that Khān Jahān would move out on the approach of the Moghal army. To forestall such a move he quickly marched by night towards the direction of Bīḍ. To draw out Khān Jahān, he sent an advanced contingent towards Bīḍ in October 1630 keeping the main bulk of his army immediately behind. As expected by Āzam Khān, Khān Jahān marched to attack the advanced contingent. The attacking force was dispersed and fled in disorder when it found that that whole of the imperial army had been sent against it. Khān Jahān

---

*contd.*

little rest. **Khan-Jahan then proceeded from Siu-ganw to Bizapur and Bhonsla, in the Nizam-Shahi territory, with the design of going to Daulatabad. On hearing of this movement, 'Azam Khan marched from Bir towards Siu-ganw with 20,000 horse.

At this time, Sahu-ji Bhonsla, son-in-law of Jadu Rai, the Hindu commander of Nizam Shah's army, came in and joined A'zam Khan. After the murder of Jadu Rai, which has been mentioned above, Sahu-ji broke off his connection with Nizam Shah, and, retiring to the districts of Puna and Chakna, he wrote to A'zam Khan, proposing to make his submission upon receiving a promise of protection. A'zam Khan wrote to Court, and received orders to accept the proposal. Sahu-ji then came and joined him with two thousand horse. He received a *mansab* of 5,000, a *khil'at*, a gift of two *lacs* of rupees, and other presents. His brother Mina-ji received a robe and a *mansab* of 3,000 personal and 1,500 horse. Samaji son of Sahu-ji, also received a robe and a *mansab* of 2,000 personal and 1,000 horse. Several of their relations and dependents also obtained gifts and marks of distinction.

Khan-Jahan and Darya Khan when they heard of the march of the Imperial forces towards Siu-ganw, quitted Bizapur and Bhonsla, and went to the village of Lasur, ten *kos* from Daulatabad. Nizam Shah also, on being informed of this advance, withdrew from Nizamabad, which he had built outside of the fort of Daulatabad, and around which his adherents had built various houses and edifices, and entered into the fort itself. Khan-Jahan and Darya Khan, no longer deeming it safe to remain at Lasur, went to Ir-Kahtala, half a *kos* from Daulatabad, and a few days later Khan-Jahan removed his family to Aubash-darra, a place within cover of Daulatabad. Darya Khan, with a thousand Afghans, separated from Khan-Jahan, marched towards Chandor, and the *ghat* of Chalis-ganw, with the intention of attacking Andol and Dharan-ganw.

This movement being reported to the Emperor, **he appointed A'bdu-lla Khan, whom he had summoned from the Balaghat, to act against Darya Khan, and sent him off on the 10th *Jumada-l awwal*. Darya Khan had ravaged Andol, Dharan-ganw, and sundry other places of the Payin-ghat of Chalis-ganw; but on hearing of the approach of A'bdu-lla Khan, he turned back to the Balaghat. Want of rain and the ravages of the Nizam-Shahis and Afghans, had made provisions very scarce about Daulatabad; so A'zam Khan did not deem it prudent to advance in that direction, but thought it preferable to march against Mukarrab Khan and Bahlol, who were at Dharur and Ambajogai, in which plan of operations he was confirmed by a letter from Yaminu-d daula, who was at Ojhar. So he marched towards the *ghat* by way of Manik-dudh. (*After some fighting*) the royal forces ascended the *ghat* and took the village of Daman-ganw, twenty *kos* from Ahmadnagar. Next day they marched to Jamkhir, in the Nizam-Shahi territories. **Leaving a force there, he next day proceeded to Tilangi. The gasrison of the fort there had set it in order, and opened fire upon him. **But in the course of one watch he took it by assault put many of the defenders to the sword, took nearly five hundred prisoners, and captured all the munitions of the fort. When the royal forces reached the banks of the Wanjara, twelve *kos* from the fort of Dharur, they found that Mukarrab Khan and his confederates had passed down the pass of Anjan-dudh, and had gone to the neighbourhood of Bir. A'zam Khan then sent Sahu-ji Bhonsla to take possession of the districts around Junir and Sangamnir, whilst he himself, with the main force went through the pass of Ailam to the town of Bir, and proceeded from thence to Patur, on the bank of the river Dudna. The enemy then fled towards Daulatabad. But 'Azam Khan learnt that scarcity of provisions prevented them from remaining in that vicinity, and that they had moved off towards the Balaghat, by way of Dharur. He then determined to intercept and attack them. But he found that the enemy, having placed their elephants and baggage in the fort of Dharur, had the design of descending the Payin-ghat. So he went through the pass of Anjan-dudh, and, encamped three *kos* from Dharur.

*Badshah-Nama* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, pp. 10—17.

CHAPTER 9.

The Moghals in Maharashtra.

SHAH JAHAN.

Rebellion of Khan Jahan

now decided to retreat. His retreat had been cut off. He had no alternative left but to make a determined stand. The result was a foregone conclusion. The rebels were completely routed and pursued till the tired horses of the Moghals could go no further. Khān Jahān escaped with the ladies of his harem. Accompanied by Daryā Khān, who had hurried from Nevāsā to join him, he moved first to Śevgāṅv and then to Vaijāpūr hoping to find refuge in Daulatābād. Nizām Śāh had shut himself up in that fort. After resting his troops for a while Āzam Khān advanced west in the pursuit of Khān Jahān. It was while Āzam Khān was on his way to Śevgāṅv that Śahājī, the father of Śivājī who had, following the murder of his father-in-law Lakhujī Jādhav Rāv on 24th July 1629 in the Nizāmśāhī court, withdrawn from his allegiance to the Ahmadnagar *Sultāns*, joined Āzam Khān. Āzam Khān welcomed Śahājī. In November 1630, Śahājī became a Moghal *mansabdār*. In the meanwhile the rebel, Khān Jahān, had sent a force under Daryā Khān to raid the territory in Khāndeś. Daryā Khān had to retire due to the advancing Moghal army against him commanded by Abdullāh Khān. Āzam who, in November had arrived near Śevgāṅv, instead of pursuing Khān Jahān, returned south. He marched to Jāmkheḍ and Dhārur. On the approach of the imperial army Muqarrab Khān moved towards Bīḍ. But being followed there by Āzam Khān he turned towards Daulatābād and from thence again southwards. In December 1630 Āzam Khān sent Śahājī to subjugate the districts of Junnar and Saṅgamner.

The *Sultān* of Ahmadnagar now repented for having supported Khān Jahān. His territory was now desolate and he was surrounded by hostile forces. He, therefore, turned out Khān Jahān and Daryā Khān with their followers from Daulatābād. They escaped to central India. They were closely followed by imperial troops. They were killed in January 1631 by the officers of the imperial army after sharply fought engagements. At Daulatābād the Nizām Śāh appointed Fath Khān as his minister.

War in the Deccan.

The war in the Deccan had not ended. Āzam Khān again moved out against the Ahmadnagar army. He first attacked Dhārur and captured it on 17th January 1631[1]. He then invested Pareṇḍā. Āzam Khān now made an approach to Bijāpūr. The two powerful leaders in Bijāpūr were divided in their

[1] The details of this are as under:

*Capture of the Fort of Dharur.*—A'zam Khan, having ascended the pass of Anjan-dudh, encamped three *kos* from Dharur. He then directed Multafit Khan and others to make an attack upon the town of Dharur and its *petta*, where once a week people from all parts far and near, were accustomed to meet for buying and selling. The fort of Dharur was celebrated throughout the Dakhin for its strength and munitions of war. It was built upon the top of a ridge, and deep river of difficult passage ran on two sides of it. It was so secure that any effort upon it by the royal army was likely to prove unsuccessful; so Marhamat Khan was directed to plunder the town and *petta*, but not to make any attempt upon the fortress. *** The garrison became disheartened, and remiss in their duty. ** On the 23rd *Jumada-ssani* Marhamat Khan made his way in with a party of men, and opened the wicket. A'zam Khan then entered with all his officers, and nearly two thousand men scaled the walls and got into the fort. All the vast munitions, the jewels, etc., became spoil of war. *Badshah-Nama* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, p. 20.

attitudes towards the Moghals. Mustafā Khān was favourable to them and was a bitter enemy of the Nizām Śāh, because his father-in-law Muhammad Lārī had been killed by Malik Ambar. He, therefore, advocated the total extinction of Ahmadnagar in co-operation with the Moghals. But Raḍullāh Khān and some other premier nobles were opposed to this view and tried to dissuade Muhammad Ādil Śāh from concurring with the opinion of Mustafā Khān. But for the time being the latter triumphed over his opponents and the king ordered Raḍullāh Khān to march to the frontier to be ready to help the Imperialists if they asked for it[1]. Pareṇḍā resisted stoutly against the Moghal onslaught. Fearing the worst due to conditions of drought that prevailed in the areas of vital operations, Āzam Khān withdrew to Dhārur. The other Moghal contingent under Nasiri Khān, however, gained success against the now combined forces of Ahmadnagar and Bijāpūr and subjugated Kandhār (June 1631) and cleared Berār of the enemy troops. Khvājā Abul Hasan who had been sent to the western frontier of Ahmadnagar succeeded in reducing Nāśik and Saṅgamner[2].

---

1. *Basatin-us-Salatin, F. 45 (B).*

2. The details about the attack on Parenda and the subsequent events are as under:
*Attack on Parenda.*—A'zam Khan was in the neighbourhood of Parenda, intent upon the reduction of that fortress, and the capture of the elephants and stores which had been sent there. ** He sent *Raja* Jai Singh with a detachment to ravage the town and *petta*. The *Raja* first plundered the *petta*, which was about a *kos* distant on the left of the fortress. He then attacked the town, which was surrounded by a mud (*kham*) wall five *gaz* high and three *gaz* thick, and by a ditch of three cubits (*sih zara'*) broad (?). He broke through the walls by means of his elephants, and the musketeers of the garrison then fled into the ditch of the fort. The town was plundered. A'zam Khan then arrived, *** and entered the town, to secure the elephants belonging to the enemy, which had been taken into the ditch of the fortress. Seven elephants were seized and brought out, and much other booty was secured. *** 'Azam Khan pressed the siege, and the troops drove zigzags up to the edge of the ditch in three places, and began to fill it up. He raised a battery exactly opposite the gate of the fortress, at the distance of an arrow-shot from the *moat*. He then pushed his zigzags to the very edge of the *moat*, and there raised a battery, to which the men in the Sher-Haji found it very difficult to reply.

It now became evident that A'dil Khan, through his tender years, had no real power, but that the reins of government were in the hands of a slave named Daulat who had been originally a minstrel (*kulawant*), and whom the King's father, Ibrahim Adil, had ennobled with the title of Daulat Khan, and had placed in command of the fortress of Bijapur. This ungrateful infamous fellow, after the death of Ibrahim, assumed the title 'Khawas Khan', and delivered the government over to a mischievous turbulent *brahman*, named Murari Pandit. This same Daulat put out the eyes of Darwesh Muhammad, the eldest son of Ibrahim A'dil Khan by the daughter of *Kutbu-l Mulk*, and demanded his daughter in marriage, thus bringing to infamy the name and honour of his indulgent patron. The 'Adil Khanis and the Nizam-Shahis had now made common cause and were united.

The siege of Parenda had gone on for a month. Provender had throughout been difficult to procure, and now no grass was to be found within twenty *kos*. So Azam Khan was obliged to raise the siege, and to go to Dharur. *** The A'dil Khanis retreated before A'zam Khan, and he encamped on the banks of the Wanjira. Next day he captured the town and fort of Balni which the inhabitants defended in the hope of receiving assistance. After plundering the place, he marched to Mandu, and from Mandu to Dharur.

**Famine in the Dakhin and Gujarat.**

During the past year no rain had fallen in the territories of the Balaghat, and the drought had been especially severe about Daulatabad. In the present year also there had been a deficiency in the bordering countries, and a total want in the Dakhin and Gujarat. The inhabitants of these two countries were reduced to the direst

CHAPTER 9.

The Moghals in Maharashtra.

SHAH JAHAN.

War in the Deccan.

"Śāhjahān was now able to turn his attention to Ādilśāh, On December 3, 1631, he dismissed Asaf Khān to invade Bijāpūr with practically the entire army, which had recently been campaigning in Ahmadnagar. From Kandhār to Bhālkī the progress of the Imperialists was uninterrupted. At Bhālkī the garrison offered resistance, but they were easily overcome. At Kamlapūr Asaf Khān received an Ādilśāhī messenger, Rizullāh, who brought a letter in which the Ādilśāh expressed repentance

---

*contd.*

extremity. Life was offered for a loaf but none would buy; rank was to be sold for a cake, but none cared for it; the ever-bounteous hand was now stretched out to beg for food; and the feet which had always trodden the way of contentment walked about only in search of sustenance. For a long time dog's flesh was sold for goat's flesh, and the pounded bones of the dead were mixed with flour and sold. When this was discovered, the sellers were brought to justice. Destitution at length reached such a pitch that men began to devour each other, and the flesh of a son was preferred to his love. The numbers of the dying caused obstructions in the roads and every man whose dire sufferings did not terminate in death and who retained the power to move wandered off to the towns and villages of other countries. Those lands which had been famous for their fertility and plenty now retained no trace of productiveness. *** The Emperor in his gracious kindness and bounty directed the officials of Burhanpur, Ahmadabad, and the country of Surat, to establish soup kitchens, or alms-houses, such as are called *langar* in the language of Hindustan, for the benefit of the poor and destitute. Every day sufficient soup and bread was prepared to satisfy the wants of the hungry. It was further ordered that so long as His Majesty remained at Burhanpur 5,000 rupees should be distributed among the deserving poor every Monday, that day being distinguished above all others as the day of the Emperor's accession to the throne. Thus, on twenty Mondays one *lac* of rupees was given away in charity. Ahmadabad had suffered more severely than any other place, and so His Majesty ordered the officials to distribute 50,000 rupees among the famine-stricken people. Want of rain and dearness of grain had caused great distress in many other countries. So under the directions of the wise and generous Emperor taxes amounting to nearly seventy *lacs* of rupees were remitted by the revenue officers—a sum amounting to nearly eighty *krors* of *dams*, and amounting to one-eleventh part of the whole revenue. When such remissions were made from the exchequer, it may be conceived how great were the reductions made by the nobles who held *jagirs* and *mansabs*.

### Capture of the Fort of Situnda.

Sipahdar Khan, after obtaining possession of the fort of Taltam (by the treachery of the garrison), laid siege to Situnda by command of the Emperor, and pressed the place very hard. Sidi Jamal, the governor, offered to surrender on terms which were agreed to; so he and his family came out, and the fort passed into the possession of the Imperialists.

### Capture of Kandahar

Nasiri Khan had been placed in command of a force, with instructions to conquer the kingdom of Telingana. He resolved upon reducing the fort of Kandahar, which was exceedingly strong, and the most famous one of that country. It was under the command of Sadik, the son of Yakut Khudawand Khan, and was in full state of preparation. On the 23rd *Jumada-l awwal* he encamped one *kos* from the fortress. Next day he prepared to attack the town of Kandahar; but before reaching the place he was opposed by Sarfaraz Khan, the general commanding in that country, who had taken up a position between the fort and the town, and having covered his front with artillery, awaited the attack. He was protected also by the guns and muskets of the fortress. The royal army attacked with great vigour, and killed a great many of the enemy. Sarfaraz Khan with a few followers fled to the Nizam-Shahis. After this Nasiri Khan pushed on the siege. *** Randaula, Mukarrab Khan, and others, with a united force of Adil-Khanis and Nizam-Shahis came up to attack him in his trenches. Undismayed by this fresh enemy, he boldly faced his assailants; and although he had also to bear the fire of the guns and muskets of the fortress, he defeated them with considerable loss, and compelled them to fall back a distance of three *kos*.

Out of twenty-one mines which had been opened, six were complete; three were charged with powder, and three were kept in reserve. A'zam Khan, who had marched to support Nasiri Khan, now approached, and Nasiri Khan went forth to meet him and to bring him to see the springing of the mines and the assault upon the fortress. The match was applied to the three mines; one failed, but the other two brought

for his conduct, requested pardon, and promised to pay an indemnity. But as Rizullāh was not an accredited messenger of the Ādilśāh, Asaf Khān did not attach much importance to his mission, and dismissed him. The journey to Bijāpūr was resumed. On the way the Imperialists plundered the town and suburbs of Gulbergā. On the Bhīmā, Asaf Khān reviewed his army, which numbered 30,000.

The Imperialists encamped between Nauraspūr and Śāhpūr, and opened the siege of Bijāpūr. Daily skirmishes occurred between the besiegers and the garrison, and an incessant fire from the fort prevented the Moghals from advancing further. Meanwhile some Ādilśāhī officers opened negotiations for a peaceful settlement with the invaders. First came Śaykh Ḍabīr. He made certain proposals on behalf of Khavās Khān; they were summarily rejected. Upon this the Bijāpurī nobles prevailed upon Mustafā Khān to mediate a peace with the Moghals, because he was considered to possess some influence with them.

In fact Mustafā Khān was already in correspondence with Asaf Khān, and even held out wild promises of support. On one occasion he sent word through his adopted son, Ali Rizā, that he was ready to admit the Imperialists into the fort through his trenches, but later he retracted, notwithstanding the fact that he had taken many oaths to abide by the promise. His duplicity made Asaf Khān distrustful of him, and he insisted that he would make no contract until Mustafā Khān and Khairiyat Khān came personally to confirm its terms. Accordingly both of them came out of the fort at night, and were received at the gate by Nasiri Khān.

After a protracted discussion it was settled that the Ādilśāh should pay four millions of rupees as indemnity, partly in cash and partly in jewellery and other valuables. A document embodying these conditions was drawn up, and Mustafā Khān returned to the fort to get it properly sealed and confirmed by his master. Asaf Khān's servant Abdur Rihān accompanied Mustafā Khān to bring back the document. Further in token of his goodwill the Ādilśāh surrendered Bahādur Khān and Yusuf Khān, who had been captured by his officers on a previous occasion.

But when Mustafā Khān revealed the terms of the treaty to Khavās Khān, the latter declined to accept them. He was, moreover, supported in his attitude by many of the nobles.

---

*contd.*

down the wall of the Sher-Haji with half a bastion. The garrison kept up a discharge of rockets, mortars, stones and grenades, but the storming parties pressed on. The conflict raged from mid-day till sunset, but the wall of the fortress was not sufficiently levelled, and the defenders kept up such a heavy fire that the assailants were forced to retire. At night the trenches were carried forward, and preparations were made for firing the other mines. The garrison saw that the place must fall, and ***made offers of surrender, which were accepted, and the Imperial troops took possession of the fortress. **The siege had lasted four months and nineteen days, and the place fell on the 15th *Shawwal.—Badshah-Nama* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, pp. 22—27.

CHAPTER 9. The Moghals in Maharashtra.

SHAH JAHAN. War in the Deccan.

Khavās Khān detained Abdur Rihān for two days, and then sent word through him that the agreement duly signed would be sent through his own representatives. When the latter came, they offered fresh terms which were accepted by Asaf Khān. They promised to send the agreement the following day.

But the prolonging of negotiations was merely a device of Khavās Khān to gain time. The Bijāpurīs obtained information of the conditions prevailing in the Moghal camp. When once Khavās Khān became certain of the weakness of the Imperialists, he broke his word and attacked the Moghal soldiers who had entered the town to make purchases.

Asaf Khān's eagerness to conclude peace with Ādilśāh was dictated by the considerations of the misery of his followers, who were suffering from scarcity. He had very foolishly advanced into the heart of the enemy's country without making suitable arrangements for the maintenance of supplies. For once his generalship was put to the test, and he gave a sorry display of his abilities. The Bijāpurīs had completely ravaged the neighbouring districts, so that during the siege, food grain was hardly available to the Moghals. So terrible was the scarcity that a *seer* was sold for one rupee, and fodder was not to be had at all. It was these conditions which changed the attitude of Khavās Khān and led him to disregard the might of the Moghal army.

When his representatives were leaving the Moghal camp, one of Mustafā Khān's men, who had accompanied them, dropped a note to inform the Imperialists of the duplicity of Khavās Khān. Of necessity Asaf Khān had to break up his camp, and to retire towards the districts where he could feed his men. On the way the Moghals indulged in wanton outrages. They sacked and plundered the towns they passed through. Thus revenging themselves on the innocent, and leaving misery and desolation in their wake, they reached Bīḍ, pursued by a Bijāpūr army. The invasion proved a dismal failure, and the Ādilśāh had not been humbled[1]".

In the midst of this war of attrition between the Moghals on the one hand and the combined opposition of Ahmadnagar and Bijāpūr on the other, court intrigues were flourishing in Ahmadnagar. Muqarrab Khān who was now defending the territory of Ahmadnagar against the Moghals had confined his brother-in-law Fath Khān and put the nominal ruler Murtazā Nizām Śāh under his complete control. The puppet ruler, however, took advantage of the continued absence of Muqarrab Khān on the field of battle. He asserted himself and releasing Fath Khān put him in charge of the government. Disgusted with the king's behaviour Muqarrab Khān transferred his loyalties to the Moghals and entered into their service. He was created Rustam Khān. Fath Khān, now (October 1631) in complete charge of the affairs of the state, proved to be an unworthy

1. "*History of Shah Jahan of Dilhi*" by Saxena, pp. 56—59.

son of a worthy father. He made overtures to the Moghals, expecting to receive favours from the emperor. He was bluntly told that he could prove his loyalty to the emperor by removing the *Sultān*. Fath Khān had already made Murtazā Nizām Śāh a virtual prisoner. Now to prove his worthiness he had Murtazā Nizām Śāh murdered by poisoning, and put on the throne Husain, (1631 Oct.-Nov.) a boy of ten[1]. He, however, hesitated

1. The murder of Nizam Shah and the subsequent Moghal operations against Bijapur are described in the following paragraphs :

### Nizam Shah

A letter from Sipahdar Khan informed the Emperor how Fath Khan, feeling that his release from confinement by Nizam Shah had been a matter of necessity, and that he would be imprisoned again as soon as his master's mind was at ease, he had resolved to be beforehand with him, and had placed Nizam Shah in confinement, as his father Malik 'Ambar had done before. ***Fath Khan then addressed a letter to *Yaminu-d-daula* Asaf Khan, informing him that he had placed Nizam Shah in confinement on account of his evil character and his enmity to the Imperial throne, for which act he hoped to receive some mark of favour. In answer he was told that if he wished to prove his sincerity, he should rid the world of such a worthless and wicked being. On receiving this direction, Fath Khan secretly made away with Nizam Shah, but gave out that he had died a natural death. He placed Nizam Shah's son Husain, a lad of ten years old, on the throne as his successor. He reported these facts to the Imperial Court, and was directed to send the jewels and valuables of the late king, and his own el dest son as a hostage.

### Operations against Adil Khan

Muhammad 'Adil Khan (of Bijapur), through youth, inexperience, and evil counsellors, especially a slave named Daulat (who had assumed the title of Khawass Khan) had shown himself unfaithful to the Imperial throne, and regardless of the allegiance paid by his father. The Emperor commissioned *Yaminu-d daula* Asaf Khan to arouse him from his negligence and disregard of his duty, Asaf Khan was empowered to demand from him a return to obedience and the payment of tribute. If he agreed to these terms, he was to be left alone if not, as much as possible of his territory was to be conquered, and the rest laid waste.

### Campaign against Bijapur

Asaf Khan proceeded on his expedition, and arrived at Nander, where he remained two days. There he left the main part of his army, and proceeded express to the fort of Kandahar, which he inspected. One stage further on he came to the fort of Bhalki. ***Orders were given for the reduction of the place, and entrenchments were commenced. but it was resolved to attempt the capture of the place by escalade at night. The garrison got notice of this, and evacuated the place under cover of darkness. ***Asaf Khan then marched towards Khalanor, a flourishing place belonging to 'Adil Khan. When he arrived at Sultanpur, near the city of Kulbarga, the general in command had taken the principal inhabitants into the fort of Kulbarga, which was well armed with guns, muskets, and other instruments of war. Next day 'Azam Khan, under the directions of Asaf Khan, made an attack upon the town, and carried it, notwithstanding a heavy fire from the fort. The victors plundered whatever they could lay their hands on, and captured many horses in the ditch of the fortress. Asaf Khan did not deem it expedient to attempt the reduction of the fortress, as it would have been a difficult undertaking and a cause of delay ; so he retired, and encamped near the river Nahnura. Then he advanced to the vicinity of Bijapur, and encamped on the borders of a tank between Nauras-pur and Shahpur. The enemy every day came out of the ditch into the plain, and there was a warm interchange of rockets, arrows, and musketry. But although the enemy kept up also a heavy fire from the fortifications, they were regularly driven back to the shelter of the walls.

Asaf Khan used to take every precaution for the safety of the detachments which went out every day to collect fodder, but the army was large and the animals numerous, so this was no easy matter.

The enemy were constantly on the alert, and struck whenever they got an opportunity. ***At the beginning a man named Shaikh Dabir one of the confidants of Khawass Khan, came out with overtures of peace and offers of tribute ; but as they were not worthy of trust, they were rejected. Afterwards Mustafa Khan, son-in-law of Mulla Muhammad Lahori, kept up a secret correspondence with Asaf Khan,

CHAPTER 9.

The Moghals in Maharashtra.

SHAH JAHAN.

War in the Deccan.

to comply with the terms of agreement *viz.*, surrender of the royal treasury and elephants. This hesitation on his part invited another Moghal attack on him, now under the command of Muqarrab Khān who was created Rustam Khān. Rustam Khān was given specific orders to reduce Daulatābād. With no choice left, Fath Khān offered total surrender to the Moghals.

The Moghal efforts to capture Pareṇḍā did not, however, adherents of the Nizāmśāhī kingdom of Ahmadnagar had transferred his allegiance to the emperor on the latter's arrival in the Deccan to suppress the rebellion of Khān Jahān. He received in *Jāgir* the lands which were held by Fath Khān.

---

*contd.*

expressing his devotion and proposing to admit the Imperial troops into the fortress. ***After much negotiation, it was agreed that Mustafa Khan and Khairiyat Khan Habshi, uncle of Randaula, should come to Asaf Khan and arrange for the transmission of tribute and the settlement of the terms of peace. Accordingly both came out of Bijapur, ***and it was finally agreed that 'Adil Khan should send tribute to the value of forty *lacs* of rupees in jewels, valuables, elephants, and money, and that he should ever after remain faithful to his allegiance. A treaty in these terms was accordingly drawn up. *** The two negotiators returned to Bijapur, and Shaikh 'Abdu-r-Rahim Khairabadi went in with them to obtain 'Adil Khan's signature to the treaty.

On the third day the Shaikh was sent back with a message that they would send out their own *wakils* with the treaty. Next day they came out with certain propositions that 'Asaf Khan considered reasonable, and he accepted them. It was agreed that the treaty should be sent out next day. As they were about to depart one of the *wakils*, who was a confidant of Mustafa Khan, dropped a letter of his before Asaf Khan, without the knowledge of his companion. The letter said that Khawass Khan was well aware that provender was very scarce in the Imperial army ; that the fetching of grass and fuel from long distances was a work of great toil to man and beast and that in consequence it would be impossible for the Imperial army to maintain its position more than a few days longer. Khawass Khan had therefore resolved to have recourse to artifice and procrastination, in the expectation that Asaf Khan would be obliged to raise the siege and retire baffled.

The siege had lasted twenty days, and during that time no corn had reached the army, and before its arrival the enemy had laid waste all the country round, and carried off the grain to distant places. The provisions which the army had brought with it was all exhausted, and grain had risen to the price of one rupee per *sir*. Men and beasts were sinking. So it was resolved, after consultation, that the royal army should remove from Bijapur into some better supplied part of the enemy's country, that the Imperial army might be recruited, and the territory of the enemy be wasted at the same time. With this intention the royal army marched along the bank of the Kishan Gang to Rai-bagh and Miraj, two of the richest places in that country. Wherever they found supplies they rested, and parties were sent out to plunder in all directions. On whatever road they went they killed and made prisoners, and ravaged and laid waste on both sides. From the time of their entering the territories to the time of their departure they kept up this devastation and plunder. The best part of the country was trodden under, and so as the forces had recovered strength and the rains were near, the royal army passed by the fort of Sholapur, and descended by the passes into the Imperial territories. 15,000 men of the enemy, who had followed them to Sholapur, then turned back to Bijapur.

**Return of the Court from Burhanpur to Agra**

The Emperor being tired of his residence at Burhanpur, resolved to return to the capital ; so he set out on the 24th *Ramazan*, **and arrived there on the 1st *Zi-l-hijja* 1241 A. H.

Affairs in the Dakhin had not been managed so well as they ought to have been by 'Azam Khan ; so a mandate was sent to Mahabat Khan Khan-khanan, informing him that the government of Khandesh and the Dakhin had been conferred upon him, and he was directed to make the necessary preparations as quickly as possible, and start from Dehli to meet the Emperor and receive instructions. *Yaminu-d-daula* Asaf Khan, with 'Azam Khan and other nobles under his command, were directed to return to Court.—*Badshah-Nama* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, pp. 27—31.

With the complete submission of Fath Khān to the Moghals some of the *Jāgirs* now held by Śāhājī were restored to him[1]. This naturally enraged Śahājī who left the Moghal services[2]. In 1632 he secured the alliance of Muhammad Ādil Śāh and marched against Daulatābād in December 1632. Fath Khān who saw no chance of saving Daulatābād wrote to Mahābat Khān to relieve Daulatābād. He offered its surrender to the Moghals expressing his willingness to enter the service of the Emperor. In January 1633 Mahābat Khān sent his son Khān Zamān to counter the Bijāpūr army. Khān Zamān attacked this army in the neighbourhood of Khaḍkī and defeated it. Raṇdullāh Khān, the Bijāpūr general, was the commander of this force. He now resorted to intrigue and decided to conciliate Fath Khān by offering him a large sum, promising to leave Daulatābād with him and making him break the promise of surrendering the fort of Daulatābād to the Moghals. Raṇdullāh Khān succeeded in seducing Fath Khān to his side. Mahābat Khān decided to attack the fort of Daulatābād. He invested it with a large force. The siege was laid in January 1633. Sapping and mining operations were started. Even though the Bijāpuris were constantly pushed back the combined strength of the Ahmadnagar and Bijāpūr forces ran well over 20,000. To checkmate their operations and prevent any reinforcement from reaching Daulatābād, Mahābat Khan fielded a large mobile army against this force. The siege continued for six months. The Moghals at last succeeded in blowing a large mine which brought down a large part of the rampart wall. A fierce struggle now ensued. All attempts by Raṇdullāh Khān and Śahājī to relieve the fort by diversionary movements and the harassment of the besiegers failed to give the besieged garrison the breathing space it so desperately needed. The commanders of the Bijāpūr garrison Khairiyat Khān and Datto Nāgnāth wrote to Mahābat Khān that they be allowed to leave the fort. This was granted.

[1] Fath Khan who put Husain, the young son of Murtaza Nizam Shah II, proclaimed him King under the title of Husain Nizam Shah III. To seek royal favour he sent his son Abdur Rusul with gifts to the imperial court.

[2] Shahaji's activities against the Moghals are described in the following paragraph :—

**Surrender of the Fort of Galna**

After Fath Khan, son of MalikA'mbar, had put Nizam Shah to death, Mahmud Khan, the Commandant of the fort of Galna, repudiated his authority, and put the fortress in a state of defence, intending to deliver it over to Sahu-ji Bhonsla, who, unmindful of the favours he had received from the Imperial throne, had strayed from the path of obedience, and had possessed himself of Nasik, Trimbak, Sangamnir and Junir, as far as the country of the Kokan. He had got into his power one of the relatives of the late Nizam Shah, who had been confined in one of the strongest fortresses in the kingdom, and raised the banner of independence. He (Mahmud Khan) wished to deliver the fort over to him. Khan Zaman, who was acting as deputy of his father in the Government of the Dakhin, Birar and Khandesh, when he was informed of Mahmud Khan's proceedings, wrote to Mir Kasim Khan Harawi, commandant of the fort of Alang, which is near to Galna. He directed him to endeavour by promises of Imperial favour to win him over, and prevent the surrender of the fortress to Sahu-ji Bhonsla. Mir Kasim communicated with Mahmud Khan on the subject, and the latter invited the Mir to come to him. After a good deal of talk, Mahmud Khan assented to the proposition, and in the hope of a great reward delivered over the fort to the representatives of the Emperor. *Badshah-Nama* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, pp. 35-36.

CHAPTER 9.

The Moghals in Maharashtra.

SHAH JAHAN.

War in the Deccan.

Now another mine was ready to be exploded to blow up the inner defence ring of the fort. Fath Khān now offered to come to terms but asked for a day to consult his Bijāpūr allies. Mahābat Khān who had grown weary of the treachery of Fath Khān agreed on condition that Fath Khān should sent his son as hostage till such time as the terms of submission were agreed upon. Fath Khān failed to agree and the mine was blown up tearing down the inner circle of defences. The Moghals at the same time beat back an attack by the Bijāpurīs. To add to the worries of the fort garrison which had already been reduced to miserable straits due to want of provisions, an epidemic broke out in the fort. Fath Khān became desperate. He sent his son to Mahābat Khān with a request that he might be allowed some time to surrender. The siege of the fort had continued for more than five months. The fort was surrendered with all the guns and ammunitions on 7 June 1633. Mahābat Khān entered the fort and led public prayers reciting the name of the emperor.[1] Thus

---

[1] The details of this are as under:

*Conquest of Daulatabad.*—Fath Khan, son of 'Ambar Habshi, conceiving his interest to lie in making submission to the Emperor, had sent his son, A'bdur-Rusul, with a suitable offering to the foot of the Imperial throne, professing obedience and praying for favour. The Emperor graciously bestowed upon him some districts which had formerly belonged to him, but had been since given to Sahu-ji Bhonsla. Now, in compliance with the request of Fath Khan, they were restored to him. This gave great offence to the turbulent Sahu-ji who went and joined the Bijapuris, and induced A'dil Khan to place him in command of a force for wresting the fortress of Daulatabad from the hands of Fath Khan. The latter was much incensed against the Nizam-Shahis, and had no faith in them; so he wrote to Khan-Khanan Mahabat Khan, informing him that Sahu-ji Bhonsla was preparing to bring a force from Bijapur against him, and that, as the fortress was ill provisioned, there was great probability of its being taken, unless Mahabat Khan came to his assistance. If the Khan came quickly, he would surrender the fortress, and would himself proceed to the Imperial Court. The Khan-Khanan accordingly sent forward his son, Khan-Zaman, with an advanced force, and he himself followed on the 9th *Jumada-ssani* (*Khan-Zaman defeats a covering army of Bijapur*).

The Bijapuris were discouraged by the chastisement they had received from the Imperial army, so they made offers of an arrangement to Fath Khan. They offered to leave the fortress in his possession, to give him three *lacs* of *pagodas* in cash, and to throw provisions into the fort. That ill-starred foolish fellow, allured by these promises, broke his former engagement, and entered into an alliance with them. Most of the animals in the fortress had died from want of provender, and the Bijapuris now, at the instance of Fath Khan, exerted themselves in getting provisions. When Khan-Khanan who was at Zafarnagar, was informed of these proceedings, he wrote to Khan-Zaman directing him to make every exertion for the reduction of the fortress, and for the punishment of the traitor and the Bijapuris. (*Skirmishes in the vicinity*).

Khan-Khanan, on being informed of the state of affairs, marched from Zafarnagar to Daulatabad, and reached there on the last day of *Shaban*. Next morning he rode out with his son, Khan-Zaman, to reconnoitre the fortress, and took up his residence in a house belonging to Nizam Shah at Nizampur, near the fortress. (*Disposition of his forces*). He placed the artillery and siege material under the direction of (his son) Luhrasp, and ordered that a constant fire should be kept up from a high hill which governs the fortress and upon which *Kaghziwara* stands. He also ordered Khan-Zaman to be constantly on the alert with 5,000 cavalry, and ready to render assistance wherever it might be required in the trenches. The Imperial army having thus invested the place, and formed trenches, pushed on the siege, running zigzags, forming mines and preparing scaling ladders.

Fath Khan placed the son of Nizam Shah in the *Kala-kot* (black fort), which was considered impregnable. He himself took post in the *Maha-kot* (great fort), and the body of the forces were stationed in the outer works called *A'mbar-kot*, because they had been raised by Malik A'mbar to protect the place against the advance of the Imperial power. (*Defeat of many attempts to victual and relieve the fortress from without, and of sorties from within*).

*contd.*

On the 9th *Shawwal* a mine which had been formed from the trenches of Khan-Zaman was charged, and the forces having been named for the assault, were ordered to assemble in the trenches before break of day. The mine was to be fired at the first appearance of dawn, and upon the walls being blown down, the stormers were to rush into the fort. By mistake the mine was fired an hour before dawn, and before the storming parties were ready. Twenty-eight *gaz* of the walls and twelve *gaz* of the bastion was blown away, and a wide breach was made. But the troops not having arrived, no entry was effected. The defenders rushed to the breach, and kept up such a rain of arrows, bullets, and rockets, that the storming party was obliged to take refuge in the trenches. Then they exerted themselves to stop the breach with palisades and planks. The commander of the Imperial army desired to dismount and lead the assault, but Nasiri Khan urged that it was against all the rules of warfare for the commander-in-chief to act in such a way. He himself would lead the storming party, trusting in God and hoping for the favour of the Emperor. Khan-Khanan directed Mahes Das Rathor and others to support him. The Imperial troops rushed to the breach, and the defenders made a desperate resistance; but Nasiri Khan, although wounded, forced his way in upon the right, and *Raja* Bihar Singh and other Hindus upon the left. They were fiercely encountered by Khairiyat Khan Bijapuri and others with sword and dagger, but they at length prevailed, and drove the defenders into the ditch of the *Maha-kot* for shelter. Great numbers of the garrison fell under the swords of the victors. Thus fell the celebrated works of Malik A'mbar, which were fourteen *gaz* in height and ten *gaz* in thickness and well furnished with guns and all kinds of defences. The Imperial commander having thus achieved a great success, proceeded with Nasiri Khan to inspect the works, and immediately took steps for attacking the *Maha-kot*. (*Diversion made by the enemy in the direction of Birar. Another attempt by Randaula and Sahu-ji to relieve the fortress*).

With great perseverance the besiegers pushed a mine under the *Maha-kot*, and Fath Khan was so much alarmed that he sent his wives and family into the *Kala-kot*. He himself with Khairiyat Khan uncle of Randaula, and some other Bijapuris, remained in the *Maha-kot*. The Bijapuris being greatly depressed by the scarcity of food and the progress of the Imperial arms, sought permission through Malu-ji to be allowed to escape secretly, and to go to their master. Khan-khanan sent a written consent, and by kind words encouraged their drooping spirits. Nearly two hundred of them after night-fall descended by a ladder fastened to the battlements. Khan-khanan sent for them, and consoled them with kind words and presents. (*Several more attempts to relieve the fortress*).

On the 25th *Zi-l-kada*, the commander-in-chief visited the trenches. He went to Saiyid' A'lawal, whose post was near the mine of the Sher-Haji of the *Maha-kot*, and determined that the mines should be blown up. Fath Khan got notice of this, and in the extremity of his fear he sent his *wakil* to Khan-khanan and with great humility represented that he had bound himself to the A'dil-Khanis by the most solemn compact not to make peace without their approval. He, therefore, wished to send one of his followers to Murari Pandit, to let him know how destitute the fort was of provisions, and how hard it was pressed by the besiegers. He also wanted the Pandit to send *wakils* to settle with him the terms of peace and the surrender of the fort. He, therefore, begged that the explosion of the mine might be deferred for that day, so that there might be time for an answer to come from Murari Pandit. Khan-khanan knew very well that there was no sincerity in his proposal and that he only wanted to gain a day by artifice; so he replied that if Fath Khan wished to delay the explosion for a day, he must immediately send out his son as a hostage.

When it had become evident that Fath Khan did not intend to send his son out, the mine was exploded. A bastion and fifteen yards of the wall were blown up. The brave men who awaited the explosion rushed forward, and heedless of the fire from all sorts of arms which fell upon them from the top of the *Maha-kot*, they made their way in. The commander-in-chief now directed that Saiyid Alawal and others who held the trenches on the outside of the ditch, opposite the Sher-Haji, should go inside and bravely cast up trench in the interior, (*Defeat of a demonstration made by Murari Pandit. Surrender of the fort of Nabati near Galna*).

Fath Khan now woke up from his sleep of heedlessness and security. He saw that Daulatabad could not resist the Imperial arms and the vigour of the Imperial commander. To save the honour of his own and Nizam Shah's women, he sent his e dest son Abdur-Rusul to Khan-khanan (*laying the blame of his conduct on Sahu-ji and the A'dil-Khanis*). He begged for forgiveness and for a week's delay, to enable him to remove his and Nizam Shah's family from the fortress, while his son remained as a hostage in Khan-khanan's power. Khan-khanan had compassion on his fallen condition, granted him safety, and kept his son as a hostage. Fath Khan asked to be supplied with the means of carrying out his family and property, and with money for expenses. Khan-khanan sent him his own elephants and camels and several litters, also ten *lacs* and fifty thousand rupees in cash, belonging

**CHAPTER 9.**
**The Moghals in Maharashtra.**
SHAH JAHAN.
War in the Deccan.

came to an end the epic struggle which began with the limited purpose of liquidating Khān Jahān but ended with the extinction of the succession state of the Bahamanī kingdom[1]. Mahābat Khān sent Fath Khān and Husain Nizām Śāh to the court. Husain Nizām Śāh was committed to the Gwalior fort prison for life and Fath Khān was allowed to stay at Lāhore on a liberal pension [2]a and [2]b.

---

*contd.*

to the State, and demanded the surrender of the fortress. Fath Khan sent the keys to Khan-khanan, and set about preparing for his own departure. Khan-khanan then placed trusty guards over the gates.

On the 19th *Zi-l-hijja* Fath Khan came out of the fortress and delivered it up. The fortress consisted of nine different works, five upon the low ground, and four upon the top of the hill. These with the guns and all the munitions of war were surrendered. ***Khan-khanan went into the fortress, and had the *khutba* read in the Emperor's name.

The old name of the fortress of Daulatabad was Deo-gir, or Dharagar. It stands upon a rock which towers to the sky. In circumference it measures 5,000 legal *gaz*, and the rock all round is scarped so carefully, from the base of the foot to the level of the water, that a snake or an ant would ascend it with difficulty. Around it there is a moat forty legal yards (*Zara'*) in width, and thirty in depth cut into the solid rock. In the heart of the rock there is a dark and tortuous passage, like the ascent of a minaret, and a light is required there in broad daylight. The steps are cut in the rock itself, and the bottom is closed by an iron gate. It is by this road and way that the fortress is entered. By the passage a large iron brazier had been constructed, which when necessary, could be placed in the middle of it, and a fire being kindled in this brazier its heat would effectually prevent all progress. The ordinary means of besieging a fort by mines, *sabats*, etc., are of no avail against it.***

Khan-khanan desired to leave, a garrison in the captured fortress, and to go to Burhanpur, taking Nizam Shah and Fath Khan with him. The Imperial army had endured many hardships and privations during the siege. They had continually to contend against 20,000 horse of Bijapur and *Nizamu-l Mulk*, and to struggle hard for supplies. Nasiri Khan (who had been created *Khan-dauran*) was always ready for service, and he offered to take the command of the fortress . So Khan-khanan left him and some other officers in charge, and marched with his army to Zafarnagar. ***After reaching that place, Murari Pandit and the Bijapuris sent Farhad, the father of Randaula, to treat for peace ; but Khan-khanan knew their artfulness and perfidy, and sent him back again. The Bijapuris, in despair and recklessness, now turned back to Daulatabad. They knew that provisions were very scarce and the garrison small. The entrenchments which the besiegers had raised were not thrown down, so the Bijapuris took possession of them, invested the fortress and fought against it. Khan-dauran, without waiting for reinforcements boldly sallied out and attacked them repeatedly. By kind treatment he had conciliated the *raiyats* of the neighbourhood, and they supplied him with provisions, so that he was in no want. As soon as Khan-khanan heard of these proceedings, he marched for Daulatabad. The enemy finding that they could accomplish nothing, abandoned the siege as soon as they heard of the approach of Khan-khanan and then retreated by Nasik and Trimbak.—*Badshah Nama* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, pp. 36—42.

[1]. In 1574 Ahmadnagar annexed Berar but ceded it to the Moghals in 1600. In 1619 Bidar was annexed by Bijapur. It may be noted that Mahabat Khan put Khan Dauran in charge of Daulatabad and proceeded to Burhanpur. The fort was besieged by the Bijapur contingent which was still in the neighbourhood. As the fort was ill provisioned Khan Dauran was hard-pressed and but for the timely arrival of reinforcement would have been forced to surrender the fort. Mahabat Khan freshly garrisoned the fort and returned to Burhanpur.

**Last of the Nizam Shahs**

[2]a. Islam Khan returned to Court, bringing with him the captive Nizam Shah and Fath Khan, whom Khan-khanan Mahabat Khan had sent together with the plunder taken at Daulatabad. Nizam Shah was placed in the custody of Khan-Jahan, in the fort of Gwalior. ***The crimes of Fath Khan were mercifully pardoned ; he was admitted into the Imperial service, and received a *khil' at* and a grant of two *lacs* of rupees per annum. His property also was relinquished to him, but that of Nizam Shah was confiscated.—*Badshah-Nama* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, p. 43.

*contd.*

[2]b The following extracts from *Badshah-Nama* would prove interesting in this connection :—

An officer was sent to Bijapur to A'dil Khan, with a *khil'at*, etc., and he was directed to require that 'Adil Khan should be faithful in his allegiance and regular in the payment of his tribute, that he should surrender to the Imperial officers the territories he had taken from *Nizamul-Mulk*, and he should expel the evil minded Sahu and other adherents of the *Nizam-ul-Mulk* from his dominions. (*Text of the farman*).

**Farman to Kutbul-Mulk (of Golconda)**

(*It stipulates for the allegiance of Kutbu-l Mulk to the Imperial throne, for the khutba being read in the name of the Emperor, and for the payment of tribute, etc.*)

On the 15th *Sha'ban* Khan-dauran came from Chanda to wait upon the Emperor. He presented ** the wives of the wretched Jajhar, Durgbahan his son, and Durjan Sal his grandson. By the Emperor's order they were made Musalmans by the names of Islam Kuli, and A'li Kuli, and they were both placed in the charge of Firoz Khan Nazir. Rani Parbati, being severely wounded, was passed over ; the other women were sent to attend upon the ladies of the Imperial palace.

**Despatch of the Imperial army against Sahu and other Nizam-Shahis**

*Nizamul-Mulk* was in confinement in the fort of Gwalior, but the evil-minded Sahu, and other turbulent *Nizamul-Mulkis*, had found a boy of the Nizam's family, to whom they gave the title of *Nizamul-Mulk*. They had got possession of some of the Nizam's territories, and were acting in opposition to the Imperial Government. Now that the Emperor was near Daulatabad, he determined to send Khan-dauran, Khan-zaman, and Shayista Khan, at the head of three different divisions, to punish these rebels, and in the event of A'dil Khan failing to co-operate with them they were ordered to attack and ravage his territories. **Khan-dauran's force consisted of about 20,000 horse, and he was sent towards Kandahar and Nander, which join the territories of Golkonda and Bijapur with directions to ravage the country and to besiege the forts of Udgir and Usa, two of the strongest forts in those parts. **Khan-zaman's force also consisted of about 20,000 men. He was directed to proceed to Ahmadnagar, and subdue the native territory of Sahu, which lies in Chamargonda and Ashti near to Ahmadnagar. After that he was to release the Kokan from the grasp of Sahu, and upon receipt of instructions he was to attack and lay waste the country of A'dil Khan. **The force under Shayista Khan consisted of about 8,000 horse, and was sent against the forts of Junir, Sangamnir, Nasik and Trimbak. On the 8th *Ramazan* they were sent on their respective expeditions. **On the 5th *Shawwal* Shayista Khan reported the capture of the fort of Masij.

Udbihan, the son of Jajhar, and his younger brother, Siyam Dawa, who had fled to Golkonda, were made prisoners by *Kutb-ul Mulk*, and were sent in custody to the Emperor. They arrived on the 7th *Shawwal*. The young boy was ordered to be made a Musulman, and to be placed in charge of Firoz Khan Nazir, along with the son of Bikramajit. Udbihan and Siyam Dawa, who were of full age, were offered the alternative of Islam or death. They chose the latter, and were sent to hell.

It now became known that A'dil Khan, misled by evil counsels, and unmindful of his allegiance, had secretly sent money to the commandant of forts Udgir and U'sa. He had also sent Khairiyat Khan with a force to protect those two forts, and had commissioned Randaula to support Sahu. Incensed with these acts, the Emperor sent a force of about 10,000 men under Saiyid Khan-jahan, ** to chastise him. Orders were given that he and Khan-dauran and Khan-zaman should march into the Bijapur territories in three different directions to prevent Randaula from joining Sahu and to ravage the country from end to end. If A'dil Khan should awake from his heedless stupidity, and should pay proper obedience, they were to hold their hands ; if not, they were to make every exertion to crush him. On the 11th a letter arrived from Shayista Khan, reporting that Salih Beg, the Nizam-ul-Mulki commander of the fort of Kher-darak, had confined all Sahu's men who were in the fort, and had surrendered it and its dependencies to the Imperial commanders.

Mir Abu-l Hasan and Kazi Abu Sa'id, whom A'dil Khan of Bijapur had sent to the Emperor after being aroused from his negligence by the despatch of the Imperial forces to ravage his dominions, now arrived and presented tribute and presents.

Mukarramat Khan, the Imperial envoy, approached Bijapur and A'dil Khan, fearing the consequences of showing disobedience, came forth from the city five *kos* to meet him, and made great show of submission and respect. **But the envoy soon discovered that, although he made all these outward demonstrations through fear, he was really desirous of exciting disturbances and offering opposition. He made a report to this effect, and upon his arrival, the Imperial order was given to kill and ravage as much as possible in the Bijapur territories.

**CHAPTER 9.** *contd.*

**The Moghals in Maharashtra.**

SHAH JAHAN.

When A'bdul Latif, the envoy to Golkonda, approached the city, Kutbu-l Mulk came forth five *kos* to receive him, and conducted him to the city with great honour. **He had the *khutba* read aloud in the name of the Emperor; he several times attended when the *khutba* was read, and bestowed gifts upon the reader, and he had coins struck in the Emperor's name, and sent specimens of them to Court.

War in the Deccan.

(*Conquest of the fort of Chandor. Surrender of the hill fort of Anjarai, and of the hill forts of Kanjna and Manjna, Rola, Jola, Ahunat, Kol, Busra, Achlagar, and others. Conquest of the fort of the Raja of Bir after two months' siege. Surrender of the fort of Dharab to Allah Verdi Khan.*) (*Shayista Khan takes Sangamnir and the town of Junir from Sahu. Sahu's son attempts the recovery of Junir.*).

### Campaign against Bijapur

On the 8th *Shawwal*, a royal order reached Khan-dauran near U'dgir, informing him that 'Adil Khan had been remiss in his obedience and payment of tribute; that Khan-jahan had been directed to invade his territory by way of Sholapur, Khan-zaman by way of Indapur and that the Khan-dauran, must march against him by way of Bidar and lay waste his country. Khan-dauran accordingly left his baggage on the banks of the Wanjira, in charge of a party of men whose horses were ineffective. In the beginning of New Year's night he set forth, and at five o'clock reached Kalyan, the most flourishing place in that country. The inhabitants were quite unprepared and near 2,000 of them fell under his attack. Many were taken prisoners, and great booty was secured, (*Narainpur, Bhalki, and Maknath, taken in succession and plundered. 2,000 of the enemy defeated near Bidar.*).

From Bhalki Khan-dauran marched to Deoni, three *kos* from Udgir and from thence towards Bijapur, plundering and laying waste all the country. He then attacked and sacked the two great towns of Sultanpur and Hirapur. From Hirapur he advanced to the river Bhunra. A party of the enemy then drew near and threatened him, ** but was defeated. After this, Khan-dauran marched to Firozabad, twelve *kos* from Bijapur. A letter then arrived from Mukarramat Khan, informing him that the Bijapuris had broken down the tank of Shahpur, and had taken all the inhabitants of the country round Bijapur into that city, and that no water or food was to be found in the country. ***A letter from the Emperor then reached him, to the effect that A'dil Khan had sent two envoys to make some representations about the forts of U'sa and U'dgir; but as these belonged to *Nizam-ul Mulk*, the Emperor would not present them to him. A report received subsequently from Mukarramat Khan stated that A'dil Khan had abandoned his claim to these forts, and had returned to his obedience. Khan-dauran was therefore directed to desist from ravaging the Bijapur territories, and to lay siege to U'sa and U'dgir. On the 23rd *Muharram* Khan-dauran marched against U'dgir.

### Campaign of Khan-Jahan

(*Capture of Saradhun, Dharasiyun, Kanti six kos from Sholapur, and the town of Deo-ganw. Victories over the Bijapuris, commanded by Randaula*). Water and provisions were now difficult to obtain, so the royal army fell back to Dharasiyun, intending to leave their baggage at Saradhun, and passing between U'sa and Naldurg, to make a raid into the flourishing country about Kulbarga, to plunder and lay waste. On the 1st *Zi-l- hijja* the enemy made his appearance while the Imperial army was encamped about two *kos* from U'sa, and began to throw in rockets. The royal forces issued from their entrenchments and repulsed their assailants. Next day they attacked the Imperial army as it was about to march, ** but were defeated and driven back. After returning from the battle-field, Saiyid Khan-jahan, considering that the country was devastated, and the rains were at hand, determined to fall back to Bir, ** and await the Imperial directions as to where the rainy season should be passed. On the 11th *Zi-l-hijja*, about eight *kos* from Saradhun, the enemy again appeared in the rear (*and after a hard fight fell back defeated*). The royal army then continued its march to Saradhun, and along the banks of the Wanjira to Dharur.

### Campaign of Khan-Zaman

After receiving his orders, Khan-zaman marched to Ahmadnagar, and, after provisioning his force, ** he went on towards Junir. Six *kos* from Ahmadnagar, he learnt that the villain Sahu had made terms with Minaji Bhonsla, and had obtained from him the fort of Mahuli. Having taken Minaji along with him to Junir, Sahu was about to proceed by way of Par-ganw to Parenda. Khan-zaman marched after him, **but Sahu passed the river Bhunra, and proceeded to Loh-ganw, a dependency of Puna in the Bijapur territories. Here Khan-zaman halted, because his orders were not to follow Sahu into A'dil Khan's country. (*capture of the fort of Chamar-gonda by a detachment*). On receiving orders from Court, he entered the Bijapur territories, and plundered and destroyed every inhabited place he came to. On the 27th *Shawwal* he reached the pass of Dudbai, where he halted. **—Next morning

*contd.*

he ascended the pass. In eight days he arrived at Kolapur, and invested the fortress and town. Not withstanding a brave defence, he quickly took the place. (*Successful skirmishes with Sahu and the Bijapuris.*) Khan-zaman next marched to Miraj, one of the principal towns in the Bijapur dominions, and plundered it. From thence he made six days march to Raibagh, a very ancient town in that country, where he obtained great booty. After remaining there ten days', he fell back, and the enemy had the audacity to hang upon his rear and harass him with rockets. Eight days' march from Miraj the army encamped on the bank of a river. A party was sent out to forage, and a force was ordered to support it. The enemy attacked this force and a sharp fight ensued; but the assailants were repulsed and pursued for two *kos*. While the army was resting on the banks of the river Bhunra, an Imperial *farman* arrived, directing Khan-zaman to return to the royal presence, to receive instructions for the reduction of the fort of Junir and the punishment of Sahu. The reason for this was that A'dil Khan had submitted, had agreed to pay a tribute equivalent to twenty *lacs* in jewels, elephants, etc., and engaged that if Sahu returned and surrendered Junir and the other forts in the Nizam-Shahi territory to the Imperial officers, he would take him into his service; but if Sahu did not do so, he would assist the Imperial forces in reducing the forts and punishing Sahu.

(*Capture by Khan-khanan of the forts of Anki and Tanki, Alka and Palka, eighteen kos from Daulatabad*).

(*Farman containing the terms of peace with Adil Khan, and letter of the latter in acknowledgement. Letter of homage from Kutbu-l Mulk. Summary of Shah Jahan's two expeditions to the Dakhin, the first in his father's lifetime, the second after his own accession*).

### A'dil Khan of Bijapur

While the Emperor was still thinking about the reduction of the forts of the Dakhin Adil Khan, being disturbed by the prolonged stay of the Imperial Court, wrote a letter to the Emperor, representing that the affairs of that country were now all settled, and that he would be answerable for the surrender of the forts held by Sahu and others. There was therefore no reason for the Emperor's staying any longer, and it would be a great favour if he would proceed to the capital, so that the *raiyats* and people of Bijapur might return peacefully to their avocations. The Emperor graciously consented, and, resolved to go and spend the rainy season at Mandu. Adil Khan's tribute, consisting of ** arrived, and was accepted. The Emperor confirmed to him the territory of Bijapur and the fortress of Parenda, which had formerly belonged to *Nizam-ul Mulk*, but which the commandant had surrendered to A'dil Khan for a bribe. He also confirmed to him all the country of Kokan on the sea-shore, which had been formerly held half by him and half by *Nizam-ul Mulk*. (Copy of the treaty.).

### Prince Aurangzeb, Governor of the Dakhin

On the 3rd *Zil-hijja* the Emperor appointed Prince Aurangzeb to the government of the Dakhin. This country contains sixty-four forts, fifty-three of which are situated on hills, the remaining eleven are in the plain. It is divided into four *subas*. (1) Daulatabad, with Ahmadnagar and other districts, which they call the *suba* of the Dakhin. The capital of this province, which belonged to *Nizamul-Mulk*, was formerly Ahmadnagar, and afterwards Daulatabad. (2) Telingana. This is situated in the *suba* of the Balaghat. (3) Khandesh. The fortress of this province is Asir, and the capital is Burhanpur, situated four *kos* from Asir. (4) Birar.—The capital of this province is Elichpur and its famous fortress is called Gawil. It is built on the top of a hill and is noted above all the fortresses in that country for strength and security. The whole of the third province and a part of the fourth is in the Payinghat. The *jama*, or total revenue of the four provinces is two *arbs* or *dams*, equivalent to five crores of rupees.

(*Treaty with Kutb-ul Mulk. Letter from the latter.*)

(*Khan-dauran besieges U'dgir and U'sa, and both forts are eventually surrendered.*)

*Conquest of the Fort of Junir and Settlement of the Dakhin.*

When Khan-zaman returned from the Emperor to his army, he learnt that Sahu had declined entering into service of A'dil Khan, and refused to surrender Junir and the other fortresses to the Imperial officers. A'dil Khan therefore sent his forces, under the command of Randaula, to co-operate with the Imperial army in the destruction of Sahu, and the reduction of his fortresses. Khan-zaman hastened to Junir, * * * and invested the fortress. Being satisfied with the arrangements for the siege, he determined to march against Sahu, who was in the neighbourhood of Puna. When he reached the Khorandi, he was detained on its banks for a month by the heavy rain and the inundations. As soon as the waters abated, he crossed the

**CHAPTER 9.**

**The Moghals in Maharashtra.**

SHAH JAHAN.

War in the Deccan.

The fall of Daulatābād and capitulation of Nizām Śāh by no means indicated the end of war. The Moghals had not as yet succeeded in getting the possession of the remaining territory of the Ahmadnagar kingdom. Strong resistance was expected from the Marāṭhā officers of Ahmadnagar, who still held the larger part of the Puṇe district and the Nizāmśāhī Koṅkaṇ. Similarly, parts of Bālāghāṭ were still not subdued. The fort of Pareṇḍā had been handed over to the Bijāpurīs. Mahābat Khān requested the Emperor that a prince be sent to lead the war against Bijāpūr. Śāh Jahān sent prince Śujā. It was decided to invest the fort of Pareṇḍā and to thwart any penetration by the Bijāpūr army towards Pareṇḍā. Mahābat Khān sent his son, Khān Zamān, in advance towards Pareṇḍā. A line of defensive posts

---

*contd.*

river, and encamped on the banks of the Indan, near Loh-ganw, and Sahu, who was seventeen *kos* distant, then made into the mountains of Gondhana and Nurand. There were three large swollen rivers, the Indan, the Mol, and the Mota, between Khan-zaman and Sahu. * * The Khan therefore sent an officer to consult with Randaula. The opinion of that commander coincided with Khan-zaman's in favour of the pursuit, and the latter began his march. * * Sahu then fled with great haste by the pass of Kombha, and entered the Kokan, * * Finding no support there he returned by the pass of Kombha. The Imperial forces then entered the Kokan by the same pass, and Randaula also was closing up. Sahu then went off to Mahuli, * *and from thence to the fort of Muranjan, situated between the hills and the jungle. Khan-zaman followed. * * * On discovering the approach of his pursuers, Sahu went again to Mahuli, hoping to get away by Trimbak and Tringalwari but fearing lest he should encounter the royal forces, he halted at Mahuli. He retained a party of his adherents, who had long followed him and the rest of his men he disbanded, and allowed them to go where they would. Then with his son and a portion of his baggage, he went into the fort, resolved to stand a siege.

Khan-zaman got intelligence of this when he was twelve *kos* from Mahuli, and notwithstanding the difficulties of the road, he reached the fort in one day. * * He immediately opened his trenches and made approaches. * * A few days after, Randaula came up, and joined in the siege. * * When the place was hard pressed, Sahu wrote repeatedly to Khan-zaman, offering to surrender the fortress on condition of being received into the Imperial service. He was informed that if he wished to save his life, he must come to terms with A'dil Khan, for such was the Emperor's command. He was also advised to be quick in doing so, if he wished to escape from the swords of the besiegers. So he was compelled to make his submission to A'dil Khan, and he be sought that a treaty might be made with him. After the arrival of the treaty, he made some absurd inadmissible demands, and withdrew from the agreement he had made. But the siege was pressed on, and the final attack drew near, when Sahu came out of the fort and met Randaula half way down the hill, and surrendered himself with the young Nizam. He agreed to enter the service of A'dil Khan, and to surrender the fortress of Junir and the other forts to the Imperial generals. * * * Accordingly the forts of Junir, Trimbak, Tringalwari, Haris, Judhan, Jund, and Harsira, were delivered over to Khan-zaman * * Randaula, under the orders of A'dil Khan, placed the young Nizam in the hands of Khan-zaman, and then went to Bijapur, accompanied by Sahu.

(*Khan-dauran takes possession of the forts of Kataljahr, and Ashta, and besieges and storms the fort of Nagpur.*)

**Nizam-ul Mulk.**

On the 1st *Zi-l-hijja*, 1046 A. H. Prince Murad Bakhsh, *Yaminu-d-daula* Khan-dauran Bahadur Nusrat Jang, and others went forth to meet Prince Aurangzeb, who had returned to Court from the Dakhin. * * He brought with him the member of *Nizamu-l Mulk's* family whom the disaffected of the Dakhin had made use of for their rebellious purposes, and to whom they had given the title of *Nizamu-l Mulk*. He was placed under the charge of Saiyid Khan-jahan, to be kept in the fort of Gwalior, where there were two other of the Nizams—one of whom was made prisoner at the capture of Ahmadnagar in the reign of Jahangir, and the other at the downfall of Daulatabad in the present reign. * * On the 4th the news came that Khan-zaman had died at Daulatabad from a complication of diseases of long standing. * * Shayista Khan was appointed to proceed him in his command.———*Badshah-Nama* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, pp. 51—61.

beginning from Daulatābād and stretching up to Pareṇḍā was established. Meanwhile Śahājī had put on the throne an unknown prince from the Nizāmśāhī dynasty in 1633[1]. He carried continuous raids against the Moghal forces from Daulatābād to Pareṇḍā and thus succeeded in relieving the pressure on Pareṇḍā. A force was sent by the Moghals to repulse Śāhājī.

The Moghal efforts to capture Pareṇḍā did not, however, succeed as expected. The Deccan had not recovered from the recent famine of 1630 and supplies were difficult to get. Many foraging parties of the imperial forces were cut off from their base camp and destroyed. Even Mahābat Khān, at one time, escaped capture due to the timely help of Nasiri Khān *alias* Khān Daurān. The old rivalry among the Moghal Generals again reared its ugly head and Mahābat Khān now advised Śāh Śujā to raise the siege of Pareṇḍā and withdraw to the Moghal headquarters of Burhāṇpūr for the rainy season (April 1634)[2]. The emperor was vexed at the failure of the campaign and recalled Śāh Śujā. The old General, Mahābat Khān was censured by the emperor for his failure. He died shortly afterwards in October 1634[3].

---

1 The headquarters of Shahaji was the fort of Pemgad which was termed Shahgad. The prince he put on the throne was a scion of Nizamshahi dynasty imprisoned at the fort of Jivdhan 16 miles from Junnar. He was proclaimed *Sultan* under the title of Murtaza Nizam Shah III. Besides Pemgad, Shahaji held the strong forts of Trimbak and Shivner above the *ghats* and many more in the Konkan.

2 The following details would prove interesting:

**March of Prince Shah Shuja against Parenda**

The fortress of Parenda, belonging to Nizam Shah, was formerly besieged by Azam Khan, but as before related, certain obstacles compelled him to raise the siege. 'Adil Khan (*by cajolery and bribery*) got the fort into his possession. * * * The reduction of this fortress has long been a favourite object with Khan-khanan, and when Prince Shah Shuja' came near to Burhanpur with a fine army, *** Khan-khanan waited upon him, and advised him to undertake the reduction of Parenda. So the Prince, without entering Burhanpur, turned off and marched against that fortress. * * * On arriving at Parenda, he encamped on a stream about a *kos* distant, which is the only water to be found in the vicinity. Then he allotted the work of constructing the trenches, and placed the general direction of the siege works in the hands of Alla Vardi Khan. (*Many conflicts and skirmishes in the neighbourhood*).

The efforts of the besiegers in the construction of mines were not attended with much success. The enemy broke into some and destroyed them, and water burst into others. One, constructed by Alla Vardi, in front of the Sher-Haji, was fired by the Prince himself, who went to it by the covered way. It blew up a bastion, but did not make a practicable breach. Moreover, great ill feeling had sprung up between Khan-khanan and Khan-dauran, because the latter was continually repeating that he had saved Khan-khanan's life (*in one of the engagements*). All the nobles and officers also were aggrieved at the petulance and discourtesy of Khan-khanan. Through this the enemy got information about Khan-khanan's plans, and were able to foil them so that he made no progress in the reduction of the place. He therefore represented to the Prince that, although provisions were abundant, there was no grass or fuel within ten or twelve *kos* of the camp, so that every foraging party had to travel more than twenty *kos*. This was very distressing to the army. The rainy season also was at hand. So he advised a retreat to Burhanpur. As the Prince had been ordered to act upon the advice of Khan-khanan, the army retreated on the 3rd *Zi-l-hijja*.—*Badshah-Nama* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, pp. 43-44.

3. After the death of Mahabat Khan the viceroyalty of the Deccan was divided into two parts, Balaghat and Payinghat. The former comprised the former territories of Ahmadnagar and the southern tableland of Berar, the latter was composed of the rest of Berar and Khandesh. Khan Zaman was appointed to the government of the Balaghat and Khan-dauran was appointed to the government of the Payinghat.

CHAPTER 9.

The Moghals in Maharashtra.

SHAH JAHAN.

War in the Deccan.

In the meanwhile in the court intrigues which took place at Bijāpūr, the partisans of Mustafā Khān brought about the assassination of Khavās Khān and his assistant Murār Jagdev. They had imprisoned Mustafā Khān. Mustafā Khān was now restored to the position of the *Peśvā* or prime minister. The emperor Śāh Jahān now decided to march in person to the Deccan to obtain from Bijāpūr and Golconḍā a pledge of allegiance. He crossed the Narmadā early in 1636 and proceeded to Daulatābād. From Daulatābād he sent his demands to Bijāpūr which included payment of tribute, handing over the Ahmadnagar territories seized by Bijāpūr and the complete withdrawal of support to Śahājī, who was operating in the hilly regions. To back up his demands he detached a force with orders to capture the forts of Udgīr and Ausā which belonged to the former kingdom of Ahmadnagar. While negotiations were going on, the commanders of the forts of Udgīr and Ausā were sent reinforcements by some nobles of Bijāpūr. Śahājī too was receiving continuous assistance from Bijāpūr. It was then that Śāh Jahān decided to invade Bijāpūr. When the imperial army marched against Bijāpūr from three directions the Ādil Śāh accepted the Moghal terms for peace (May 1636). The terms included acknowledgement of Moghal supremacy, payment of an annual tribute of 20 lakhs of rupees, maintenance of peace with Golconḍā and the submission of any dispute with Golconḍā for arbitration to the Moghals. The Bijāpurīs also agreed to help the Moghals in reducing Śahāji's possessions near Junnar and Trimbak. In return the Moghals agreed to hand over certain portions of the Ahmadnagar territory to Bijāpūr (May 1636).

Treaty with Bijapur.

The details of the Terms of peace with Bijāpūr were as follows[1]—

(1) Ādil Śāh, the king of Bijāpūr, must acknowledge the overlordship of the Emperor and promise to obey his orders in future.

(2) The pretence of a Nizām Śāhī kingdom should be ended and all its territories divided between the Emperor and the Bijāpūr king. Ādil Śāh should not violate the new imperial frontier nor let his servants hinder the Moghal officers in occupying and settling the newly annexed districts.

(3) The *Sultān* of Bijāpūr was to retain all his ancestral territory with the following additions from the Ahmadnagar kingdom in the west, the Śolāpūr and Wangi mahāls, between the Bhīmā and the Sinā rivers, including the forts of Śolāpūr and Pareṇḍā; in the north-east, the *parganās* of Bhālkī and Cidgupā; and that portion of the Koṅkaṇ which had once belonged to the Nizām Śāhs, including the Puṇe and Cākaṇ districts. These acquisitions comprised 50 *parganās* and yielded a revenue of 20 lakhs of *hons* (or eighty lakhs of

[1] Sarkar: History of *Aurangzib*, Vol. I, pp. 32—34.

Rupees). The rest of the Nizam Śāhī dominion was to be recognized as annexed to the empire beyond question or doubt.

Treaty with Bijapur.

(4) Ādil Śāh should pay the Emperor a peace-offering of twenty lakhs of Rupees in cash and kind. But no annual tribute was imposed.

(5) Golconḍā being now a State under imperial protection, Ādil Śāh should in future treat it with friendship, respect its frontier (which was fixed at the river Māñjirā, or roughly at 78° East longitude), and never demand costly presents from its *Sultān*, to whom he must behave "like an elder brother".

(6) Each side undertook not to seduce the officers of the other from their master's service, nor to entertain deserters, and Śāh Jahān promised for himself and his sons that the Bijāpūr king would never be called upon to transfer any of his officers to the imperial service.

(7) Śahājī Bhosale, who had set up a princeling of the house of Nizām Śāh, should not be admitted to office under Bijāpūr, unless he ceded Junnar, Trimbak, and some other forts still in his hands to Śah Jahān. If he declined, he was not to be harboured in Bijāpūr territory or even allowed to enter it.

Settlement with Golconda.

The settlement with Golconḍā proved to be an easier task. The *Sultān* of that kingdom was in no position to resist the Moghals. As early as in 1631 when the emperor had arrived in the Deccan he had sent an envoy to Abdullā Qutb Śāh who had succeeded his father in 1626. The envoy was well received. He returned with presents to the emperor. The *Sultān*, however, got slightly suspicious of the imperial designs when the frontier of his kingdom was violated by the imperial troops twice, once when they captured the fort of Kandhār and next when the governor of Orissa reduced a fort on the northern borders of the Golconḍā kingdom. When in 1631, Asaf Khān started on his ill-fated expedition of Bijāpūr, the Moghal envoy to the court of Golconḍā was illtreated and dismissed without the usual presents to the emperor. Barring these discordant notes in the relations between the two, the *Sultān* of Golconḍā did not actively intervene in the struggle either between the kingdom of Ahmadnagar and the Moghals or later between the Moghals and the Bijāpurīs. The political harmony was, however, made subservient to the religious differences between the two[1]. The demands upon Golconḍā included the abolition of certain *Śiāh* practices, elimination of references to the Śāh of Persia in the Friday prayers and the payment of the usual tribute. The Golconḍā court agreed to these demands either because it wanted to maintain the old bonds of friendship or it had no power to offer resistance. Accordingly, the Śāh's name was dropped out from the Friday prayers and Śāh Jahān's name was inserted in its

[1] Shah Jahan was a strict *Sunni* whereas the *Sultans* of Golconda were *Shiahs*. They had for more than thirty years followed the practice of inserting the name of the reigning *Sultan* of Persia who was *Shiah* in the Friday prayers.

**CHAPTER 9. The Moghals in Maharashtra.**

SHAH JAHAN.

Settlement with Golconda.

place. Coins were struck with the emperor's name on them. Payment of an yearly tribute amounting to 2,00,000 *Hons*, and dispatch of troops in case of Bijāpurī attack upon imperial forces were agreed to. The treaty was concluded in June 1636 and the imperial forces were withdrawn from the frontiers of Golconḍā.

The Moghals thus succeeded in humbling the once great kingdoms of Bijāpūr and Golconḍā. They had still to deal with Śāhājī, who was carrying on resistance to the Moghals in the hilly regions.

Moghal Campaign against Shahaji.

A brief account of the Moghal campaign against Śahājī, leading ultimately to the final extinction of the Ahmadnagar dynasty, as described in the *Badshah Nama* is given below. After reaching Daulatābād Śāhjahān ordered a campaign to be opened against Śahājī who had proclaimed a boy from the house of Nizāmśāh as the King of Ahmadnagar. He appointed three officers *viz.*, Khān-i-Daurān Nasiri Khān, Khān Zamān and Śāyastā Khān to lead the campaign. Khān-i-Daurān and Khān Zamān had each 20,000 troops under them whereas Śāyastā Khān commanded a contingent of 8,000 troops. Khān Daurān was ordered to camp in the neighbourhood of Kandhār and Nānded and effect the capture of the forts of Ausā and Udgīr. Khān Zamān was instructed first to take possession of Cāmbhārgondā and the Koṅkaṇ area from Śāhājī and then carry sword and destruction in the Ādil śāhī territory on that side on receipt of imperial orders to the effect. Śāyastā Khān was entrusted with the task of conquering Junnar, Saṅgamner, Nāśik and Trimbak. Śāyastā Khān had under him Allāvardi Khān who was ordered to detach himself with 2,000 troops and bring about the surrender of 8 forts in the Cāndor and Dhoḍap range (24th February 1636). Śāyastā Khān in his petition to Śāhjahān dated 3rd March 1636 informed of the surrender of the fort of Rāmśej held by Śahājī to Ahmad Khān Niyājī. In the meanwhile news was received that Ādil Śāh had sent reinforcements to the commandants of the forts of Ausā and Udgīr under Khairiyat Khān and promised assistance to Śahājī by sending Raṇdullāh Khān with a body of troops. Enraged at this, Śāhjahān on 6th March 1636 dispatched Sayyad Khānjahān (against the Bijāpurīs) with 10,000 troops with orders to devastate the Bijāpūr territory and prevent the junction of Raṇdullāh Khān with Śahājī. On 9th March 1636 a communication was received from Śāyastā Khān of the capture of the fort of Khairdurga held by Śahājī. On 14th March 1636 Allāvardi Khān captured the fort of Cāndor after a stiff siege. Gaṁbhirrāv, the commandant of the fort of Anjarahi (Añjanerī) met Allavārdi Khān and handed over the fort to the Moghals on 17th March 1636. Allāvardi Khān then marched in the direction of the fort of Kañcan Mañcan and reached near the fort on 19th March 1636 and besieged it. After a severe action, the fort was handed over to the Moghals through the mediation of Gaṁbhirrāv. The

forts which capitulated next were Ravalā Javalā, Ahivant, Kol, Posrā, Acalagaḍ and others. The fort of Rajbir (Rajdher) was then besieged. It surrendered on 9th June 1636. Allāvardi Khān then marched against Dhoḍap commanded by Bhubal. He handed over the fort on 19th June 1636 on receiving a *mansab*.

Moghal Campaign against Shahaji.

Śāyastā Khān was also prosecuting his campaign vigorously. He arrived at Saṅgamner on 8th March 1636 and captured it from Sambhājī, the son of Śahājī. Sambhājī, thereupon, fled towards Nāśik. Śaikh Farid was now appointed as the *Ṭhāṇedar* of Nāśik. On his approach, the garrison fled towards Koṅkaṇ. Śāyastā Khān sent Bākar with 1,500 troops in their pursuit with instructions to take possession of the *Prānt'* of Junnar. At this time Śāyastā Khān received orders from Śahjahān to proceed towards Ahmadnagar. He, accordingly, marched in the direction of Ahmadnagar. In the meanwhile the Moghals took possession of the town of Junnar. Śahājī was camping at Cāmbhārgondā. He was met there by his son Sambhājī. Sambhājī, with a contingent of troops moved towards the fort of Junnar (Śivnerī) where Śahājī's family was cantoned. An action ensued between Sambhājī and the Moghals. On receipt of this news Śāyastā Khān sent 700 troops to reinforce the Moghal contingent at Junnar under Sayyad Akbar Ali Bukhārī. The *ganims* now besieged Junnar whereupon Śāyastā Khān himself proceeded towards Junnar and driving them gave them a hot pursuit up to the banks of Bhīmā. After returning to Junnar, he recalled Bākar from Koṅkaṇ and appointed him to consolidate the newly captured town of Junnar and the adjoining *mahāls*. On May 1, 1636 he left for the court.

As stated earlier Khān Zamān who was ordered to take possession of Cāmbhārgondā and Koṅkaṇ arrived at Ahmadnagar and thence proceeded towards Junnar. On reaching Akolner about twelve miles from Ahmadnagar he was informed that Śahājī had taken possession of the fort of Māhuli[1] from Mambājī Bhosle and of his plan to proceed to Pareṇḍā *via*

[1] A brief description of the fort is given below :—

Mahuli fort, on the hill of the same name 2,815 feet high, is in the Shahapur taluka about four miles north-west of Shahapur. Towards the south end of the hill top is a huge cleft, probably 700 or 800 feet deep, in which stand some gigantic basalt pillars. The old ascent was from the east by the Machi village. The gateway which stands at the head of a very steep ravine, and the battlements along the crest of the ravine are still perfect. The fortifications are said to have been built by the Moghals. As in Takmak, Malanggad, and other Thana hill forts, a sheer precipice of black basalt from 500 to 600 feet high runs almost all round. Towards the south a small cleft runs right across the hill, which according to local report was used as a dungeon. The prisoners could not climb the sides, and to jump down at the ends was certain death.

The following are the details of Captain Dickinson's survey in 1818: It is the loftiest of Thana forts on a hill more than 2,500 feet high. The hill has three fortified summits, Palasgad on the north, Mahuli in the centre, and Bhandargad in the south. Mahuli, the middle peak, is the largest of the three, being upwards of half a mile long by nearly as much broad, with a plentiful supply of water and in many places fine soil. The ascent is throughout steep, the latter part up a very rugged and difficult ravine. At the head of the ravine stands an exceedingly strong gateway, flanked and covered with towers, the works being continued for some distance along

CHAPTER 9. The Moghals in Maharashtra.

SHAH JAHAN.

Moghal Campaign against Shahaji.

Pārgāṅv. On this Khān Zamān by forced marches reached Pārgāṅv. Śahājī thereupon avoided Pārgāṅv and crossing Bhīmā he encamped at Lohagāṅv near Puṇe in the Ādilśāhī territory. Khān Zamān now cantoned on the banks of the Bhīmā appointing Bahādur Khān to guard the region thereabout and dispatched Śāhbeg Khān to capture the fort of Cāmbhārgondā. The fort was besieged and captured after a short action. Khān Zamān now proceeded towards Junnar but received orders from Śāhjahān to attack and devastate the Bijāpūr territory and defeat the Ādilśāhī nobles helping Śahājī. Khān Zamān accordingly entered the Bijāpūr territory on March 16, 1636. Arriving at Kolhāpūr he encamped there and from thence proceeded towards the river Kṛṣṇā. Here he was attacked by Śahājī and the Ādilśāhī nobles but the enemy left the field of battle after a short skirmish. The Moghals now moved their camp and arrived at Miraj. On the way the contingents of Bahādur Khān and Śujāt Khān were attacked by the enemy. Miraj was looted. Khān Zamān now proceeded to Rāyabāg and sacked it. After camping there for ten days he retired. On his way back he was continuously harassed by the enemy. He reached the banks of Bhīmā when he received orders from the Emperor to come to his presence. Ādilśāh had now submitted. Śāhjahān appointed prince Auraṅgzeb to the *Subhā* of the Deccan. With the submission of Ādilśāh what remained was the capture of the forts of Ausā and Udgīr and defeat of Śahājī. Ausā and Udgīr were captured by Khān-Daurān on September 28 and October 19, 1636, respectively. The campaign against Śahājī was opened by the Moghal general Khān Zamān. He came to know that Śahājī had refused to accept service under Bijāpūr and to handover Junnar and other forts to the Moghals. Ādilśāh had sent his general Raṇdullāh Khān to subjugate Śahājī with orders to co-operate with the Moghals. Khān Zamān now reached Junnar. The fort of Śivnerī was besieged by the Moghal army. He himself proceeded towards Puṇe. When Śahājī received the news of the approach of Khān Zamān he went towards the hills of Koṇḍāṇā and Torṇā. In the meanwhile Raṇdullāh Khān assured Khān Zamān that "I would handover to you all the forts in possession of Śahājī and hence you should not follow in pursuit of Śahājī till you receive a communication from me". On this, Khān Zamān retired from the banks of Indrāyaṇī and moved towards Nūrghāṭ. Śahājī had now descended into the Koṅkaṇ, but failing to get any support there he retraced his steps *via* the Kumbhāghāṭ. The Moghal army had moved into the Koṅkaṇ

*contd.*

the brink of a stupendous precipice. On a rising ground on the top of the hill, a little beyond the gateway, is a little redoubt called Parthalgad, very low and out of repair. The other two forts, Palasgad to the north and Bhandargad to the south, can be reached only up the heads of the narrow ravines which separate them from Mahuli. From the country below Palasgad alone is accessible. In Mahuli and Bhandargad there were a few buildings which required a little repair, while Palasgad and other works were rapidly going to decay. In Captain Dickinson's opinion the fort was untenable.

SHAH JAHAN.

Moghal Campaign against Shahaji.

and Raṇdullāh Khān had also reached the Kumbhā ghāṭ. Śahājī, proceeded towards the fort of Māhulī. Khān Zamān now started in pursuit of Śahājī. An action took place between the Moghals and Śahājī's forces near Murañjan in which many on Śahājī's side were killed. Śahājī was pursued by the Moghals for well over 24 miles but the difficult terrain helped the escape of Śahājī who had with him the socalled Nizāmśāh of Ahmadnagar. His royal paraphernalia fell into the hands of the Moghals. Śahājī reached the fort of Māhulī accompanied by his son. Khān Zamān who was about 24 miles from the fort of Māhulī covered the distance in a day and laid siege to it. Raṇdullāh Khān also reached at the same time. He encamped at the other entrance of the fort about 14 miles away from the position taken by Khān Zamān. Śahājī informed Khān Zamān of his willingness to surrender the fort on condition of being taken up in the Moghal service. Khān Zamān replied that he should enter the service of Ādilśāh as ordered by the emperor. However, as the terms offered by Ādilśāh were not acceptable to Śahājī, he refused. The siege was therefore continued vigorously. The capitulation of the fort appeared imminent when Śahājī met Raṇdullāh Khān, handed over Nizāmśāh to him and agreed to serve under Ādilśāh. He also agreed to handover Junnar and other forts to the Moghals. Khān Zamān received a communication to this effect from Śahājī which he sent to the emperor alongwith his own petition. Orders were soon received informing of the acceptance of the requests which Śahājī had made to the Emperor. Śahājī agreed to make over the forts of Junnar, Trimbak, Triṅgalvāḍī, Hariṣ, Jivadhan, Joṇḍ and Harsara to the Moghals. Raṇdullāh Khān, after receiving orders from Ādil Śāh handed over Nizām Śāh to Khān Zamān and taking Śahājī with him, returned to Bijāpūr. The desperate fight which Śahājī had waged against the Moghals thus came to an end and with it the kingdom of Ahmadnagar which had fought the Moghals for well over 40 years.

Aurangzeb appointed Viceroy.

In 1636, Auraṅgzeb was appointed Viceroy of the Deccan. The history of the Deccan during the subsequent period of twenty years is dominated more by the upsurge of the patriotic spirit that enthused the Marāṭhās and the gradual rise to ascendency of Śivājī, the son of Śahājī, rather than by the relationship that existed between the Moghals and the two feeble kingdoms of Bijāpūr and Goḷconḍā. With the ignoble treaties concluded with the Moghals, the two Muslim states now directed their attention to waging wars against the Hindu states in Karnāṭak. Śahājī was employed by Bijāpūr in most of these expeditions and worked as second-in-command to Raṇdullāh Khān and later to Khān Khānān. It was at this time that he secured extensive and valuable possessions in Karnātak from Ādil Śāh.

**CHAPTER 9.**

**The Moghals in Maharashtra.**

SHAH JAHAN.

Aurangzeb appointed V[illegible]roy.

Śāh Jahān had in 1636, reorganised the province of the Deccan as follows:

(1) Khāndeś or the Tāpī valley between the Sātpuḍā range in the north and the Sahyādri offshoots in the south, with its capital at Burhāṇpūr and fort at Asirgaḍh.

(2) Berār, south-east of Khāndeś, being bounded on the north by the Mahādev hills and the Goṇḍ territory at the heart of the modern Central Provinces and on the south by the Ajaṇṭā range and the Vaingaṅgā river. Its capital was Ellicpūr and fort Gāvilgaḍh.

(3) Telaṅgaṇa, a vast and undefined territory of hills and forests, with a sparse population, stretching south and east of Berār from Cāndā and the Vaingaṅgā river to the northern and north-eastern frontiers of Golcoṇḍā. The whole of it was upland.

(4) Daulatābād with Ahmadnagar and other dependencies. This was the Deccan proper and contained the seat of the viceroy at the fort of Daulatābād. The civil station founded by Malik Ambar a few miles off at Khaḍkī rapidly grew in size and splendour under Auraṅgzeb and was newly named Auraṅgābād. The province was bounded on the north by the Ajaṇṭā hills and the Vaingaṅgā river. Its eastern frontiers as now defined was an imaginary line drawn about 77° 15′ East longitude, along the Māñjrā river from Nāndeḍ to Kandhār and Udgīr. From the last named fort the line took a sharp turn due west to Ausā and then bent north-westwards by the northern limit of the Śolāpūr district and the forts of Visāpūr, Pārner and Junnar till it struck the western ghāṭs. At this part the Ghoḍ river was the southern limit. Beyond Junnar, the boundary ran northwards along the Ghāṭs, till it met the south-west frontier of Khāndeś at the angle where the Cāndor hills branch off eastward.

There were in all 64 forts mostly perched on hills in these four provinces and the total revenue was five crores of rupees. Broadly speaking at this time nearly three-fourths of the present Mahārāṣṭra including the whole of Berār and Khāndeś and the districts of Nāśik, Auraṅgābād, Pārbhaṇī, Bīḍ, Nāndeḍ and Ahmadnagar was in the possession of the Moghals.

Since the first viceroyalty of Auraṅgzeb in the Deccan (from 14th July 1636 to 28th May 1644) till he descended in the Deccan for its final subjugation in 1682, the Deccan was governed by as many as 16 viceroys and their subordinates. They were as under:—

(1) Khān-i-Daurān, 28th May 1644 to 22nd June 1645.
(2) Jaisiṅgh (officiating) up to 17th July 1645.
(3) Islām Khān, 17th July 1646 to 2nd November 1647.
(4) Śāh Navāz Khān (officiating) up to 15th July 1648.
(5) Prince Murād Bakhṣ, 15th July 1648 to 4th September 1649.

(6) Śāyastā Khān 4th September 1649 to September 1652. SHAH JAHAN.
(7) Prince Aurańgzeb, 17th July 1652 to 5th February 1658
(8) Prince Muāzzam, 5th February 1658 to July 1659.
(9) Śāyastā Khān, July 1659 to January 1664.
(10) Prince Muāzzam, January 1664 to January 1666.
(11) Mirzā Rājā Jaisiṅgh, January 1666 to May 1667. Aurangzeb appointed Viceroy.
(12) Prince Muāzzam, May 1667 to June 1672.
(13) Bahādur Khān Khān Jahān Bahāḍur Kokaltāś, June 1672 to September 1677.
(14) Diler Khān (officiating) September 1677 to October 1678.
(15) Prince Muāzzam October 1678 to May 1680.
(16) Bahādur Khān Khān Jahān, May 1680 to 1682.

Conquest of Baglana.

In 1638, Prince Aurańgzeb decided to effect the conquest of Bāglāṇa ruled by a Rāṭhoḍ family which was in possession of the two strong forts of Sālher and Mulher[1]. Both the forts were besieged and reduced in 1638. Baharjī, the *Rājā* of Bāglāṇa entered Moghal service[2]. In 1639 a force was sent under Malik Husain to reduce Kheḷojī Bhosle, the first cousin of Śahājī. He had left the Moghals in 1633 and joined Nizām Śāh. He was killed in an encounter in October 1639. It may be mentioned

---

[1] A brief description of the fort is given below :—

Mulher fort in Satana, on a hill about two miles (3·21 km.) south of Mulher town and 2,000 feet (609·60 metres) above the plain, lies at the head of the Mosam valley about forty miles (64·37 km.) north-west of Malegaon. The hill is half detached from a range which rises westwards till it culminates in Salher about twelve miles (19·31 km.) further west. The hill has three fortified peaks near one another, Mulher in the middle, Mora to the east, and Hatgad to the west.

*Description*

Mulher, the strongest of the three, and known as *Bale Killa* or the citadel, is about half a mile in extent. About half way up, after passing three gateways, comes a rolling plateau with the ruins of what must have been a considerable town. The whole plateau is defended by a masonry wall which runs along the edge of the lower slope and at each end is carried to the foot of the upper scarp which is about 100 feet (30·48 metres) high. The upper scarp is approached through the usual succession of gateways. The further ascent is undefended until an angle is reached in the natural scarp above, and the crevice leading thence to the plateau above the scarp is defended by a succession of gateways now more or less ruined. The point of the plateau thus reached is nearly at the western end of the westernmost of the two plateaus of which the hill top is formed. There is a more prominent angle and crevice nearer the middle of the hill top, but the top of this crevice has been closed by a solid masonry wall, which also forms a connection between the two portions of the plateau which are at this point separated by a dip of some fifty to a hundred feet (15·24 to 30·48 metres).

The east half of the plateau is slightly higher than the west half, and is defended at the point just mentioned by walls and gateways, which make the eastern part a citadel or inner place of defence. There are about fifteen reservoirs, some underground, others open. All of them hold water throughout the year.

[2] The details of this are as under :

*Conquest of Baglana*

The territory of Baglana contains nine forts, thirty-four *parganas*, and one thousand and one villages. It has been a separate jurisdiction (*marzbani*) for one thousand four hundred years, and its present ruler is named Bharji. It is famous for its temperate climate, its numerous streams and the abundance of its trees and fruits. In length it is a hundred *kos* and in breadth eighty. On the east is Chandor, a dependency of Daulatabad ; on the west the port of Surat and the sea ; on the north Sultanpur and Nandurbar ; and on the south Nasik and Trimbak. ***The strongest of its forts are Salhir and Mulhir. Salhir is placed upon a hill. **When Prince Aurangzeb was sent to the government of the Dakhin he was directed to subjugate this country. On the 8th *Sha'ban*, 1047 H. (Dec. 1637), he sent an army against it, **which advanced and laid siege to Mulhir. The trenches were opened and the garrison was pressed so hard that, on the 10th *Shawwal*, Bharji sent out his mother and his *vakil* with the keys of his eight forts, offering to enrol himself among the

**CHAPTER 9. The Moghals in Maharashtra.**

SHAH JAHAN.

Conquest of Baglana.

here that the treaties with Bijāpūr and Golconḍā in 1636 and the final extinction of Ahmadnagar kingdom gave the country a repose after nearly half a century of war. The Moghal administration, however, had not progressed. This could perhaps be attributed to a succession of short viceroyalties and incompetent viceroys. Khān-i-Daurān succeeded Aurangzeb on 28th May 1644. He was pitiless in exacting money and harsh and rough to all the people under him. He was murdered at Burhānpūr on 22nd June 1645. During his absence in the north Jaisingh officiated for him. Islām Khān succeeded Khān-i-Daurān on 17th July 1645. He could effect very little during his short tenure of two years and died on 2nd November 1647. No substantive appointment was made till July 15, 1648 when Śāh Navāz Khān officiated. Murād Bakhs was then appointed as viceroy. He was soon replaced by Śāyastā Khān on 4th September 1652. In 1653 Aurangzeb assumed his second viceroyalty of the Deccan. This resulted in a lack of continuity of policy in financial and administrative matters and by the time Aurangzeb took charge of his office, the revenues of the Deccan had depleted to only one crore. The public income of the Deccan did not balance the expenditure. Everywhere Aurangzeb found signs of maladministration and like his officers faced the difficulty of keeping up his normal contingent of troops. A financial wrangle developed between the Emperor Śāh Jahān and Aurangzeb with the latter asking for cash from other provinces in place of *jāgirs* in the Deccan. Aurangzeb was censured by the Emperor for his failure as an administrator. He, however, pleaded that the bad circumstances were the result of ravages caused by a generation of warfare and could not be undone in two or three years. Aurangzeb, however, succeeded, by following a policy of steady reform, in doubling the revenues of many *mahāls*. The revenue administration was entrusted to Murśīd Qulī Khān who was appointed as *Divān*. Murśīd Qulī Khān was a native of Khurāsān and had acted as Paymaster of Aurangzeb's army in Bālkh. When Aurangzeb again came to the Deccan, Murśīd Qulī Khān accompanied him as *Divān* of Balāghāt. His ability and administrative capacity acquired for him the *Divānship* of the entire Deccan in January 1656. The Deccan had no proper system of revenue collection. The farmer paid to the state a small amount per plough, the rate of revenue varying in different places and being fixed arbitrarily.

Reforms of Murshid Quli Khan.

Murśīd Qulī Khān extended to the Deccan the system of Todar Mal introduced a century ago in Northern India. First, he brought together the scattered *ryots* and restored the normal life of the villagers. He also deputed wise *amins* and honest surveyors to measure the land, to prepare the record of well marked out holdings and to distinguish arable land from rocky

---

*contd.*

servants of the Imperial throne, on condition of receiving the *pargana* of Sultanpur. **When this proposal reached the Emperor, he granted Bharji a *mansab* of three thousand personal and 2,500 horse, and Sultanpur was conferred upon him for his home. *Badshah-Nama* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, pp. 65—67.

SHAH JAHAN.

Reforms of Murshid Quli Khan.

soils and water courses. New headmen were appointed to villages which had lost them. The *ryots* were granted loans from the public treasury which were recovered at harvest by instalments. His personal interest in the survey work won him the confidence of the *ryots*. The allotments of holdings made with care resulted in the prosperity of the *ryots*. The revenues improved. The new system was modified according to differences of local conditions. In backward tracts the old system of lump payment was retained. In other places Murśīd Qulī Khān introduced the system of sharing of the actual produce for which three rates were prescribed *viz.*, (1) where the crop depended on rainfall, the state took one half of it, (2) where agriculture depended on well irrigation the share of the state was one-third in case of grain and from one ninth to one-fourth determined by the labour required for watering and length of culture and (3) where the field was irrigated from canals, the proportion of the revenue to the crop varied as compared to the lands irrigated from wells being sometimes higher and sometimes lower.

His third method of revenue settlement followed the pattern of the more elaborate and complex system prevailing in Northern India. The standard or maximum government share was one-fourth of the total produce irrespective of the crop produced. The revenue at the fixed rate of so many rupees per *bigha* was assessed and collected after considering the quantity and quality of the crop from seedtime to harvest and its market price and after actually measuring the sown area.

The reforms thus introduced by Murśīd Qulī Khān led to improvement of Agriculture and increase of the revenue in a few years. The system introduced by him came to be known as "the *dhārā* of Murśīd Qulī Khān[1]."

Rise of Shivaji.

We may now briefly review the activities of Śivājī in so far as they concerned Bijāpūr and Golconḍā and the interest the Moghal government evinced in them. Śivājī had already developed initiative and power of command and had gathered round himself men of tried valour and devotion to him. Śivājī took possession of the fort of Torṇā in 1646. He renamed it Pracaṇḍgaḍ. He built another fort on the crest of the same spur of hills and named it Rājgaḍ. Next Śivājī secured the fort of Koṇḍāṇā, 11 miles south-west of Puṇe. Śivājī, however, received a set-back when he got the alarming news of his father's arrest in Karnāṭak on 25th July 1648. To bring about the release of his father Śivājī resolved to resort to diplomacy by appealing to Murād Bakhṣ, the Moghal viceroy of the Deccan. Though Murād Bakhṣ decided to pay heed to the appeal, Śāh Jahān refused to put pressure on Ādil Śāh to release Śahājī. Śahājī's release was ultimately brought about on 16th May 1649 by Śivājī and Sambhājī (Śahājī's eldest son) agreeing to cede Koṇḍāṇā and Bangalore, respectively. When these events were

[1] Sarkar: *History of Aurangzib*, Vols. I and II, pp. 168—72.

**CHAPTER 9. The Moghals in Maharashtra.**

taking place Śivājī, reduced the fort of Purandar. Śivājī kept comparatively quiet during the six years from 1649 to 1655 without giving any provocation to the Bijāpūr Government by fresh annexation.

SHAH JAHAN.

Rise of Shivaji.

Śivājī's activities did not bring him in direct contact with the Moghals because he scrupulously avoided violating the Moghal frontiers. Śivājī confined himself to depredations in the territory of Bijāpūr. The Moghals looked upon them as no concern of the imperial government of the Deccan. By 1657 Śivājī had annexed Jāvlī (where he built the fort of Pratāpgaḍ) and the Koṅkaṇ districts of Kalyāṇ and Bhivaṇḍī. The fort of Rāirī, his future capital, came into his possession at this time.

War with Golconda and Bijapur.

In the year 1655, Auraṅgzeb (who had once again been appointed to the Deccan in 1653), seized an opportunity to interfere in the affairs of the Deccan kingdoms of Goḷconḍā and Bijāpūr. The annual tribute from Goḷconḍā was in arrears and Auraṅgzeb demanded its immediate payment. Qutb Śāh failing to pay, Auraṅgzeb demanded an alienation of a certain part of the Goḷconḍā territory in lieu of the tribute. Qutb Śāh was also rebuked for not obtaining the sanction of his overlord, the emperor, before conquering the Karnāṭak. An open rupture had also developed between Abdullāh Qutb Śāh and his minister Muhammad Said[1], the *Mir Jumlā*. Mir Jumlā had successfully

[1] The full details of the Mir Jumla episode are given below :—

**Mir Jumla seeks protection**

Another incident was the flying for refuge of Mir Muhammad Said Ardastani surnamed Mir Jumla to the Court, the asylum of mankind, an account of which event is as follows: The above individual, in whose hands was the entire administration of *Kutb-ul Mulk's* kingdom had after a severe struggle with the Karnatikis, brought under subjection in addition to a powerful fort, a tract of country measuring 150 *kos* in length, and twenty or thirty in breadth and yielding revenue of forty *lacs* of rupees It also contained mines teeming with diamonds and no one of *Kutb-ul Mulk's* ancestors had ever been able to gain possession of any portion of it. Having destroyed several strong forts built by the Karnatikis, he had brought this country into his power; and in spite of long-standing usages, he had collected a considerable force, so that he had 5,000 horse in his service. For these reasons, a faction who were at enmity with him caused *Kutb-ulMulk* to be displeased with him, and strove to effect his ruin. He had been active in performing such meritorious services and after contending against the *zamindars* of the Karnatik, had subdued so fine a territory, but he did not gain the object he sought; but on the contrary, reaped dis-appointment. So, using Prince Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahadur as an intercessor, he sought refuge at the Court, the asylum of the world. After this circumstance had been disclosed to the world-adorning understanding through the representations of the illustrious Prince, a handsome *khil at* was forwarded to him by the hand of one of the courtiers in the middle of this month, together with an indulgent *farman* sanctioning the bestowal of a *mansab* of 5,000 on him, and one of 2,000 on his son, Mir Muhammad Amin as well as a mandate accompanied by a superb dress of honour for *Kutb-ul Mulk*, regarding the not prohibiting him and his relations from coming.

**Account of Prince Muhammad Aurangzeb's March to Golkonda**

Among the important events that took place towards the close of this year was the march of the ever successful Prince Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahadur to the territory of Golkonda, for the sake of coercing *Kutb-ulMulk*, his exaction of a superb tributary offering on behalf of His Majesty's private exchequer, and his uniting in marriage of the latter's daughter with his own eldest son, Muhammad Sultan, an abridged narrative of which is as follows. When Mir Jumla sought to ally himself to the Imperial throne, *Kutb-ulMulk*, the instant he gained intelligence of the matter imprisoned Mir Jumla's son, Mir Muhammad Amin, together with his connexions

carried out a campaign in Karnāṭak and had amassed a vast fortune. He had under his command a well disciplined army and an excellent pack of artillery. He thus made himself independent of his master. The growing power and wealth of Mir Jumlā roused the alarm of his master. Mir Jumlā was ordered to escheat to the state what he had acquired in its service and was called to the court. An attempt was made on his life but he escaped to Karnātak. Mir Jumlā now opened negotiations with Bijāpūr and the Śāh of Persia. He began to correspond with the Moghals. Aurańgzeb too, was eager to secure

*contd.*

and having confiscated whatever he possessed, both in live-stock and goods, forwarded him and his relatives to Golkonda. This circumstance having soon reached the ear of the fortunate Prince, through the intervention of news-writers, His Royal Highness despatched a quiet letter to *Kutbu-l Mulk* regarding the release of the prisoners and the restoration of Mir Muhammad Amin's goods and chattels. Having likewise reported the state of the case to the Imperial presence he solicited authority that in case *Kutbu-l Mulk* persisted in keeping Mir Jumla's son in confinement he might be permitted to march against him in person, and endeavour to liberate the captives ; as supineness in resorting to arms would be a source of additional lethargy to the opulent lords of the Dakhin. On the receipt of his report a *farman* was likewise forwarded with the utmost expedition to *Kutbu-l Mulk*, by the hands of some mace bearers, respecting the surrender of Mir Jumla's son along with his relatives and the infliction of the consequences of disobedience. A mandate was also addressed to the victorious Prince instructing him to set out for his destination with the triumphant troops and the ever-obeyed commands were issued to the governor of Malwa, and the *mansabdars* serving in that province to proceed and join His Royal Highness as quickly as possible.

In short, as *Kutbu-l Mulk*, under the influence of the fumes of arrogance would not heed the contents of the letter, the Prince despatched his eldest son Muhammad Sultan, thither on the 8th of *Rabiu-l awwal* this year, along with a host of nobles and *mansabdars* and his own followers. It was further determined that the army that was returning from Deogarh should halt in that vicinity and unite itself to the illustrious *Sultan* and that he himself should set out afterwards in the course of another month. About this time the *mansabdars* in whose charge the *Khil'ats* and *farmans* had been despatched for *Kutbu-l Mulk* and Mir Jumla from the Brilliant presence, as has been related in its proper place, came and waited on that ward of the divine vigilance. Although it was the realm-subduing Prince's opinion that *Kutbu-l Mulk* would release Mir Jumla's son from confinement previous to the arrival of Muhammad Sultan "the tender sapling in the garden of prosperity and success," at the frontier of the Golkonda territory and that the campaign would not consequently be prolonged to any great extent, yet *Kutbu-l Mulk*, from excessive negligence and extreme pride, had not the good sense to adopt this measure and hold the *farman* in dread and fear. After the last communication the Prince gave orders, directing Muhammad Sultan to enter his territory with the Imperial troops. On receiving the above *farman* with the alarming intelligence of Muhammad Sultan's approach at the head of the royal forces, *Kutbu-l Mulk* awoke from his deep sleep of arrogance and conceit and sent off Mir Jumla's son, along with his mother and connexions. He also forwarded a letter to Court, intimating this fact, and avowing his fealty and subservience, in charge of the mace-bearers who had brought the *farman*. Mir Jumla's son having joined Muhammad Sultan twelve *kos* from Haidarabad, reposed in the cradle of peace and safety. Nevertheless as *Kutbu-l Mulk*, with grasping avarice, still retained the goods and property belonging to Mir Jumla and his son, and would not deliver them up, the illustrious *Sultan* set out for the city of Haidarabad. *Kutbu-l Mulk*, on learning this news, started off his children to Golkonda, which is situated at a distance of three *kos* from Haidarabad, and where, owing to the impregnability of the position, he was in the habit of depositing his secret hoards of treasure ; and he followed them shortly after himself. Whatever gems and jewelry, gold and silver articles, and cash he possessed, he likewise removed to the fort of Golkonda ; and other property, such as various kinds of carpets, porcelain, etc., he made over to the chief of his confidential servants, and deputed him to contend with the royal forces.

Next morning, corresponding to the 5th of *Rabi'u-s sani* this year, when Muhammad Sultan, having arrived at the environs of Haidarabad, was just about to encamp on the banks of the Husain Sajar lake, one of *Kutbu-l Mulk's* confidential retainers came and waited on him with a casket full of jewels that his master had forwarded by his hands. Meanwhile *Kutbu-l Mulk's* forces made their appearance, and assumed a menacing attitude ; but the ever-triumphant troops, having engaged in the deadly strife from right and left, enveloped the enemy with speed and promptitude in the

**CHAPTER 9.**

**The Moghals in Maharashtra.**

SHAH JAHAN.

War with Golconda and Bijapur.

such an able helper. He opened correspondence with Mir Jumlā. These intrigues could no longer remain secret. Mir Jumlā now became eager to accept service under the Moghals. The matter, however, was brought to a head by Muhammad Amin, the son of Mir Jumlā, who was imprisoned for improper and insolent conduct by the *Sultān* of Goḷconḍā. Mir Jumlā, who in addition to his post of prime ministership was in possession of extensive *Jāgirs* in the Karnāṭak, appealed for help to Śāh Jahān. The offer was accepted and Auraṅgzeb directed the *Sultān* of Goḷconḍā to release Muhammad Amin on the grounds that he

---

*contd.*

midst of a galling fire and by the aid of His Majesty's daily-increasing good fortune having gained the superiority, chased the routed fugitives up to the city walls. Many of the enemy were accordingly killed and wounded, and the survivors, from dread of the royalists' assaults, did not stay within the city walls, but fled into the fort. In short, as such an audacious act had been perpetrated by *Kutbu-l Mulk*, and the bearer of the casket of jewels was indicated as the originator of this hostile movement, Muhammad Sultan gave the order for his execution.

**Arrival of Muhammad Sultan at Golkonda, and Subjugation of Haidarabad**

On the morrow, Muhammad Sultan took possession of the city of Haidarabad, and having encamped outside the walls, prohibited the soldiery from entering it, for fear of having *Kutbu-l Mulk's* property plundered, and the effects of the inhabitants carried off. He also despatched a confidential servant of his noble father to conciliate the residents of that city so as to dissuade them from dispersing and to endeavour to protect their wealth and property. This day *Kutbu-l Mulk* sent 200 more caskets full of gems and jewelled trinkets, two elephants with silver housings and four horses with gold trappings to the *Sultan*; and that fruitful plant of the gardens of prosperity and good fortune detained the bearer of these articles in his camp, as a hostage for the restoration of Mir Jumla's goods, which *Kutbu-l Mulk* still persisted in withholding. Five or six days afterwards, he sent eleven elephants, sixty horses, and other things belonging to Mir Jumla; and though apparently having entered into amicable relations, he used to send numbers of people to Muhammad Sultan, and make professions of loyal obedience yet he continued strengthening his fortifications using tremendous exertions to complete the requisite preparations for standing a siege, and forwarded repeated letters to 'Adil Khan by the hands of trusty individuals soliciting aid.

**Arrival of the fortunate Prince at Golkonda**

The particulars regarding the ever-triumphant Prince's retinue are as follows His Royal Highness having reached Golkonda from Aurangabad in eighteen days pitched his camp on the 20th of the aforesaid *Rabiu-s sani* a *kos* from the fort. He then went off the road for the purpose of marking out the intrenchments, and reconnoitring the defences of the place, and having gained intelligence of *Kutbu-l Mulk's* approach, commanded Muhammad Sultan to take post on the left-hand side with his force. At this juncture five or six thousand cavalry and ten or twelve thousand infantry came opposite to the army, and kindled the flame of war by discharging rockets and matchlocks, whilst the garrison likewise fired off numerous cannons and rockets from the top of the ramparts. The lion-hearted Prince, however, with his habitual intrepidity, allowed no apprehensions to enter his mind but urged on his riding elephant to the front; and the heroes of the arena of strife having charged at full gallop in successive squadrons, and sapped the foundations of their foolish opponent's stability by their irresistible assaults, victory declared in favour of the servants of the crown. The ever-triumphant Prince, after returning to camp, crowned with glory and success, despatched the royalists to besiege the fort, and the prosecution of the attack against each front was committed to the vigilant superintendence of some trusty individual.

In short, the friends of Government began constructing intrenchments, and carrying forward the approaches; and as *Kutbu-l Mulk*, from weakness of intellect, had been guilty of such highly improper behaviour, notwithstanding that he had again sent four more caskets of gems, three elephants with silver housings and five horses with gold and silver trappings, in charge of an intimate friend, begging that he might be allowed to send his mother to wait upon His Royal Highness, for the purpose of asking pardon for his offences; the Prince, in token of his deep displeasure, would not listen to his request, nor grant his messenger an audience, but exhorted the besiegers to lavish still greater exertions in carrying on the attack with gallantry and vigour. After two or

had been appointed to office under the emperor. An order appointing Mir Jumlā a commander of five thousand and his son a commander of two thousand troops in the Moghal service was obtained from the emperor on 3rd December 1655. Abdullāh Qutb Śāh resented this interference and confiscated Mir Jumlā's property. Aurañgzeb now sent his son Muhammad Sultān with a large force towards the frontiers of Golconḍā. Abdullāh released Muhammad Amin, but the Moghal troops continued to advance. They sacked the city of Hyderābād. Muhammad Sultān tried to provoke Abdullāh Qutb Śāh in attacking the

---

*contd.*

three days had elapsed in this manner, a vast force of the *Kutbu-l Mulkis* made their appearance on the northern side of the fort, and were about to pour down upon the intrenchment of Mirza Khan, who was engaged in the defence of that quarter ; when the latter, becoming aware of their hostile intention, made an application for reinforcements. The renowned and successful Prince immediately despatched some nobles with his own artillery to his support ; and these reinforcements having arrived at full speed, took part at once in the affray. Under the magic influence of His Majesty's never-failing good fortune, the enemy took to flight ; whereupon the ever-triumphant troops began putting the miscreants to the sword, and allowed hardly any of them to escape death or captivity. After chasing the vain wretches as far as the fort, they brought the prisoners along with an elephant that had fallen into their hands, into His Royal Highness's presence.

On this date a trusty person was deputed to go and fetch Mir Jumla ; and as it reached the Prince's auspicious ear that about six or seven thousand cavalry and nearly 20,000 infantry of *Kutbu-l Mulk* consisting principally of matchlockmen, who had been repeatedly defeated and dispersed in the battles mentioned above had collected together on the southern face of the fort, and were standing prepared for action, the illustrious Prince mounted and set out in person to exterminate the doomed wretches. As soon as he drew near, the miscreants had the fool-hardiness to advance and standing on the brink of a ravine that ran between them, fanned the flame of strife into a blaze by the discharge of matchlocks and rockets, whilst from the battlements of the fort also, cannons, guns and rockets beyond numbers, played upon him incessantly. The devoted heroes, however, drawing the shield of divine providence over their heads, pushed rapidly across the ravine ; and a detachment of their vanguard, by the most spirited efforts, drove the villains two or three times to the foot of the ramparts hurling many of them into the dust of destruction and capturing a number more. Several of the servants of the Crown perished in this conflict and others were adorned with the cosmetic of wounds ; whilst a number of the Prince's retainers also were either killed or wounded. His Royal Highness, deeming an additional force necessary for this quarter, stationed one there, and having taken possession of the commanding points, and appointed a party of matchlockmen to guard them, returned at night from the field of battle to his own tents.

Next day, at Muhammad Sultan's solicitation, he gave *Kutbu-l Mulk's* son-in-law permission to pay his respects, who had come two days before with some petitions and a slight tributary offering but had not gained admittance. Having refused the jewelry that the latter had brought for him, he deferred its acceptance till the conclusion of negotiations. About this time Shayista Khan joined the army with the nobles of Malwa, whereupon the Prince altered the previous position of the trenches and directed that they should throw up four, opposite each front of the fortifications. In these very days, too, an Imperial edict arrived, intimating the despatch of a handsome *khil'at* and a jewelled dagger with *phul-katar*, for the illustrious Prince, and a present of a fine dress of honour, and a *mansab* of 7000, with 2000 horse, for Muhammad Sultan, as well as a benevolent *farman* to *Kutbu-l Mulk's* address, granting him a free pardon. By the untiring efforts of the servants of the Crown, however, affairs had come to such a pass, that *Kutbu-l Mulk* was all but annihilated, and every day a number of his followers used to turn the countenance of hope towards this prosperous threshold, and attain the honour of paying their respects. Alarmed at the irresistible superiority of the royal troops, moreover, he had sent two of his confidential servants with a tributary offering, and tendered his allegiance, consenting to pay all the stipulated tribute, due for several years up to *Isfandiar* of the 29th year of this reign, and begging that the amount of that for the present twelve months might be settled in addition to the former. The subject of his daughter's marriage with Muhammad Sultan had likewise been broached ; and the illustrious Prince, consequently, deeming it inexpedient to forward him the warrant of pardon just now, kept it to himself. After a lapse of two or three days, *Kutbu-l Mulk* despatched, agreeably to orders,

**CHAPTER 9.**

**The Moghals in Maharashtra.**

SHAH JAHAN.

War with Golconda and Bijapur.

Moghals. Some of the stragglers from the Moghal army were cut off by the garrison of the fortress of Golconḍā. Prince Muhammad Sultān, followed by his father, reached the outer walls of Golconḍā which was besieged. Abdullāh Qutb Śāh, in abject terror, sent envoys with presents. They were insulted and summarily dismissed by Aurańgzeb. Aurańgzeb now pressed with the siege of Golconḍā (6th Febuary 1656). Just at this time he received a communication from Śāh Jahān directing him to accept Abdullāh Qutb

*contd.*

ten elephants and some jewelry, as an instalment of the tribute in arrears, together with two more elephants and other articles belonging to Mir Jumla's son. For the noble Muhammad Sultan, too, he sent a letter congratulating him on his *mansab*, two elephants, one of which bore silver housings and a horse with gold saddle and jewelled trappings. The Prince then directed that they should mount two heavy guns that had been brought from fort U'sa, on the top of a mound situated in Katalabi Khan's intrenchment, and point them against the fortress.

As *Kutbu-l Mulk* had repeatedly begged permission to send his mother for the purpose of asking pardon for his offences, and solicited a safe conduct, it was ordered that Muhammad Sultan and Shayista Khan should despatch the customary passport. As soon as he received that warrant and security, he sent off his mother in the hope of gaining his other objects. Accordingly, on the 22nd of *Jumada-l awwal*, several of His Royal Highness's intimate companions went out, at his suggestion, to meet her and brought her from the road to Shayista Khan's camp. The latter, having treated her with the deepest respect and attention conducted her next day, agreeably to orders, into the illustrious presence; where she enjoyed an interview with Muhammad Sultan, and presented two horses. ** As Muhammad Sultan represented that she was anxious to be admitted to a personal audience in order to detail her propositions, the Prince summoned her into his presence. That chaste matron then presented a thousand gold *mohurs* as *nisar* to His Royal Highness as well as**.

That ward of divine providence affirmed in reply, that *Kutbu-l Mulk* must pay down a *kror* of rupees in cash, jewelry, elephants, etc.; and she having consented to obey this mandate returned to the fortress for the purpose of collecting the above sum.

As a vast number of *Kutbu-l Mulk's* partisans, under the command of his *kotwal*, who had no intimation as yet of the armistice had collected together about two *kos* from the fortress with hostile intentions, the Prince despatched several nobles and *mansabdars*, with 200 mounted musketeers, and 500 cavalry out of Shayista Khan's retainers, amounting altogether to 6,000 horse, and a host of matchlockmen, to coerce them. The royal troops repaired with the utmost celerity to the menaced point, and encamped that day close to the enemy's position. On the succeeding one, the miscreants sent off their heavy baggage and property to a distance, and having formed up in line themselves, stood prepared for action. Although the royalists several times drove them off and dispersed them, yet the shameless wretches kept constantly rallying and renewing their assaults, in which they suffered numerous casualties until night supervened; when the ill-fated villains, being incapable of further resistance, took to a precipitate flight. A few of the victorious army were also killed and wounded; and the ever-successful troops, after spending the night on the ground where the enemy's tents had stood, returned in triumph on the morrow.

**Mir Jumla's coming to wait upon the Prince Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahadur**

At this time, the news of Mir Jumla's arrival in the vicinity of Golkonda was made known; so the Prince forwarded to him the *farman* and *khil'at* that had come for him from Court, by the hands of the bearer of it. The latter having been apprised of the fact came out to meet the messenger, from his camp, which was pitched four *kos* the other side of the Husain Sagar lake, and after observing the usual marks of respect, received the *farman* and *khil'at* from him on the banks of the abovenamed lake. As two days were wanting to the time fixed for his introduction to the victorious Prince, he returned for the present to his own camp. On the appointed day, the Prince sent out some nobles to fetch him, and he having set out with great pomp and splendour, enjoyed at a chosen moment the honour of paying his respects, and presented 3,000 *Ibrahimis* as *nisar*. That descendant of nobles was recompensed from the munificent threshold by the receipt of a superb dress of honour, a jewelled *tarrah* and dagger, two horses, one with a gold, the other with a silver saddle, and an elephant with silver housings, accompanied by a female one and obtained permission to be seated in the presence. As peace had now been established on a firm basis, the fortunate and successful Prince evacuated the trenches encircling the fortress, on the last day of the aforesaid month, and summoned the party engaged in the siege to his presence. *Shah Jahan-Nama* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, pp. 108—17.

Śāh's submission and pardon him. The letter was kept secret. Aurańgzeb awaited the arrival of Mir Jumlā in the camp and insisting on the payment of arrears of tribute for the previous years, continued the siege operations. At last Qutb Śāh's mother arrived in the imperial camp with the arrears of tribute amounting to ten million rupees. The abject surrender of Qutb Śāh was accepted. It was at this time that the marriage of Muhammad Sultān with the daughter of Qutb Śāh was celebrated. The prince received the district of Rāmgīr as dowry and his heirship to the throne of Golconḍā was recognised. The imperial forces then returned to Aurańgābād on May 17, 1656. Though the Qutb Śāhī dynasty lingered on for a few years more, it led a very precarious existence. The decline of the dynasty was marked by the issue of coins shortly after, bearing this touching legend "It has come to an end, well and auspiciously."

Sooner than he had expected, Aurańgzeb got an opportunity to invade Bijāpūr. The submission of Bijāpūr had not been as complete as Golconḍā. Bijāpūr had maintained a semblance of independence. During the intervening period the Bijāpurīs had extended their dominions southward into Karnāṭak and the Tāmil country. Trouble, however, arose when Muhammad Ādil Śāh assumed certain prerogatives of the emperor such as conferment of the title of *Khān-i-Khānān* on his premier noble. Śāh Jahān wrote a letter of sharp rebuke. Ādil Śāh, sent a letter of apology and submission. On 4th November 1656, Muhammad Ādil Śāh died and was succeeded by Ali Ādil Śāh II. Aurańgzeb now claimed the right of the imperial power to decide the question of succession, a right never accepted by the Kingdoms of the Deccan during the period of their existence. Aurańgzeb knew the weakness of his argument. As a pretext for attacking the kingdom of Bijāpūr he asserted that Ali Ādil Śāh was not the son of Muhammad Ādil Śāh. As a matter of fact the extension of its territories by the Bijāpurīs and their attainment to the height of prosperity in spite of their entanglement with the Moghals had always been looked upon with envy and jealousy by the Moghals. The claims made by Aurańgzeb and the charges made by him were false and baseless. The position in the Bijāpūr court was none too happy. The nobles quarrelled among themselves and with the prime minister Khān Muhammad for the division of power. Aurańgzeb intrigued with them and succeeded in corrupting many of them. An envoy from Śivājī waited on Aurańgzeb proposing the terms on which the former was willing to cooperate with the Moghals by making a diversion in the Bijāpurī Koṅkaṇ. What was now needed was a pretext and Aurańgzeb declared war on Bijāpūr after receiving explicit instructions from the Emperor. Śāh Jahān instructed his son to conquer the whole of the Bijāpūr kingdom, and if that was not possible to annex that portion of the old Ahmadnagar kingdom which had been ceded to Bijāpūr by the treaty of 1636. The war, thus declared, was wholly unjustified. It was the result of the utter helplessness of the boy king of Bijāpūr and the discord

**CHAPTER 9.**
**The Moghals in Maharashtra.**

SHAH JAHAN.

War with Golconda and Bijapur.

among his officers. Mir Jumlā was put in command of the expedition. Aurańgzeb, who had a perfect understanding with Mir Jumlā, left Aurańgābād on 18th January 1657. In March 1657 he reduced Bidar after a short siege. Aurańgzeb visited the city and fort and had the Emperor's titles publicly read out from the pulpit of the grand mosque built by the Bahamanī *Sultāns* two centuries earlier. He now learnt that a large Bijāpurī army was being mobilised near Gulburgā. Aurańgzeb sent a force of 15,000 under Mahābat Khān to punish the Bijāpurī force and ravage the Bijāpurī territory up to Kalyāṇī in the west and Gulburgā in the south. After some stiff actions the Bijāpurī army was dispersed. The Moghal army now advanced to besiege Kalyāṇī. Aurańgzeb himself set out on 27th April 1657 and arrived before Kalyāṇī in a week's time. Kalyāṇī was immediately invested. The fort garrison kept up a ceaseless fire from the walls and carried out sorties on the Moghal camp. A Bijāpurī army of 30,000 had assembled a few miles away from the Moghal camp. Aurańgzeb decided to attack it. He circulated a false report that he would march towards Bhālkī to secure provision. He actually marched with his main body of troops towards the enemy's positions. The attack from the heavily armed Moghal army broke the enemy lines and the Bijāpurī army fled in confusion. The siege was now pressed with vigour. In the meanwhile the forts of Nilańgā and Ciñcolī were reduced. At last the end of the siege was in sight. The Moghals demolished the parapets by artillery fire and swarmed into the fort regardless of the resistance from the garrison. The fort fell to the Moghals on 1st August 1657. Aurańgzeb was planning further advance in Bijāpūr territory when he received instructions from the emperor Śāh Jahān to negotiate peace with Bijāpūr. The emperor's health was now failing and rumours had spread about his death. Aurańgzeb was now more interested in his future rather than the fortunes of the war. He arranged peace with Bijāpūr which agreed to cede, besides the two captured forts of Bidar and Kalyāṇī, the fort of Pareṇḍā, certain other forts in the Koṅkaṇ, and the region of Wangi. With the conclusion of peace he returned to Aurańgābād to contest his succession to the throne. The Bijāpurīs now emboldened by the sudden withdrawal of the imperial army failed to keep the terms of agreement. They attacked Moghal parties wherever they could find them. Their general Afzal Khān with a large army crossed the Binathora river and advanced to recover the Kalyāṇī and Bidar districts. Worst of all, they intercepted near Naḷdurg, Aurańgzeb's dispatches to Mir Jumlā wherefrom they learnt the truth about Śāh Jahān's serious illness. In the meanwhile Mir Jumlā who had gone to take delivery of the fort of Pareṇḍā according to the terms of the treaty failed in his mission. The Bijāpurīs even refused to pay the war indemnity. Aurańgzeb now thought of inviting Mir Jumlā to his side to help in preparing for the ensuing war of succession. He sent a conciliatory letter to Ādil Śāh agreeing that "the fort of Pareṇḍā and its dependent territories, the Koṅkan and the *Mahāl* of Wangi which have been

annexed to the empire, together with that portion of the Karnāṭak which had been granted to the late Ādil Śāh should be left to you as before and out of your promised indemnity of one crore of rupees, thirty lakhs are remitted." He also urged Ādil Śāh "to protect the country, improve its administration, expel Śivājī who had sneaked into the possession of some forts of the land" and also promised him that he would not accept the offer of Śahājī or the sons of Bahlol Khān and other officers of his to enter "my service". Aurańgzeb also conciliated the *Sultān* of Golconḍā to whom he had previously written that "you do not keep your promises but are listening to wicked and ruinous advice. I cannot save you." Now Aurańgzeb's own needs forced him to adopt a gentler tone. He instructed his envoy at the court of Golconḍā not to pain the *Sultān's* mind about realising the tribute due and wrote to him during his northward march urging him to guard the frontiers of Moghal Karnāṭak from mischievous persons and not to encroach upon the imperial territory. It was during the period of Moghal operations against the kingdoms of Golconḍā and Bijāpūr that the Marāṭhās had their first brush with the Moghals. Śivājī took the opportunity of Aurańgzeb's involvement with Bijāpūr and surprised Junnar. He also carried many raids in the Moghal territory of Ahmadnagar. He wrote to Aurańgzeb promising loyalty provided his requests for confirmation of his possessions were granted. To this, Aurańgzeb sent a conciliatory reply. But his mind was not really composed about the Marāṭhās. He omitted no precaution to maintain peace in that quarter. Aurańgzeb now became aware of the threat that Śivājī posed to his western flank. He made adequate preparations to meet it. He posted Kārtalab Khān near Junnar, Abdul Munim at Gaḍh Namunā (Karde, Nimone), Huśdār Khān at Cāmbhargondā and Rāisin and Nasiri Khān and some other officers at Bīḍ and Dhārur. These officers were ordered to ravage the enemy territory. But operations became difficult due to the approach of the rainy season. With the submission of Bijāpūr, Śivājī thought it prudent to end the fighting[1].

---

1 This is how the Muslim historians trace the rise of *Chhatrapati* Shivaji to power :

**Beginning of the troubles with Sivaji**

Inow relate what I have heard from trusty men of the Dakhin and of the Mahratta race about the origin and race of the reprobate Sivaji. His ancestors owe their origin to the line of the *Ranas* of Chitor. In the tribe of the Rajputs, and among all Hindus, it is the settled opinion, that to have a son by a woman of a different caste, or to beget one upon a slave-girl (*kaniz*) is wrong and censurable. But if in youth when the passions are strong a man should have a son by a strange woman, he should take him into his house and have him brought up among his confidential handmaids and slaves. But nothing descends to such a son on the death (of the father). Even if the mother of the child is of a better stock than the father, she cannot marry him unless she be of the same tribe. If through love, a man consorts with such a woman, and has a son, the child is looked upon with great disdain, he is brought up as a bastard, and can only marry with one like himself. If a woman of the merchant caste goes into the house of a man of lower caste than herself or the daughter of a *brahman* consorts with a *khatri*, every child that is born is looked upon as a slave (*kaniz o ghulam*)

**CHAPTER 9.** *contd.*

**The Moghals in Maharashtra.**

(RISE OF CHHATRAPATI SHIVAJI).

It is said that one of the ancestors of Sivaji, from whom he received the name of Bhoslah, dwelt in the country of the *Rana*. He formed a connexion with a woman of inferior caste, and, according to the custom of his tribe, he took the woman to himself without marriage. She bore him a son. Reflecting upon this disgrace to himself and tribe, he kept the child concealed in the hills in that position of life which he had determined for him. There he secretly brought him up. He was very devoted to the woman; so that, although his father and mother wished him to marry a woman of his own tribe, he would not consent. When the cup of his affection ran over, and the fact of this maintenance of his child was the common talk of friends and strangers, he secretly took the boy from the place where he had concealed him, and carried him off along with his mother to the Dakhin. Although he falsely gave out that his son was by a woman of his own tribe, no Rajput of pure race would allow of any matrimonial connexion with the boy. So he was obliged to marry the lad to a girl of the Mahratta tribe, which also claims to belong to an obscure class of Rajputs. From this good stock, in the seventh or eighth generation, was born Sahu Bhoslah. The origin of the name Bhoslah, according to the commonly-received opinion, is from the Hinduwi word "*ghoslah*" meaning "place", or a very small and narrow place; and as that man was brought up in such a place, he received the name of Bhoslah. But I have heard a different explanation.

After the dominions of the *Nizamu-l Mulk* dynasty had passed into the possession of Shah Jahan, and that Emperor had entered into friendly relations with 'Ad'il Khan of Bijapur, the latter proposed to exchange certain districts in the neighbourhood of Khujista-bunyad (Aurangabad), and belonging to Bijapur for the ports of Jiwal, Babal Danda Rajpuri and Chakna in the Kokan, which had formerly appertained to *Nizamu-l Mulk*, but had been taken possession of by 'Adil Shah as being in proximity with his territory in the Kokan known by the name of Tal Kokan. These districts consisted of jungles and hills full of trees. The proposal was accepted and both Kokans were included in the territory of 'Adil Khan of Bijapur. **

Mulla Ahmad, an adherent of the Bijapur dynasty, who was descended from an Arab immigrant held three *parganas* in this country. ** At this time two *parganas*, named Puna and Supa became the *jagir* of Sahu Bhoslah. Sivaji became the manager of these two *parganas* on the part of his father, and looked carefully after them. He was distinguished in his tribe for courage and intelligence; and for craft and trickery he was reckoned a sharp son of the devil, the father of fraud. In that country, where all the hills rise to the sky and the jungles are full of trees and bushes, he had an inaccessible abode. Like the *zamindars* of the country, he set about erecting forts on the hills, and mud forts, which in the Hinduwi dialect of the Dakhin are called *garhi*.

'A dil Khan of Bijapur was attacked by sickness, under which he suffered for a long time, and great confusion arose in his territory. At this time Mulla Ahmad went with his followers to wait upon the Emperor Shah Jahan, and Sivaji seeing his country left without a ruler, boldly and wickedly stepped in and seized it with the possessions of some other *jagirdars*. This was the beginning of that system of violence which he and his descendants have spread over the rest of the Kokan and all the territory of the Dakhin. Whenever he heard of a prosperous town, or of a district inhabited by thriving cultivators, he plundered it and took possession of it. Before the *jagirdars* in those troublous times could appeal to Bijapur, he had sent in his own account of the matter, with presents and offerings, charging the *jagirdars* or proprietors with some offence which he had felt called upon to punish, and offering to pay some advanced amount for the lands on their being attached to his own *jagir*, or to pay their revenues direct to the Government. He communicated these matters to the officials at Bijapur, who in those disturbed times took little heed of what any one did. So when the *jagirdar's* complaint arrived, he obtained no redress, because no one took any notice of it. The country of the Dakhin was never free from commotions and outbreaks so the officials, the *raiyats*, and the soldiery, under the influence of surrounding circumstances, were greedy, stupid, and frivolous; thus they applied the axe to their feet with their own hands, and threw their wealth and property to the winds. The greed of the officials increased, especially in those days when the authority of the rulers was interrupted or their attention diverted. In accordance with the wishes of this disturber, the reins of authority over that country fell into his hands, and he at length became the most notorious of all the rebels.

He assembled a large force of Mahratta robbers and plunderers, and set about reducing fortresses. The first fort he reduced was that of Chandan. After that he got possession of some other fortresses which were short of supplies, or were in charge of weak and inexperienced commandants. Evil days fell upon the kingdom of Bijapur in the time of Sikandar 'Ali 'Adil Khan the Second, whose legitimacy was questioned, and who ruled when a minor as the *locum tenes* of his father. The operations of Aurangzeb against that country when he was a prince in the reign of his father brought great evil upon the country, and other troubles also arose.

*contd.*

Sivaji day by day increased in strength, and reduced all the forts of the country so that in course of time he became a man of power and means. He had drawn together a large force, and attacked the Kings of Hind and of Bijapur, and protected by mountains and jungles full of trees, he ravaged and plundered in all directions far and wide. The inaccessible forts of Rajgarh and Chakna were his abodes, and he had secured several islands in the sea by means of a fleet which he had formed. He built several forts also in those parts, so that altogether he had forty forts all of which were well supplied with provisions and munitions of war. Boldly raising his standard of rebellion, he became the most noted rebel of the Dakhin.

### Sivaji murders Afzal Khan Bijapuri

When Sikandar 'Ali Adil Khan came to years of discretion and took the Government into his own hands, he wrote letters to Sivaji, but without effect. He then sent Afzal Khan with a large army to chastise the rebel. Afzal Khan was one of Adil Khan's most distinguished and courageous officers, and he pressed Sivaji hard. The truculent rebel, knowing that he could gain nothing by regular warfare artfully sent some of his people to express his repentance, and to beg forgiveness of his offences. After some negotiation, the deceitful *brahmans* made an agreement that Sivaji should come to wait upon Afzal Khan at a certain place under his fortress with only three or four servants and entirely without arms. Afzal Khan likewise was to proceed in a *palki* with four or five servants, and without arms, to the place agreed upon under the fort. After Sivaji had paid his respects, and verbal agreements had been made, he was to receive a *khil'at* and then be dismissed. When Afzal Khan had taken the proffered tribute and *peshkash*, Sivaji was to entertain him, and speed him on his way back to Bijapur, or rather he would attend him thither in person upon an assurance of reconciliation.

The designing rascal by sending various presents and fruits of the country, and by his humbleness and submission, conciliated Afzal Khan, who fell into the snare, believing all his false deceiving statements, and observing none of that caution which the wise commend. Without arms he mounted the *palki*, and proceeded to the place appointed under the fortress. He left all his attendants at the distance of a long arrow-shot. Then the deceiver came down on foot from the fort, and made his appearance with manifestations of humility and despair. Upon reaching the foot of the hill, after every three or four steps, he made a confession of his offences, and begged forgiveness in abject terms and with limbs trembling and crouching. He begged that the armed men and the servants who had accompanied Afzal Khans' litter should move farther off. Sivaji had a weapon called in the language of the Dakhin *bichua*, on the fingers of his hand hidden under his sleeve, so that it could not be seen. He had concealed a number of armed men among the trees and rocks, all about the hill, and he had placed a trumpeter on the steps, to whom he said. "I intend to kill my enemy with this murderous weapon; the moment you see me strike, do not think about me, but blow your trumpet and give the signal to my soldiers". He had given orders to his troops also that as soon as they heard the blast of the trumpet, they should rush out and fall upon the men of Afzal Khan and do their best to attain success.

Afzal Khan, whom the angel of doom had led by the collar to that place, was confident in his own courage, and saw Sivaji approach unarmed and fearing and trembling. He looked upon his person and spirit as much alike, so he directed all the men who had accompanied his litter to withdraw to a distance. The treacherous foe then approached and threw himself weeping at the feet of Afzal Khan, who raised his head, and was about to place the hand of kindness on his back and embrace him. Sivaji then struck the concealed weapon so fiercely into his stomach that he died without a groan. According to his orders, the trumpeter blew a blast of triumph to arouse the concealed troops. Men on horse and foot then rushed forth in great numbers on all sides, and fell upon the army of Afzal Khan killing, plundering and destroying. The bloodthirsty assassin rushed away in safety and joined his own men, whom he ordered to offer quarter to the defeated troops. He obtained possession of the horses, elephants, treasure, and all the baggage and stores. He proposed to take the soldiers into his service, and gained them over. Then, as usual, he went on collecting stores and men.

'Adil Khan of Bijapur, on hearing of this defeat, sent another army against Sivaji under the command of Rustam Khan, one of his best generals. An action was fought near the fort of Parnala, and Rustam Khan was defeated. In fine, fortune so favoured this treacherous worthless man, that his forces increased, and he grew more powerful every day. He erected new forts, and employed himself in settling his own territories, and in plundering those of Bijapur. He attacked the caravans which came from distant parts, and appropriated to himself the goods and the women,

CHAPTER 9. *contd.*

**The Moghals in Maharashtra.**

(RISE OF CHHATRAPATI SHIVAJI).

But he made it a rule that wherever his followers went plundering, they should do no harm to the mosques, the Book of God, or the women of any one. Whenever a copy of the sacred Kuran came into his hands, he treated it with respect, and gave it to some of his Musulman followers. When the women of any Hindu or Muhammadan were taken prisoners by his men, and they had no friend to protect them, he watched over them until their relations came with a suitable ransom to buy their liberty. Whenever he found out that a woman was a slave-girl, he looked upon her as being the property of her master, and appropriated her to himself. He laid down the rule that whenever a place was plundered, the goods of poor people *pul-siyah* (copper money), and vessels of brass and copper, should belong to the man who found them ; but other articles, gold and silver coined or uncoined, gems, valuable stuffs and jewels, were not to belong to the finder, but were to be given up without the smallest deduction to the officers, and to be by them paid over to Sivaji's government.

### March of Amiru-l umara to punish Sivaji

When Aurangzeb was informed of Sivaji's violence, he directed *Amiru-l umara* who was *Subadar* of the Dakhin, to punish and put him down. *Amiru-l umara* marched, in accordance with these orders, from Aurangabad at the end of *Jumada awwal*, 1070 (end of January, 1660 A.D.) and marched towards Puna and Chakna which in those days were Sivaji's places of abode and security. He left Mumtaz Khan in command at Aurangabad, and on the 1st *Rajab* arrived at the village of Seoganw, belonging to Sivaji. At this time Sivaji was at the town of Supa, but upon hearing of *Amiru-l umara's* movements, he vacated that place, and went of in another direction. *Amiru-l umara* took Supa without opposition, and left Jadu Rai there to take charge of it, and to provide supplies of corn for the army. The daring freebooter Sivaji ordered his followers to attack and plunder the baggage of *Amiru-l umara's* army wherever they met with it. When the *Amir* was informed of this he appointed 4,000 horse, under experienced officers, to protect the baggage. But every day, and in every march, Sivaji's Dakhinis swarmed round the baggage and falling suddenly upon it like Cossacks, they carried off horses, camels, men and whatever they could secure, until they became aware of the approach of the troops. The Imperial forces pursued them, and harassed them, so that they lost courage, and giving up fighting for flight, they dispersed. At length they reached Puna and Sivapur, two places built by that dog (Sivaji). The Imperial forces took both these places and held them.

Then the royal armies marched to the fort of Chakna, and after examining its bastions and walls, they opened trenches, erected batteries, threw up intrenchments round their own position, and began to drive mines under the fort. Thus having invested the place, they used their best efforts to reduce it. The rains in that country last nearly five months, and fall night and day, so that people cannot put their heads out of their houses. The heavy masses of clouds change day into night, so that lamps are often needed, for without them one man cannot see another one of a party. But for all the muskets were rendered useless, the powder spoilt and the bows deprived of their strings, the siege was vigorously pressed, and the walls of the fortress were breached by the fire of the guns. The garrison were hard pressed and troubled, but in dark nights they sallied forth into the trenches and fought with surprising boldness. Sometimes the forces of the freebooter on outside combined with those inside in making a simultaneous attack in broad day light, and placed the trenches in great danger. After the siege had lasted fifty or sixty days a bastion which had been mined was blown up, and stones, bricks and men flew into the air like pigeons. The brave soldiers of Islam, trusting in God, and placing their shields before them, rushed to the assault and fought with great determination. But the infidels had thrown up a barrier of earth inside the fortress, and had made intrenchments and places of defence in many parts. All the day passed in fighting, and many of the assailants were killed. But the brave warriors disdained to retreat, and passed the night without food or rest amid the ruins and the blood. As soon as the sun rose, they renewed their attacks, and after putting many of the garrison to the sword, by dint of great exertion and resolution they carried the place. The survivors of the garrison retired into the citadel. In this assault 300 men of the royal army were slain, besides sappers and others engaged in the work of the siege. Six or seven hundred horse and foot were wounded by stones and bullets, arrows and swords. The men in the citadel being reduced to extremity, sent Rao Bhao Singh to make terms, and then surrendered. Next day *Amiru-l umara* entered and inspected the fortress, and having left Uzbek Khan in command of it, he marched after Sivaji. After a time he gave the name of Islamabad to Chakna and called Jaffar Khan from Malwa to his assistance. *Amiru-l umara* reported that the fort of Parenda had been won without fighting. *Muntakhabu-l Lubab* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, pp. 254—263.

AURANGZEB.

The story of the Moghal war of succession and the ultimate triumph of Aurańgzeb need not detain us here. Suffice it to say that he destroyed his brothers, deposed his father and ascended the throne on 21st July 1658 under the title of Abul Muzaffar Muhiuddin Muhammad Aurańgzeb Bahādur Ālamgīr Pādiśāh Ghāzī.

Soon after, he sent Śāyastā Khān as his viceroy to the Deccan in 1659. Meanwhile Ali Ādil Śāh who had realised the necessity of subduing Śivājī sent Afzal Khān with a large force against him. Śivājī's encounter with Afzal Khān and the death of the latter on 10th November 1659 is well known. Śivājī destroyed the Bijāpūr army which had been led by Afzal Khān. The Marāṭhās poured into south Koṅkan and the Kolhāpūr district. They captured the forts of Panhālā[1], Pāvangaḍ and Vasantgaḍ and descended into the Koṅkaṇ which they occupied. However, early in 1660 Ali Ādil Śāh personally led a campaign against Śivājī and captured Panhāḷā and Pāvangaḍ. Though Śivājī did not take the field in person against Ali Ādil Śāh, his raids in the Koṅkaṇ continued unabated.

War with Shivaji and Treaty of Purandar.

In the meanwhile Śāyastā Khān, the Moghal viceroy, had captured Cākaṇ (August 1660) and taken up his quarters in Puṇe. He had also secured the surrender of the fort of Parenḍā from Bijāpūr in 1660. The war with Śivājī continued until the night attack on Śāyastā Khān by Śivājī on 5th April 1663 which resulted in the recall of Śāyastā Khān by Aurańgzeb, and the appointment of prince Muāzzam to the Deccan[2]. The

---

[1] A brief description of the fort is given below:—

Panhala Fort crowns one of the tops of the Panhala spur of the Sahyadris, about twelve miles to the north-west of the Kolhapur-Ratnagiri road. The Panhala uplands are 2,772 feet above the sea and about 1,300 feet above the Kolhapur plain, and the hill top which the Panhala fort crowns rises about 275 feet above the uplands. The fort is about four and a half miles in circumference. For about half the distance it is protected by a scarp thirty to fifty feet high which in places is strengthened by a loopholed parapet wall. For the remaining half the fort is surrounded by a strong stone wall fifteen to thirty feet thick at the top and with bastions at convenient distances for carrying guns. The fort was entered through three magnificent double gateways which were reached from the table and by long flights of stone steps. Of these three gateways *Char Darvaja* has been destroyed and third *Tin Darvaja* and *Wagh Darvaja* are still entire and are finely built with much light tracery on the door posts and architrave. About forty-six yards from the third gateway a breach about forty yards long marks the spot where the British troops forced an entrance when the fort was held by insurgents in 1844. North of the fort with a gorge about ninety yards wide is a natural basin, whose entrance is guarded by two large raised platforms. Two unfailing reservoirs and many pure springs afford an ample water supply.

[2] The details of Shayista Khan's campaign against Shivaji are given below:

**Shivaji surprises Shayista Khan at Puna.**

The *Amiru-l umara* (Shayista Khan), after taking several forts and strong places, proceeded to Puna, and lodged there in a house which had been built by that hell-dog Sivaji. From thence he sent out detachments to destroy the power of Sivaji, and to make him prisoner. A regulation had been made that no person, especially no Mahratta, should be allowed to enter the city or the lines of the army without a pass, whether armed or unarmed, excepting persons in the Imperial service. No Mahratta horseman was taken into the service. Sivaji, beaten and dispirited, had retired into mountains difficult of access, and was continually changing his position. One day

**CHAPTER 9.**

**The Moghals in Maharashtra.**

AURANGZEB.

War with Shivaji and Treaty of Purandar.

sack of Surat by Śivājī in January 1664 affected Aurañgzeb deeply. He ordered Mīrzā Rājā Jaisiñgh to the Deccan. Arriving at Puṇe in March 1665, Jaisiñgh opened a vigorous campaign against Śivājī. Within three months Śivājī was forced to agree to a treaty the terms of which were severe[1]. The terms of the treaty of Purandar (June 1665) were as under:—

(a) That 23 of his forts should be annexed to the empire and (b) that 12 of his forts including Rājgaḍ with an annual revenue of 1 lakh of *hons* should be left to Śivājī on condition of service

*contd.*

a party of Mahrattas, who were serving as foot-soldiers, went to the *kotwal* and applied for a pass to admit 200 Mahrattas, who were accompanying a marriage party. A boy dressed up as a bridegroom, and escorted by a party of Mahrattas with drums and music, entered the town early in the evening. On the same day another party was allowed to enter the town on the report that a number of the enemy had been made prisoners at one of the outposts, and that another party was bringing them in pinioned and bare-headed, holding them by ropes and abusing and reviling them as they went along. They proceeded to the place agreed upon, where the whole party met and put on arms. At midnight they went to the cook-house, which was near the women's apartments. Between the two there was a small window stopped up with mud and bricks. They proceeded by a way well known to them and got into the kitchen. It was the month of the fast. Some of the cooks were awake, and busy in preparing the vessels for cooking, and others were asleep. The assailants approached noiselessly, and as far as they were able, they attacked and killed unawares those who were awake. Those who were asleep they butchered as they lay. So no great alarm was raised. They then quickly set to work about opening the closed window in the palace. The noise of their pickaxes and the cries of the slaughtered men awoke a servant who was sleeping in a room next to the wall of the cook-house. He went to the *Amiru-l umara* (Shayista Khan), and informed him of what he had heard. The *Amir* scolded him, and said that it was only the cooks who had got up to do their work. Some maid-servants then came, one after another to say that a hole was being made through the wall. The *Amir* then jumped up in great alarm, and seized a bow, some arrows, and a spear. Just then some Mahrattas came up in front, and the *Amir* shot one with an arrow; but he got up to the *Amir*, and cut off his thumb. Two Mahrattas fell into a reservoir of water, and *Amirul-umara* brought down another with his spear. In the midst of the confusion two slave girls took Shayista Khan, *Amiru-l umara*, by the hand, and dragged him from the scene of strife to a place of safety. A number of Mahrattas got into the guard-house, and killed every one they found on his pillow, whether sleeping or awake, and said: "This is how they keep watch!" Some men got into the *nakar-khana*, and in the name of the *Amiru-l umara* ordered the drums to be beaten; so such a din was raised that one man could not hear another speak, and the noise made by the assailants grew higher. They closed the doors. Abu-l Fath Khan, son of Shayista Khan, a brave young man, rushed forward and killed two or three men, but was himself wounded and killed. A man of importance, who had a house behind the palace of the *Amiru-l-umara*, hearing the outcry, and finding the doors shut, endeavoured to escape by a rope-ladder from a window; but he was old and feeble, and somewhat resembled Shayista Khan. The Mahrattas mistook him for the *Amiru-l umara*, killed him and cut off his head. They also attached two of the *Amir's* women. One of them was so cut about that her remains were collected in a basket which served for her coffin. The other recovered, although she had received thirty or forty wounds. The assailants gave no thought to plundering but made their way out of the house and went off.

In the morning Raja Jaswant who was commander of *Amiru-l-umara's* supports came in to see the *Amir*, and make his apology; but that high born noble spoke not a word beyond saying, "I thought the Maharaja was in His Majesty's service when such an evil befell me." When this occurrence was reported to the Emperor, he passed censure both upon the *Amir* and Raja Jaswant. The *Subadari* of the Dakhin and the command of the forces employed against Sivaji was given to Prince Muhammad Muazzam. The *Amiru-l umara* was recalled, but a subsequent order sent him to be *Subadar* of Bengal. Maharaja Jaswant was continued as before among the auxiliary forces under the Prince.—*Munta khabu-l-Lubab* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, pp. 269-71.

1. The details of this campaign are as under:

. Raja Jai Singh proceeded to his command and paid his respects to Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam at Aurangabad. He then went to Puna, and having arranged the affairs of that district, he employed himself in distributing the forces under his

War with Shivaji and Treaty of Purandar.

and loyalty to the imperial throne. Śīvājī however begged to be excused from attending the imperial court and proposed to send his son, as his representative with a contingent of 5,000 horse. Śivājī promised Jaisiṅgh that "Whenever in your wars in the Deccan, I am given any military duty, I shall promptly perform it." The other terms of the agreement included an undertaking by Śivājī that, "If lands yielding 4 lakhs of *hons* a year in the lowlands of Koṅkaṇ and 5 lakhs of *hons* a year in the uplands (Bālāghāṭ-Bijāpūr) are granted to me by the emperor, and I am assured by an imperial *farmān* that the possession of these lands will be confirmed on me after the expected Moghal conquest of Bijāpūr, then I agree to pay to the emperor 40 lakhs of *hons* in 13 yearly instalments." This engagement was thus conditional and in return for the fulfilment of the terms stipulated. Śivājī agreed to assist the Moghals in their invasion of Bijāpūr with 2,000 cavalry from his son Sambhājī's *mansab*, and 7,000 expert infantry under his own command.

War with Bijapur.

It may be mentioned here that when Auraṅgzeb dispatched Mirzā Rājā Jaisiṅgh to the Deccan, he was ordered to punish both Śivājī and Bijāpūr, to which Mirzā Rājā had replied that, "It would not be wise to attack both these fools at the same

---

*contd.*

command to ravage the country and attack the forts of the enemy. He himself proceeded to attack the forts of Purandhar and Rudar Mal, two of the most noted fortresses in the country, which had formerly belonged to *Nizamu-l Mulk*. The two forts were close to each other. Diler Khan was sent on in command of the advanced force. * * Diler Khan began the siege, and both the forts were invested. The garrison made vigorous defence. * * Jai Singh arrived, with his son Kesar Singh. * * After a bastion had been blown up on one side, a panic seized the defenders of the foot of the hill. The besiegers then attacked them and succeeded in making their way to the top of the hill, when the defenders called for quarter, which was granted to them by the Raja and Diler Khan. The two commandants waited upon Diler Khan and were sent to the Raja, who disarmed the garrison, and took possession of the forts. Eighty men, horsemen, infantry and sappers, were lost in the siege, and more than a hundred were wounded.

After the conquest of the two forts, Raja Jai Singh sent Daud Khan and * * with seven thousand horse to plunder and lay waste the country which Sivaji had won by force and violence. Great efforts were made on both sides, and for five months the Imperial forces never rested from harassing and fighting the enemy. At Sivapur, which was built by Sivaji, and at the forts of Kandana and Kanwarigarh, not one trace of cultivation was left, and cattle out of number were taken. But on the other hand, the sudden attacks by the enemy, their brilliant successes, their assaults in dark nights, their seizure of the roads and difficult passes, and the firing of the jungles full of trees, severely tried the Imperial forces, and men and beasts in great numbers perished. But the enemy also had suffered great loss and took to flight. The fort of Rajgarh, which Sivaji himself held, and the fort of Kandana, in which were his wife and his maternal relations, were both invested, and the besiegers pressed the garrisons hard. The roads on all sides were blockaded, and Sivaji knew that, however much he might desire it, he could not rescue his family and carry them to a place of safety. He also knew that if these strongholds were taken, his wife and family would be liable to suffer the consequences of his own evil deeds. Accordingly he sent some intelligent men to Raja Jai Singh, begging forgiveness of his offences, promising the surrender of several forts which he still held, and proposing to pay a visit to the Raja. But the Raja, knowing well his craft and falsehood, gave directions for pressing the attack more vigorously, until the intelligence was brought that Sivaji had come out of the fortress. Some confidential Brahmans now came from him and confirmed his expressions of submission and repentance with the most stringent oaths.

The Raja promised him security for his life and honour, upon condition of his going to wait on the Emperor and of agreeing to enter into his service. He also promised him the grant of a high *mansab*, and made preparations for suitably receiving him. Sivaji then approached with great humility. The Raja sent his *munshi* to receive him, and he also sent armed Rajputs to provide against treachery. The

**CHAPTER 9.**

**The Moghals in Maharashtra.**

AURANGZEB.

War with Bijapur.

time." Now having reduced Śivājī to the status of a vassal, the Mirzā Rājā turned his attention to the *Sultān* of Bijāpūr. The latter had failed to pay the stipulated indemnity agreed to under the terms of the treaty of 1657 and also, when Śāyastā Khān in 1660 had helped him by his diversionary tactics against Śivājī, to recover many of the forts he had lost to the latter. Though Ādil Śāh had sent an army under Khavās Khān to help Jaisiṅgh in his campaign against Śivājī, Jaisiṅgh could never free his mind from the fear of a treacherous move by these pretended allies. Jaisiṅgh openly charged the Bijāpurīs of fighting in a slack and half-hearted manner. Before opening the campaign against Bijāpūr Jaisiṅgh intrigued with the Bijāpūr nobility promising them enrolment in the Moghal peerage. The first to be seduced thus was Mullā Ahmad. Jaisiṅgh also tried to create a false sense of security at Bijāpūr by pretending to the Bijāpurī envoy that he had received no orders to invade Bijāpūr. He had been directed only to settle the longstanding question of unpaid tribute. In the meanwhile he made himself secure on the Golconḍā side by making friendly and conciliatory overtures to the *Sultān* of Golconḍā. With the diplomatic web thus subtly woven, Jaisiṅgh started on his campaign against Bijāpūr and moved, on 19th November 1665, from the foot of the Purandar

---

*contd.*

*munshi* carried a message to say that if Sivaji submitted frankly, gave up his forts, and consented to show obedience, his petition for forgiveness would be granted by the Emperor. If he did not accept these terms, he had better return and prepare to renew the war. When Sivaji received the message, he said with great humility that he knew his life and honour were safe if he made his submission. The Raja then sent a person of higher rank to bring him in with honour.

When Sivaji entered, the Raja arose, embraced him, and seated him near himself. Sivaji then, with a thousand signs of shame, clasped his hands and said, "I have come as a guilty slave to seek forgiveness, and it is for you either to pardon or to kill me at your pleasure. I will make over my great forts, with the country of the Kokan to the Emperor's officers, and I will send my son to enter the Imperial service. As for myself, I hope that after the interval of one year, when I have paid my respects to the Emperor, I may be allowed, like other servants of the State, who exercise authority in their own provinces, to live with my wife and family in a small fort or two. Whenever and wherever my services, are required, I will, on receiving orders, discharge my duty loyally." The Raja cheered him up, and sent him to Diler Khan.

After directions had been given for the cessation of the siege, seven thousand persons, men, women and children, came out of the fort. All that they could not carry away became the property of the Government, and the fort was taken possession of by the forces. Diler Khan presented Sivaji with a sword, and * * He then took him back to the Raja, who presented him with a robe, * * and renewed his assurances of safety and honourable treatment. Sivaji, with ready tact, bound on the sword in an instant, and promised to render faithful service. When the question about the time Sivaji was to remain under parole, and of his return home, came under consideration, Raja Jai Singh wrote to the Emperor, asking forgiveness for Sivaji and the grant of a robe to him, and awaited instructions. * * A mace-bearer arrived with the *farman* and a robe, * * and Sivaji was overjoyed at receiving forgiveness and honour.

A discussion then arose about the forts, and it was finally settled that out of the thirty-five forts which he possessed, the keys of twenty-three should be given up, with their revenues, amounting to ten *lacs* of *huns*, or forty *lacs* of rupees. Twelve small forts, with moderate revenues, were to remain in the possession of Sivaji's people. Sambha his son, a boy of eight years old, in whose name a *mansab* of 5,000 had been granted at *Raja* Jai Singh's suggestion, was to proceed to Court with the *Raja*, attended by a suitable retinue. Sivaji himself, with his family, was to remain in the hills, and endeavour to restore the prosperity of his ravaged country. Whenever he was summoned on Imperial service, he was to attend. On his being allowed to depart, he received a robe, horse, and. *-*Muntakhabu-l Lubab* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, pp. 272—75.

fort. The advance of the Moghal army up to Maṅgaḷveḍhā was one of uninterrupted triumph. The invaders had their first contact with the Bijāpurīs on 24th December 1665 when the Bijāpurī scouts fired their first rockets into the Moghal camp. The first battle was fought about ten miles from the imperial camp between the Moghal contingent under Diler Khān and Śivājī and the Bijāpūri army of 12,000 under Śārzā Khān and Khavās Khān. The Moghals won a victory and dispersed the enemy. On their march, however, they were attacked and incessantly pressed by the Bijāpurīs who inflicted heavy losses upon the imperialists. Jaisiṅgh resumed his march on 27th December. On the next day he had to fight a stiff action with the Bijāpurīs who tried to envelop the Moghal camp. On 29th December 1665 Jaisiṅgh arrived within 12 miles of Bijāpūr. Ādil Śāh's military preparations had been completed and a wise plan of combined defence and reprisal had been formed by the Bijāpurīs. They had assembled a force of 30,000 and had laid waste the country round Bijāpūr for a radius of six miles. The two tanks of Navraspūr and Śāhpūr were drained dry. Every tree in the environs was cut down so that "not a green branch or shade giving wall was left standing." A picked force under Śārzā Khān and Siddi Masud was sent to attack the imperial dominions. Jaisiṅgh's position was now rendered critical. He had also not called his heavy artillery from Pareṇḍā due to his rapid march to Maṅgaḷveḍhā, so that all chances of surprising Bijāpūr by a heavy barrage of artillery fire were lost. His council of war advised retreat. After a seven day's halt Jaisiṅgh began his retreat on 5th January 1666. He reached Sultānpūr on the Sinā on 27th and halted there for 24 days with the intention of renewing his attack against Bijāpūr. With this news the Bijāpurī force under Śārzā Khān joined the main Bijāpurī army under Abdul Muhammad. They pursued Jaisiṅgh. Disasters now befell the Moghal army. First a force under Sikandar conveying provisions and munitions to Jaisiṅgh was attacked and defeated by Śārzā Khān eight miles south of Pareṇḍā. Then Śivājī who had arrived in the Moghal camp at the start of the campaign with a contingent of troops (under the terms of the treaty of Purandar) failed in his attempt to capture Panhāḷā on 16th January 1666. On 20th came the evil news of Netājī's desertion to the Bijāpurīs. To add to the misfortunes of the Moghals, Qutb Śāh sent 12,000 cavalry and 40,000 infantry which joined the Bijāpurīs on 31st January 1666. The two armies now moved against Jaisiṅgh from two sides. The retreat of the Moghals was very slow. They had to fight sanguinary battles with the attacking enemy. The combined armies of Bijāpūr and Goḷcoṇḍā did not spare the imperial territory. This further demoralised the Moghals. The third stage of the war had now begun. Jaisiṅgh issued from his camp at Sultānpūr to check the advances of Bahlol Khān and Netājī in the lately annexed districts of Bidar and Kalyāṇī. The campaign was to end with his retreat to Bhoom early in June. During

**CHAPTER 9.**

**The Moghals in Maharashtra.**

AURANGZEB.

War with Bijapur.

this period Jaisiṅgh moved about in the small quadrilateral formed by the Bhīmā on the west and the Māñjrā on the east, the cities of Dhārur in the north and Tuḷjāpūr in the south. In the course of this campaign he fought four bloody and fruitless battles and captured such minor forts as Dhokī, Guñjautī and Nilaṅgā. The enemy was elusive. Though dispersed in the field he regrouped and cut off stragglers, weak foraging parties and stopped the arrival of supplies. Jaisiṅgh, therefore, in the middle of May, adopted a new plan of war by making his army more light and mobile so as to be capable of following the enemy till a crushing blow could be inflicted. On 16th May 1666 this light division started from Dhārur and encamped on the banks of the Bhīmā. But at this point the imperial army completely broke down and a retreat was decided upon. All gains of the campaign including Maṅgaḷveḍhā, Phalṭaṇ etc., were abandoned and the northward march began on 31st May 1666. Jaisiṅgh reached Auraṅgābād finally on 26th of November passing through Bhoom and Bīḍ[1] on the way.

---

[1] Details of the campaign against Bijapur are as under :—

**Campaign against Bijapur**

Raja Jai Singh, with Diler Khan and his other associates, in obedience to orders, marched against Bijapur. He took with him, as guides and assistants *Mulla* Yahya Bijapuri, Purdil Khan, Sivaji, and Nathuji, one of Sivaji's relations, who was his chief supporter, and for whom also a *mansab* of 5,000 had been proposed. His force amounted on paper (*kalami*) to 33,000 horse, but he had with him 25,000. Abul-Majd, grandson of Bahlol Khan, and one of the bravest of the nobles of Bijapur, separated from 'Adil Khan, and joined *Raja* Jai Singh, whom he assisted in subduing that country. The *Raja* acted in all matters upon his advice and he wrote to the Emperor recommending that a *mansab* of 5,000 and 4,000 horse should be settled upon him, which request was graciously acceded to. Forts belonging to Bijapur were taken by storm, or after a few days' siege, in all directions. Sivaji and Nathuji, with two thousand horse and eight or nine thousand infantry, showed great skill in taking forts, and won much fame. In the course of three or four weeks three forts, Mangal-pahra and others, were taken. (*Severe fighting.*).

At length, after two months fighting, the Imperial forces came to five *kos* distance from Bijapur. On the 2nd Rajab they began the investment of the city. 'Adil Khan being now closed in, directed his generals to enter the Imperial territory and lay it waste. Others were sent to oppose the *Raja* and attack his baggage. The embankments of the tanks were cut, poisonous matters and carrion were thrown into the wells, the trees and lofty buildings near the fortress were destroyed, spikes were fixed in the ground, and the gardens and houses on both sides of the city were so destroyed that not a trace of culture was left near the city ** Khwaja Neknam, a eunuch, joined Sharza Khan the commander of 'Adil Khan's army, with a reinforcement of 6,000 horse and 25,000 infantry from *Kutbu-l Mulk*. Every day there was severe fighting and the men and animals which went out from the Imperial army to forage were cut off. Diler Khan was present wherever danger was, but to recount all the combats which were fought would be long and tedious.**

Sivaji, with Nathuji and several thousand Imperial horse had been sent to reduce the fort of Parnala ; but after making some bold movements he was obliged to relinquish the attempt and proceeded to Khelna, one of his own forts. Nathuji, who had been corrupted by some of the Bijapur chiefs, separated from Sivaji, and went off along with them. The *Raja* called Sivaji to him, and treated him very courteously. At length, by the active exertions and clever management of Sivaji, several forts came into the possession of the royal forces. In accordance with Sivaji's own desire, and in performance of the promise made to him, under the Imperial orders he was sent off express with his son at the end of the month of *Ramazan* to Court. After the departure of Sivaji the siege of Bijapur was carried on for two months and a half longer, and there were many hard fights under the walls.

At the end of *Zi-l ka'da* the siege had gone on for eight months, during which neither cavalry nor infantry had rested. All round Bijapur for forty or fifty *kos* not a trace of grass or fodder was left. No supplies arrived, so the Imperial armies were

Unsuccessful in his campaign against Bijāpūr, Jaisiṅgh returned to Auraṅgābād. Muāzzam, whom Jaisiṅgh had succeeded as viceroy of the Deccan, returned once again in January 1667 as viceroy of the Deccan. Meanwhile Śivājī who had paid a visit to Agra[1] in May 1666 had escaped from the Moghal capital and was back again at Rājgaḍ[2]. Jaisiṅgh died at Burhāṅpūr in August 1667.

---

*contd.*

reduced to great straits. The *Raja* and Diler Khan therefore deemed it advisable to remove to the neighbourhood of Dharur, to have their wounded tended, to give rest to their troops, and to collect lead and powder. They also hoped to obtain there supplies of fodder and corn. A despatch to this effect was sent off to the Emperor. The Dakhinis also, inside the fortress, found their provisions drawing to an end, and their weapons expended or damaged. Both besiegers and besieged were therefore anxious for an arrangement. **When the despatch reached the Emperor, he issued an order directing his generals to cease operations against 'Adil Khan. Raja Jai Singh was directed to proceed to Aurangabad, and Diler Khan was recalled to Court.

**Siege of Bijapur raised**

*Raja* Jai Singh, in obedience to orders, raised the siege of Bijapur. Knowing that the forts which he had taken could not be held after his departure, through want of provisions on the inside, against the swarms of Dakhinis outside, he resolved to abandon them. He took out of them such guns as he could carry away. Then he gave the forts up to plunder, and afterwards set fire to them, and blew up the strong towers and walls. Then he proceeded to Aurangabad. Information now reached him of the flight of Sivaji and in obedience to the Imperial command, he arrested Nathuji and his son, and sent them to Court. **On arriving there, Nathuji was ordered to be kept under close surveillance. Seeing no other chance of escape, he expressed a wish to become a Musulman, which greatly pleased the Emperor. So he was initiated, and received a *mansab* of three thousand and two thousand horse with the title of Muhammad Kuli Khan. After some time, when he returned to the Dakhin with reinforcements for Diler Khan, he recanted, and seized an opportunity to join Sivaji.—*Muntakhabu-l Lubab* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, pp. 277—79 and 281-82.

Details of Shivaji's visit to Imperial Court are as under:

**Sivaji at the Imperial Court**

[1] *Raja* Jai Singh, in the war with Bijapur, to be described presently, had with the co-operation of Sivaji, done splendid service. After giving Sivaji every assurance of a kind and gracious reception, he made himself responsible for his safety, and sent him to Court. News of Sivaji's arrival was brought as the festival of the accession was being celebrated. It was ordered that Kunwar Ram Singh, son of *Raja* Jai Singh, with Mukhlis Khan, should go out to meet and conduct that evil malicious, fellow into Agra. On the 18th *Zi-l ka'da*, 1076 Sivaji and his son of nine years old had the honour of being introduced to the Emperor. He made an offering of 500 *ashrafis* and 6,000 rupees, altogether 30,000 rupees. By the royal command he was placed in the position of a *panj-hazari*. But his son, a boy of eight years, had privately been made a *panj-hazari*, and Nathuji, one of his relations who had rendered great service to *Raja* Jai Singh in his campaign against Bijapur, had been advanced to the same dignity, so that Sivaji had a claim to nothing less than the dignity of a *haft-hazari* (7,000). *Raja* Jai Singh had flattered Sivaji with promises; but as the *Raja* knew the Emperor to have a strong feeling against Sivaji, he artfully refrained from making known the promises he had held out. The *istikbal* or reception of Sivaji had not been such as he expected. He was annoyed and so, before the robe and jewels and elephant, which were ready for presentation to him, could be presented he complained to Ram Singh that he was disappointed. The Kunwar tried to pacify him, but without effect. When his disrespectful bearing came to the knowledge of the Emperor, he was dismissed with little ceremony, without receiving any mark of the Imperial bounty, and was taken to a house outside the city near to the house of *Raja* Jai Singh, as had been arranged by Kunwar Ram Singh. A letter was sent to *Raja* Jai Singh, informing him of what had passed, and Sivaji was forbidden to come to the Royal presence until the Raja's answer and advice should arrive. His son was ordered to attend the presence in the company of Ram Singh.—*Muntakhabu-l Lubab* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, pp. 276-77.

Details of Shivaji's escape are noted below:

**Sivaji's Escape**

[2]. After Sivaji returned angry and disappointed from the royal presence to his house, orders were given to the *kotwal* to place guards round it. Sivaji, reflecting upon his former deeds and his present condition, was sadly troubled by the state of his affairs. He thought of nothing else but of delivering himself by some crafty plan

CHAPTER 9.

**The Moghals in Maharashtra.**

AURANGZEB.

War with Bijapur.

The storm of foreign invasion having blown over, the Bijāpūr State showed a revival of power for some time. However, with the death of Ali Ādil Śāh II on 24th November 1672, the glory of Bijāpūr departed. Sikandar, a boy of 4, was now placed on the throne and the reign of selfish regents commenced. Khavās Khān seized power. The infancy of the king and the incapacity of the regent threw the monarchy into a decline and disturbances broke out on all sides. Śivājī made large conquests at the expense of Bijāpūr and the Moghals got a splendid opportunity to renew their war against Bijāpūr. Muāzzam was replaced as governor by Bahādur Khān who received orders from Aurańgzeb to invade Bijāpūr. The task was, however, beyond him as

---

*contd.*

from his perilous position. His subtle mind was not long in contriving a scheme. From the beginning he kept up a show of friendship and intimacy with the *amirs*, and with Kunwar Ram Singh. He sent them presents of Dakhin products, and, by expressing contrition for his past conduct, he won them over to advocate the acceptance of his shame and repentance.

Afterwards he feigned to be ill, and groaned and sighed aloud. Complaining of pains in the liver and spleen, he took to his bed, and as if prostrated with consumption or fever, he sought remedies from the physicians. For some time he carried on this artifice. At length he made known his recovery. He sent presents to his doctors and attendants, food to the *Brahmans*, and presents of grain and money to needy Musulmans and Hindus. For this purpose he had provided large baskets covered with paper. These being filled with sweetmeats of all sorts were sent to the houses of the *amirs* and the abodes of *fakirs*. Two or three swift horses were procured and under the pretence of being presents to *Brahmans*, they were sent to a place appointed fourteen *kos* from the city, in charge of some of his people, who were privy to his plans. A devoted companion, who resembled him in height and figure, took his place upon the couch, and Sivaji's gold ring was placed upon his hand. He was directed to throw a piece of fine muslin over his head, but to display the ring he wore upon his hand; and when any one came in, to feign to be asleep. Sivaji, with his son, got into two baskets, and were carried out, it being pretended that the baskets contained sweetmeats intended for the *brahmans* and *fakirs* of Mathura.

Thus on the last day of *Safar*, Sivaji got out of Agra, and proceeded to where his horses were posted. Thence, in the course of two watches, he reached Mathura. There he shaved off his beard and whiskers, and smeared his own and his son's face with ashes, and taking with him some jewels and gold, he went off with some of his confederates, who were also disguised as *fakirs*. He crossed the Jumna at an unfrequented ferry, and proceeded towards Benares, travelling in the night, and being guided by some swift Dakhini runners, whose business is to disguise themselves and travel in all directions. It is said that they carried sufficient money and jewels for their wants in hollow walking-sticks.

On the following day, at the fifth watch, a Dakhini runner, employed as a spy, brought information that Sivaji had got free and was making off. The *kotwal* was directed to make inquiry but he replied that the guards were at their posts round the house. Another spy confidently reported his escape. The *kotwal's* men went to see and they saw as they thought Sivaji asleep under his thin covering, and his ring distinctly visible. The *kotwal* reported accordingly. A third spy now strongly asseverated that Sivaji had escaped, and was forty or fifty *kos* away. A closer investigation revealed the fact of his escape. The *kotwal* and Kunwar Ram Singh were censured, and as Ram Singh was suspected of having prompted the evasion, he was deprived of his *mansab* and forbidden to come to Court. Orders were sent to the provincial governors, and to the officials in all directions, to search for Sivaji, and to seize him and send him to the Emperor.

*Raja* Jai Singh who just at this time had retired from Bijapur, and had arrived at Aurangabad, received orders to arrest Nathuji before the escape of Sivaji became public, and to send him to Court. After that he was to watch carefully for the bird escaped from the cage and not suffer him to re-establish himself in his old haunts and togather his followers around him. ** It is said that Sivaji made such expedition in his flight that no courier could have overtaken him. But his son Sambha, a boy of tender years, was with him, and he suffered so much from the rapid motion, that Sivaji left him behind at Allahabad, in charge of a *Brahman*, a man of high repute in that place, whose relations in the Dakhin had been closely connected with Sivaji's father. Sivaji placed a sum of money with the *Brahman* and commended the boy to

he had only the contingent of a provincial governor at his command. He, however, moved the seat of his government to Peḍgāṅv and decided to corrupt the Bijāpurī nobles and threaten war rather than actually invade Bijāpūr. In this task, the Moghal envoy Malik Barkhurdār succeeded beyond measure. Khavās Khān proposed peace with the Moghals by promising the hand of Sikandar's sister to one of Auraṅgzeb's sons and offering active co-operation with them in a campaign for the extirpation of Śivājī. Bahādur Khān was also eager to have a close alliance with the Bijāpurīs mainly with the object of suppressing Śivājī. He, therefore, advanced to the bank of the Bhīmā and met Khavās Khān. In the meanwhile the Afghāns

---

*contd.*

his care. He was not to part from him until he received a letter in Sivaji's own hand; and if he obtained certain intelligence of Sivaji's death, he was to act as he deemed best. *Muntakhabu-l Lubab* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, pp. 279—81.

Further details about Shivaji's escape and his subsequent activities are given below :—

**Escape of Sivaji**

Shivaji left Mathura after changing his clothes and shaving off his beard and whiskers, carrying with him his youthful son and forty or fifty individuals, servants and dependents, who all smeared their faces with ashes, and assumed the appearance of Hindu mendicants. The valuable jewels and the gold *mohurs* and the *huns* they carried with them were concealed in walking sticks which had been hollowed out for the purpose, and were covered at the top with knobs. Some was sewed up in old slippers and the wearers, pretending to be Hindu mendicants of three different classes, *Bairagis*, *Gosains* and *Udasis*, proceeded by way of Allahabad to Benares. One very valuable diamond with some rubies was encased in wax, and concealed in the dress of one of his followers, and other jewels were placed in the mouths of other attendants.

So they proceeded until they reached a place of which the *faujdar* 'Ali Kuli Khan had received private and public notice of Sivaji's escape. The *faujdar*, knowing of the escape of Sivaji, on hearing of the arrival of these three parties of Hindu devotees, ordered them all to be placed in confinement, and an inquiry to be made. All these men and some other travellers remained in confinement a night and a day. On the second night Sivaji, at the second watch of the night, proceeded alone to the *faujdar* in private, and acknowledged that he was Sivaji. But, said he, "I have two gems, a diamond and a ruby of great value, with more than a *lac* of rupees. If you secure me and send me back a prisoner, or if you cut off my head and forward that, the two priceless jewels will be lost to you. Here am I, and here is my head; but still, keep off thine hand from wretched me in this dangerous strait." Ali Kuli preferred the ready bribe to the hope of the reward which might afterwards accrue to him. He took the two valuable jewels, and on the following morning, after making inquiries, he released all the devotees and travellers from custody.

Sivaji, looking upon his escape as a new lease of life hastened to pursue his journey in the direction of Benares. He himself in rapid travelling and walking beat even the regular runners; but after reaching Allahabad, his young son Sambha, who accompanied him, was foot-sore and worn out. Sivaji therefore at Benares gave a quantity of jewels and money, and placed his boy in the charge of a *Brahman*, named Kabkalas, who was the hereditary family priest of his family, and who happened at that time to be at Benares. Sivaji promised that if he reached home alive, he would write to the *Brahman*, who was then to conduct the boy to his father by the road and in the manner prescribed in the letter. He warned him against listening to the wishes of the boy, or attending to letters from his mother. Having thus provided for the care of his boy, he continued his flight, * * and he had hardly entered Benares before the government messengers brought the news of Sivaji's escape. * * Sivaji then continued his flight by way of Bihar, Patna and Chanda, which is a thickly-wooded country and difficult of passage. Every 'place he came to, he and his followers changed their disguises, and so passed on from place to place secretly till he reached Haidarabad, and came to 'Abdu-llah Kutbu-l Mulk. There he told such stories and used such arts and wiles to forward his purpose that he deceived ' Abdullah Shah.

**CHAPTER 9.**
**The Moghals in Maharashtra.**
AURANGZEB.
War with Bijapur.

in the Bijāpūr army under Bahlol Khān II adopted a menacing attitude towards Khavās Khān who sought Bahādur Khān's help to suppress them. But Bahlol Khān forestalled this move. He seized Khavās Khān and himself assumed the office of the *Vazīr*. Bahlol Khān started posting his Afghān followers in all offices of the State by replacing the Deccanis with the result that great disorder broke out throughout the kingdom. One of the Deccanis stabbed Bahol Khān's chief adviser Khizr Khān Pannī on 12th January 1676. Bahlol Khān retaliated by murdering his helpless prisoner Khavās Khān. A civil war now openly broke out. Śārzā Khān, the Deccani noble was defeated by the Afghāns. He now took refuge with Bahādur Khān. Bahādur

---

*contd.*

**Conquests of Sivaji**

Sundry forts which had belonged to the Kutb-Shahi kings had passed into the hands of the 'Adil-Shahis. Sivaji had a great reputation for skill in the reduction of forts, and he swore to ' Abdu-lla Shah, that if he would supply him with forces and the means for conducting sieges, he would, in a short time, wrest these forts from the Bijapuris, and hand them over to the officers appointed to accompany him ; he would not even accept some forts which had belonged to himself, and were in the possession of the officers of Aurangzeb, if he recovered them by the means supplied him. He vowed also that for the remainder of his life he would remain the devoted servant and adherent of 'Abdu-llah Shah. The ultimate objects of the arch deceiver never entered into the consideration of 'Abdu-llah Shah. He provided a sufficient force and a suitable siege train, and he appointed to it several officers acquainted with siege operations, whom he enjoined to serve heartily in obedience to and in accord with Sivaji.

Sivaji, with the force placed under his command, marched on his enterprise. By fraud and stratagem, and by his marvellous skill in the conduct of sieges, every fort that he approached fell into his hands after a few days investment. He cajoled the officers who had been sent with him to take charge of the captured forts, with plausible statements, with promises of giving them the command of more important places, and by using the money and property he had obtained from the captured strongholds. So he carried them with him to other forts, and in a short time he reduced Sattara, Parnala, and ten or twelve other renowned forts belonging to Bijapur, which it would have taken years and *lacs* of expense to conquer. He then marched against Rajgarh, and other forts which had been captured by Raja Jai Singh, Diler Khan, and other Imperial generals, the keys of which he himself had surrendered. Having mastered them all, he placed one or two of them in charge of the officers of 'Abdu-llah Shah.

According to common report, and the oral statements of men of Haidarabad, Sivaji came to that city in the first or second year of the reign of Abu-l Hasan, and succeeded in wheedling and satisfying that sovereign. When he had finished his fortress taking, according to his wont, he took up his abode at Rajgarh, and there again raised the standard of rebellion. In the days when the fortifications of the port of Surat were not yet completed, he attacked and took the place. There he obtained an immense booty in gold and silver coined and uncoined, and in the stuffs of Kashmir, Ahmadabad and other places. He also made prisoners of some thousand Hindu men and women of name and station, and Musulmans of honourable position. *Krors* in money and goods thus came into the hands of that evil infidel.

Aurangzeb, on being informed of the capture and plunder of Surat, ordered that the fortifications of that port should be completed ; and he placed Diler Khan and Khan-Jahan in command of an army to punish Sivaji. It is said that Sivaji got together some ten or twelve thousand Kachh and Arab horses, so that when he sent out an army most of the horsemen were *bargirs*, i.e., they rode horses belonging to him. He rebuilt the forts which had formerly stood on the sea-shore, and he constructed also vessels of war, which were kept under the guns of the fortress. With these vessels he attacked and plundered ships which were proceeding to Europe and to Mecca.

When Sivaji had satisfied himself of the security of Rajgarh, his old retreat, and of the dependent territory, he turned his thoughts towards finding some other more inaccessible hill as a place for his abode. After diligent search he fixed upon the hill of Rahiri, a very high and strong place. The ascent of this place was three *kos*,

Khān supported the Deccanis and denounced the Afghān rule at Bijāpūr. He even entered into an alliance with Śivājī who had at this time captured Sātārā, Paraḷī, Kolhāpūr as also the north Canara region from the Bijāpurīs. He advanced with his Deccani allies and crossed the Bhīmā on 31st May 1676. A battle was fought between the allied forces and Bahlol Khān on

*contd.*
and it was situated twenty four *kos* from the sea; but an inlet of the sea was about seven *kos* from the foot of the hill. The road to Surat passed near the place, and that port was ten or twelve stages distant by land. Rajgarh was four or five stages off. The hills are very lofty and difficult of ascent. Rainfalls there for about five months in the year. The place was a dependency of the Kokan, belonging to *Nizamu-l Mulk*. Having fixed on the spot, he set about building his fort. When the gates and bastions and walls were complete and secure, he removed thither from Rajgarh, and made it his regular residence. After the guns were mounted, and the place made safe, he closed all the roads around, leaving only one leading to his fortress. One day he called an assembly, and having placed a bag of gold and a gold bracelet worth a hundred *pagodas* before the people, he ordered proclamation to be made that this would be given to any one who would ascend to the fort and plant a flag, by any other than the appointed road, without the aid of ladder or rope. A *Dher* came forward, and said that with the permission of the *Raja* he would mount to the top of the hill, plant the flag, and return. He ascended the hill, fixed the flag, quickly came down again, and made his obeisance. Sivaji ordered that the purse of money and the gold bracelet should be given to him, and that he should be set at liberty; and he gave directions for closing the way by which the *Dher* had ascended.

At the first, Rahiri was attached to the Kokan, and belonged to *Nizamu-l Mulk*. Afterwards this country and several of the dependencies of Bijapur passed into the possession of the Emperor Shah Jahan. When the Imperial government became friendly with Bijapur, the Kokan, which had belonged to *Nizamu-l Mulk*, was granted to 'Adil Shah in exchange for territory newly acquired by Bijapur. Fath Khan, an Afghan, was appointed governor of the country on the part of Bijapur, and he posted himself in the fort of Danda-Rajpuri, which is situated half in the sea and half on the land. Subsequently he built the fort of Jazira upon an island in the sea, about a cannon-shot distant from Danda-Rajpuri, in a very secure position, so that if the governor of the country was hard pressed by an enemy, he might have a secure retreat in that place.

After Sivaji had fixed his abode at Rahiri, which is twenty *kos* from Danda-Rajpuri, he appointed commandant of that fortress. In a short time, he reduced and occupied seven other forts, small and great, in that neighbourhood, and then resolved upon the conquest of Danda-Rajpuri. Fath Khan had observed the triumphant progress of Sivaji, and how fortress after fortress had fallen into his hands. So Fath Khan lost courage; he abandoned Danda-Rajpuri, and retired to the island fortress in the sea. Sivaji then resolved to effect the conquest of the island also, and he so conducted matters that Fath Khan was soon reduced to extremities, and he offered to surrender the place to Sivaji, upon pledge of security to himself and the garrison.

Fath Khan had in his service three Abyssinian slaves, Sidi Sambal, Sidi Yakut and Sidi Khairiyat, each of whom had ten Abyssinian slaves, which he had trained and drilled. The management of the island and of many domestic concerns was in the hands of these Abyssinians. These three men got information of the enemy's power, and of Fath Khan's intention of surrendering the island to Sivaji. They took counsel together, and resolved that no good could come from allowing the island to pass into the hands of any infidel. So they determined to take Fath Khan prisoner, and to make Sidi Sambal governor of the fortress. In the fourteenth year of the reign these Abyssinians seized Fath Khan unawares, placed chains upon his legs, and wrote a statement of the facts to 'Adil Shah Bijapuri. They also wrote to Khan-Jahan, the *Subadar* of the Dakhin, begging the aid of the Imperial forces, and requesting him to send his forces by sea from Surat. Khan-Jahan graciously bestowed *mansabs* and presents on each of the three Abyssinians.

Khan-Jahan also took measures to thwart the designs of Sivaji. He got together some ships at the fortress (of Surat), and began the rebuilding which had been ordered. Then he collected some ships of war with the intention of taking a cruise. One night he attacked the vessels of Sivaji which lay near the fort of Danda-Rajpuri, and captured them with two hundred sailors trained for warlike work. One hundred of them were Mahrattas, and had lately been appointed to this duty by Sivaji. Stones were tied to the feet of these men, and they were thrown into the sea. From that day forth the animosity between the Abyssinians and Sivaji grew more violent Sivaji collected forty or fifty vessels of war to defend the forts of Kalaba and Gandiri,

**CHAPTER 9.**

**The Moghals in Maharashtra.**

AURANGZEB.

War with Bijapur.

13th June 1676 in which the Moghals were worsted. Bahādur Khān escaped from this perilous position only by making terms with the Afghāns. He now moved on to Akkalkoṭ. He then laid siege to Naḷdurg. Bahlol Khān fought the Moghals six miles away from Naḷdurg. He inflicted heavy losses upon them and forced them to raise the siege. The Moghals now moved to

*contd.*

which were the strongest of his newly-built forts on the sea-shore. He then turned his thoughts to the reduction of the fort of Jazira (Jinjera), and the capture of the Abyssinians. There were frequent naval fights between the opposing forces, in which the Abyssinians were often victorious.

Sidi Sambal was advanced to a *Mansab* of 900, and then he died. Before he expired he made Sidi Yakut his successor, and enjoined all the other Abyssinians to pay him a loyal and cheerful obedience. Sidi Yakut was distinguished among his people for courage, benignity and dignity. He now strove more than ever to collect ships of war, to strengthen the fortress, and to ward off naval attacks. He was armed and ready night and day. He frequently captured ships of the enemy and cut off the heads of many Mahrattas, and sent them to Surat. He used to write reports to Khan-Jahan, and he frequently received marks of approbation from him. He was constantly revolving in his mind plans for wresting the fort of Danda-Rajpuri from the hands of Sivaji. He got together some rockets, which he fastened to trees, and discharged them at night against the fort.

Sivaji also was prosecuting his plans for the reduction of Jazira. But he now retired to a dwelling about three *kos* to celebrate the *holi*, leaving in command at Rajpuri some officers experienced in siege work, to prosecute incessantly the operations against Jazira during his absence, and he held out to them the reward of a *man* of gold and other presents. One night, while the garrison of Danda-Rajpuri were celebrating the *holi*, and were intoxicated or inattentive, Sidi Yakut sent on shore four or five hundred men under Sidi Khairiyat with ropes, ladders and other apparatus. He himself drew thirty or forty boats laden with siege material under the walls of Rajpuri, and gave the signal agreed upon to announce his arrival. They found the garrison off their guard, and Sidi Khairiyat assaulted the place with loud cries from the land side. When the enemy took the alarm, and rushed to repel the attack on that side, Sidi Yakut planted his scaling-ladders, which he had brought in his boats, and by means of these and of ropes his brave followers scaled the walls, and quickly made their way up. Some of the assailants were cast into the sea, and were drowned, others fell under the swords of the defenders, but the storming party forced its way into the fort, and raised the cry, "Strike kill". Just at this time the powder magazine caught fire, and blew up a number of men, including ten or twelve who were with Sidi Yakut. The smoke and the noise made it difficult to distinguish friend from foe, but Sidi Yakut raised his war-cry, and encouraged his men to slaughter the defenders who had escaped the fire. Sidi Khairiyat also scaled the walls on his side, and the place was taken.

I, the author, was in that country some time and I repeatedly heard from many men, and from the mouth of Yakut Khan himself that when the magazine blew up, although Sivaji was twenty *kos* off, it awoke him from sleep, and he said that some misfortune had fallen on Danda-Rajpuri, and he sent men to ascertain what had happened.

At this time Sivaji's forces had gone to attack the neighbourhood of Surat. Within the space of four or five *kos* from Rajpuri there were six or seven *Nizamu-l Mulki* forts which had fallen into the hands of Sivaji, but he was unable at this time to render them any assistance. So Sidi Yakut seized the opportunity to attack them. Six forts surrendered after two or three days' resistance, but the commandant of one fort held out for a week in the hope of relief from Sivaji. The Abyssinians pushed forward their approaches, and kept up such a fire that he was obliged to surrender. Sidi Yakut granted quarter to the garrison, and seven hundred persons came out. But notwithstanding his word, he made the children and pretty women slaves and forcibly converted them to Islam. The old and ugly women he set free, but the men he put to death. This struck such terror into the hearts of Sivaji and his followers that he was obliged to confine himself to securing Rahiri. Sidi Yakut sent an account of his victory to Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam, *Subadar* of the Dakhin, and to Khan-Jahan. His *mansab* was raised, a robe of honour was sent to him, and he received the title of *Khan*. Similar honours were also given to Sidi Khairiyat.

A report reached Sivaji that his son Sambha, whom he had left at Allahabad with the *Brahman*, was dead, and Sambhaji's wife wanted to become a *sati*, * * but a few months afterwards the *Brahman* arrived bringing Sambhaji with him.—*Muntakhabu-l Lubab* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, pp. 284—92.

Kambhgāṅv. At this stage the Bijāpurīs received army reinforcement from Goḷcoṇḍā. Bahādur Khān too reassembled his forces and captured Naḷdurg on 14th May 1677. Gulburgā fell on 7th July 1677. Meanwhile Śivājī had attacked the Bijāpūr kingdom from the south-east and taken possession of Jiñjī. However, these successes came too late for Bahādur Khān. Diler Khān, who had arrived as his second-in-command in June 1676, had made friends with Bahlol Khān and had written to the emperor accusing Bahādur Khān of complicity with the Deccani powers. Bahlol even promised to conquer Hyderābād if his position at Bijāpūr was guaranteed by the Moghals. Auraṅgzeb approved of this proposal. Bahādur Khān was now recalled and Diler Khān officiated as viceroy of the Deccan till October 1678. It could be noted here that the recent conquest of Naḷdurg and Gulburgā brought the vast tract of land enclosed by the Bhīmā and the Māñjrā eastwards up to an imaginary line joining Gulburgā to Bidar. The imperial boundary on the south reached the north bank of the Bhīmā, opposite Haḷsaṅgī, within striking distance of Bijāpūr city while south-eastwards it touched Maḷkheḍ, the fortress of the western borders of the kingdom of Goḷcoṇḍā. Still the Moghals had not come any nearer to getting possession of the kingdom of Bijāpūr. The Moghals now threatened Goḷcoṇḍā by demanding the payment of one crore of rupees. Qutb Śāh offered 5 lakhs on which Diler Khān and Bahlol Khān invaded Goḷcoṇḍā and advanced up to Maḷkheḍ. In their first encounter with the Qutb Śāhī troops the Moghals under Bahlol Khān were routed and had to retreat. Qutb Śāh now sent large reinforcements under his best generals who lured the Moghal army to the main base of the Goḷcoṇḍā army. An indecisive engagement took place here. For two months the fighting went on. On October 1677 the Moghals attacked the Goḷcoṇḍā camp and put the Goḷcoṇḍā forces into headlong flight. The enemy, however, rallied soon. Hunger and famine struck the Moghal camp and Diler Khān had to make a disastrous retreat to Gulburgā, with the Goḷcoṇḍā troops harassing him continuously. Diler Khān was forced to seek peace. The Bijāpurīs now sought the mediation of Abul Hasan Qutb Śāh in their internal dispute which was settled with Bahlol Khān making room for Siddi Masūd. Masūd met Diler Khān at Gulburgā and made peace with the Moghals. He agreed to obey orders from Auraṅgzeb and not to make alliance with Śivājī. Diler Khān then returned to Pārner.

Bahlol Khān died on 23rd December 1677 and Masūd, accompanied by a Goḷcoṇḍā army, was installed as the regent. The Afghān soldiery clamouring for payment of their salaries rose in revolt. Masūd had also to pay 11 lakhs as tribute to the Emperor which drained his treasury. The situation in Bijāpūr and outside had passed beyond the control of the new regent. Masūd also brought upon himself the wrath of the Moghals by aligning himself with Śivājī. This invited an attack from Diler Khān under orders from Auraṅgzeb. Diler Khān seduced the

**CHAPTER 9. The Moghals in Maharashtra.**

AURANGZEB. War with Bijapur.

Bijāpurī officers and moved out of Peḍgaṅv. He camped at Akluj. It was at this time that Sambhajī, the son of Śivajī, ran away from his father to the camp of Diler Khān (13th December 1678). Śivājī sent 6,000 troopers to guard Bijāpūr but Masūd suspected the Marāṭhās of treachery which rendered any co-operation between the two impossible. Masūd now sought the protection of the Moghals but his duplicity wore out the patience of Diler Khān who marched to Haḷsaṅgī with his artillery. The situation became worse due to the open feud between Masūd and Śārzā Khān. The latter appealed to Diler Khān and offered to enter Moghal service. Under such circumstances Bijāpūr was in no position to oppose the Moghals. Auraṅgzeb now demanded the execution of the terms of the treaty of Gulburgā stipulating the dispatch of princess Śehar Bānu surnamed Pādiśāh Bibi for her marriage with the Moghal Prince Āzam. The terms were immediately agreed to. The Moghal greed was, however, insatiable and Diler Khān now demanded the resignation of Masūd. This was rejected. As a consequence Diler Khān declared war against Bijāpūr and moved towards Dhuḷkheḍ where he halted. The Bijāpurī overtures for peace were scornfully rejected. Diler Khān's position was, however, weak. He lacked the essential war supplies and the new viceroy, Śāh Ālam, (Prince Muāzzam) who was his sworn enemy refused to supply him with the same. Masūd took this opportunity to strengthen the defences of Bijāpūr and appealed to Śivājī to help him. Śivājī promptly responded by sending 10,000 troops to the succour of Bijāpūr, while he himself moved against Diler Khān. Diler Khān now moved up to Baratgi, 6 miles north-east of Bijāpūr. He again refused Masūd's offer of peace. Failure stared him in the face. There was also the opposition from prince Muāzzam. He remained unperturbed in the face of Śivājī's ravages in the imperial domains. Complaints now reached Auraṅgzeb against Diler to the effect that, "This extremely foolish Afghān has caused the ruin of the entire empire through his greed for Bijāpūr and has wasted money beyond calculation." The Emperor censured Diler Khān who, stung by these reproaches, resumed the campaign. He discarded for the time being, his plan of besieging Bijāpūr, as he feared an attack in the rear from Śivājī. He decided to ravage the Bijāpūr territory. He sacked and burnt Tikota, Honvad, Telsang, Athni and raided the fertile and flourishing valleys of the Don and the Kṛṣṇā. He reached Aliābād, 6 miles north-east of Bijāpūr. It was after the sack of Athni that Sambhājī fled from his camp. From Aliābād, Diler began to bombard the fort walls by taking position in the various suburbs of Bijāpūr and engaging in artillery duels with the fort garrison. The Bijāpurīs were reduced to much distress. They held out grimly. In utter disappointment, Diler Khān sought for peace. The offer was declined by Masūd. Prince Muāzzam (Śāh Ālam) urged Diler Khān to withdraw from the Bijāpūr territory to guard the Moghal dominions. He even issued instructions to Moghal Officers to disobey Diler Khān's

orders. The Emperor also wrote a strong letter of censure to Diler Khān rebuking him for his neglect in protecting the Moghal dominions. Under these circumstances on January 29, 1680 Diler Khān broke up his camp at Begam Hauz and started his retreat from the environs of Bijāpūr. Foiled in his designs, Diler Khān now wrecked vengeance and gave vent to his passions by ruining the Bijāpūr territory. He invaded the Berad country and reached Gogī on 20th February 1680. He pitched his camp there to conduct the siege of Sagar, eight miles to the south. The Berads, however, fought bravely and inflicted a crushing defeat on Diler Khān. Diler Khān now ordered a retreat to Gogī. He wanted to regroup for a fresh attack on Berads but his soldiers refused to obey him. The imperial sergeants-at-arms deputed to bring him back to Aurangābād made him a virtual prisoner. At last on 22nd February 1680 he set out on his return journey, a ruined and an humbled General, shorn of power and influence. The viceroyalty of Śāh Ālam had also proved to be barren due to his constant bickerings with Diler Khān. The emperor recalled both and appointed Bahādurkhān Khān-i-Jahān for the second time as the *Subhedār* of the Deccan.

Moghal Maratha Relations.

It is necessary here to take a brief resume of the Moghal Marāṭhā relations during the period before turning to the narration of the final assault of the Moghals on Bijāpūr and Goḷconḍā. After the treaty of Purandar Śivājī's relations till 1669 with the Moghals were very quiet. Śivājī utilised this period in building up his strength. The rupture was occasioned by the confiscation of a part of Sambhājī's new *Jāgir* in Berār to recover the sum of a lakh of rupees advanced to Śivājī in 1666 for his journey to the court. In consequence, Śivājī's contingents entertained in imperial service deserted, plundering villages on their way to their territory. Several forts ceded to the Moghals under the terms of the treaty of Purandar were attacked and captured by Śivājī. One of the most conspicuous of his successes was the capture of the fort of Koṇḍāṇā (Sinhagaḍ) on 4th February 1670 by his captain Tānājī Mālusare. On 8th March 1670 Niḷopant recovered Purandar. On 16th June 1670, the Moghals lost Māhulī. The only Moghal Officer in the Deccan who repulsed Marāṭhā attacks in the region of Ahmadnagar was Dāud Khān Qureśī. Meanwhile differences had developed between Diler Khān and the Prince. The former was to wait on Prince Muāzzam at Aurangābād, but the old enmity between the two erupted and Diler Khān feared treachery. He, therefore, returned from the way, pretending illness. Muāzzam now wrote to the Emperor accusing Diler Khān of rebellion whereas Diler Khān charged the Prince with open complicity with Śivājī and neglect of the imperial domains. Aurangzeb thereupon sent Khān-i-Zamān Iftikār Khān to investigate the Prince's charge against Diler Khān. Iftikār Khān's brother secretly informed Diler Khān of the happenings which further deepened his alarm and suspicion. Iftikār met Diler Khān and on being shown his brother's letter advised him to keep away from the Prince.

**CHAPTER 9.**

**The Moghals in Maharashtra.**

AURANGZEB.

Moghal Maratha Relations.

Iftikār then met the Prince and testified to Diler Khān's illness. In the meanwhile Diler Khān moved south against a Marāṭhā contingent. The prince complained to the Emperor of Diler Khān's disobedience and obtained orders to punish him. Getting information of this, Diler Khān moved northwards and reached Ujjain, being pursued by the Prince and Jasvant Siṅgh up to Burhāṇpūr. When the Prince reached Cāṅgdev, Dāud Khān, the Governor of Khāndeś, refused to let him cross over to Burhāṇpūr. An armed conflict seemed inevitable when Muāzzam received orders to go back to Auraṅgābād. Bahādur Khān wrote to the Emperor about Diler Khān's loyalty and sought his permission to appoint him as *fauzdār* of Sorath. Śivājī made the most of this opportunity of internal dissensions in the Moghal camp. His cavalry roamed over the country plundering far and wide On 3rd October 1670 he sacked Surat for the second time, carrying booty worth 66 lakhs of rupees. On his way back he entered Bāglāṇa. He was opposed by Dāud Khān who had been summoned by prince Muāzzam from Burhāṇpūr. In an obstinate and bloody battle that raged for hours at Diṇḍorī, Dāud Khān was defeated by the Marāṭhās (17th October 1670). In December 1670 the Marāṭhās who returned safely with their Surat booty entered Berār and looted the rich town of Karañjā. In Bāglāṇa another contingent captured the fort of Sālher. Auraṅgzeb now realised the gravity of the situation in the Deccan, and appointed Mahābat Khān to the supreme command in the Deccan, with Dāud Khān as his deputy. In January 1671 Dāud Khān recaptured the fort of Ahivaṇt from the Marāṭhās but the Moghals failed to score any spectacular success against them. Dissatisfied with the conduct of the campaign, the Emperor sent Bahādur Khān and Diler Khān to the Deccan. Sālher was besieged by Ikhalās Khān and Muhkam Siṅgh. Bahādur Khān moved towards Supā whereas Diler Khān, by a sudden attack, captured Puṇe. In the meanwhile, the Marāṭhās under Pratāp Rāv, Ānand Rāv and the *Peśvā* Moropant attacked the besieging army at Sālher, taking Ikhalās Khān and Muhkam Siṅgh and slaying many of the besieging garrison. To save the situation in Bāglāṇa the Moghal Generals had to beat a hasty retreat from the territory of the Marāṭhās. Bahādur Khān retired to Ahmadnagar. Muāzzam also left for Delhi. The Emperor now appointed Bahādur Khān as commander-in-chief and acting viceroy of the Deccan in which posts he continued till 1677.

The Marāṭhā activity continued unabated. On 5th June 1672 they captured Javhār from its Koḷī *Rājā* Vikram Śāh. In July, Moropant, with 15,000 troops, captured Rāmnagar and demanded *cauth* from Surat. In the middle of July he plundered Nāśik. The Marāṭhā raids into Khāndeś and Berār in December 1672 were, however, defeated. The desultory fighting with the Moghals continued in 1673. However, the disorders in Bijāpūr, following the death of Ali Ādil Śāh II, gave Śivājī the opportunity he sought for. Panhāḷā was captured on 6th March 1673 and Sātārā on 27th July of the same year. Deep raids in the Bijāpūr

territory were carried out and many rich towns were plundered by the Marāṭhās. It was on 6th June 1674 that Śivājī crowned himself King at the fort of Rāyagad.[1] Immediately afterwards he moved against Bahādur Khān. In October 1674 the Marāṭhās again burst into Bāglāṇa and Khāndes. Dharaṇgāṅv was sacked and burnt. In early 1675 Śivājī opened false negotiations with Bahādur Khān with the twin object of providing his forts with provisions and to get money out of Ādil Śāh by a threat of alliance with the Moghals for the invasion of Bijāpūr. The negotiations were protracted. Śivājī promised to cede 17 forts and send Sambhājī with a contingent to serve under the Moghals. A *farmān* accepting the terms was received from the Emperor. In the meanwhile Phoṇḍā in the south had been captured by Śivājī. He now threw off the mask and dismissed the Moghal envoy. The war with the Moghals was thus renewed. The Marāṭhās spread in the region of Auraṅgābād. With the Moghal campaign against Bijāpūr opening up on 31st May 1676 the Bijāpūr regent Bahlol Khān came to terms with Śivājī. But the

[1] A brief description of the fort is given below:—

Rayagad or the Royal Fort (T. Mahad, 18° 14′ N, 73° 30′ E) originally called Rari, was known to the early Europeans as the Gibraltar of the East. It stands 2,851 feet above the sea, sixteen miles north of Mahad, and about forty east of Janjira. Its sheer scarped sides and long top form a great wedge-shaped block, cut from the Sahyadris by a deep valley about a mile broad at the base and two miles across from crest to crest. As it is backed by the lofty line of the Sahyadris and surrounded by spurs and blocks of hills, Rayagad seldom forms a striking feature in the Kolaba landscape.

To those who live in the district the most beautiful approach to Rayagad is, among the finest hills in the district, from Nizampur about twelve miles to the north-west, across the rugged spur that runs south-west from the Sahyadris. This route is passable for footmen and horsemen only. Another rough feet track leads from Mangaon which is fifteen miles to the west. An easier approach is from the south-east, from Birvadi, about six miles east of Mahad. From Birvadi a country track runs up the valley of the Kal, about sixteen miles, to Chhatri Nizampur. From Chhatri Nizampur the path, which is passable only for footmen, rises about a mile and a half to Vadi on the east slope of a spur at the west foot of Rayagad.

The nearest way to Rayagad is from Mahad in Mahad taluka, Kolaba district. At about eleven miles from Mahad is situated the tiny village of Konzar and is connected with Mahad by a good road. From Konzar the first stage ends at Pachad. The village is situated on the top of a hill from which the limits of Rayagad fort could be said to begin. The road from Konzar to Pachad is a well made road. The road actually traverses quite a few hills and is not straight running even in a short span of about 100 yards or so. Both sides of the road are covered with green mango groves and other varieties of wild trees.

To Pachad and a look above gives one a glimpse of the gigantic citadel which is awe inspiring in its entire set up and must have dispirited many a valient foes in the days of its glorious history. The eye fails to reach the magnanimous top of the hill and imagination cannot measure the wide and wild expanse of the fort. There are dense green forests at places and wild descending scarps at others which when visited freeze the heart and set it at a faster palpitation.

From Pachad about a mile and a half east leads to Vadi, which is perhaps 600 feet above the sea. From Vadi to the top of Rayagad is a rise of about 2,250 feet in a distance of about four miles. In the lower slopes the path is rough, and higher up, though there are traces of the old pavement, most of the steps are broken, only the highest tiers being nearly perfect. The real ascent begins about a quarter of a mile from Vadi, in the middle of a patch of forest said to have been Shivaji's garden. Close to the patch almost hid by brushwood are some plinths or platforms protected by a wall about four feet high, said to be the sites of Maratha granaries. Above the pathway on the right or west, at the extreme north-west corner of the spur that runs to Rayagad and separated from Rayagad by a deep gorge, is a bastion called Khubladha, that is *khub ladha* or the hard fight. A narrow difficult pathway runs to this bastion, by the

**CHAPTER 9.**

**The Moghals in Maharashtra.**

AURANGZEB.

**Moghal Maratha Relations.**

peace was short-lived. Bahādur Khān, who had grown weary of his war with the Marāṭhās, sought for a friendly understanding with Śivājī to protect his right flank in the campaign against Bijāpūr. Śivājī welcomed the overtures. In early 1677 he set out on the greatest expedition of his life, the invasion of Karnāṭak. Close friendship and co-operation was secured with Golconḍā. The Karnāṭak campaign in 1677 and 1678 yielded Śivājī a territory of about 10,000 square miles yielding 20 lakhs of *hons* a year. This brought about rupture between Śivājī and Golconḍā. Abul Hasan, the *Sultān* of Golconḍā, therefore, entered into a compact with Bijāpūr to destroy Śivājī. However, this alliance came to naught due to the heavy concession which Diler Khān exacted from Siddi Masūd, the new regent of Bijāpūr (November 1677). Siddi Masūd, thereupon, opened negotiations with Śivājī appealing to him to unite against the common enemy, the Moghals. Diler Khān got angry on receipt of the news and set himself to conquer Bijāpūr. In the meanwhile Sambhājī, the son of Śivājī deserted his father and joined Diler Khān (13th December 1678).

*contd.*

Nana Darvaza, along the north face of the spur about a quarter of a mile to the west: Above the granaries the path is rough and rises about 600 feet in about a mile to the Nana Darvaza, apparently the little Gate to distinguish it from the *Motha* or *Maha Darvaza*, the Great Gate, about 1,000 feet higher. The Nana Gate is flanked on the lower or outer side by a bastion twenty feet high. The gateway consists of two arches, twelve and fourteen feet high and of ten feet span, with a flight of seventeen stone steps which begin below the lower archway and lead through the gateway. Inside of the gate, cut in the stone walls, are two sentry-boxes each seven feet square, and, on the inner side of the gateway are two large holes for fixing a bar across the gate. The gate has been removed.

Inside of the Nana Gate the path stretches about three-quarters of a mile to the left or east, almost on the level, passing an open space or point on which are the ruins of two buildings, one 39′ × 25½′, said to have been a guard-room, the other 75′ × 20′, said to have been a granary. About 400 yards further, still on the level, are three rock-cut caves which were used for storing grain. Beyond the caves or rock-cut granaries, the path takes a sudden and very steep turn to the right, and after a climb of about 300 feet in half a mile, the Great Gate comes in sight. It is flanked by two massive well-preserved bastions, seventy-five and sixty-five feet high, which face the north-west. The Great Gate is about 400 feet below the crest of the west or Hirkani Point of the hill top, and 600 feet below the citadel or highest point of the hill. At the same level as the gate, a high curtain wall, strengthened by a broad deep fosse, runs along the whole north-west side of the fort. About 200 feet higher, pieces of a second curtain wall protect the accessible parts of the hill, and 200 feet higher, 200 feet below the top of the citadel, is another broken line of fortifications. On the inside of the gateway is a sentry-box six feet square, cut in the rock, and on the right a ruined guard-room of which the doors are modern.

This approach from the west is the only path up the hill. The gateway on the south, which is known as the *Chor Darvaza* or Secret Gate, was probably placed there to guard against a surprise.

The view inside of the Great Gate includes the Takmak and Hirkani Points with all the intervening part of the hill. The citadel or *Bale killa* (Raj Mahal) shows behind the Hirkani Point and about 200 feet higher.

The hill top stretches about a mile and half from east to west by a mile from north to south. It forms an irregular wedgeshaped block tapering to the east; with three main points, Hirkani in the west, Takmak in the north, and the point of Bhavani in the east. There is a fourth smaller point Srigonda at the south-east. The hill top is roughened by mounds and hollows and is bare of vegetation, except some trees on the east slope of the citadel or *Balekilla*. Much of it is covered with ruins and there are a number of cisterns and rock-cut reservoirs though few of them hold water after the end of December. On the west, south and east the hill sides are so sheer that except the gateways in the west and south faces there are no artificial defences. As already noticed the north-west face is protected by a main line of masonry and two upper walls or portions of wall where the natural scarp is imperfect.

Masūd now sought Śivājī's help but always looked with suspicion upon the intents of the Marāṭhās. Śivājī, therefore, threw off the mask which forced Masūd to make peace with Diler Khān. Any action against Śivājī was, however, frustrated due to internal dissensions at the Bijāpūr court. Diler Khān now captured Bhopāḷgaḍ (2nd April 1679). On 18th August 1679 Diler Khān opened a new campaign against Bijāpūr by crossing the Bhīma at Dhuḷkheḍ 40 miles due north of Bijāpūr. Masūd again begged Śivājī to help him. Śivājī helped Bijāpūr by ravaging and plundering the territory of the Moghal Deccan. After his plunder of Jālnā Śivājī had to face a severe Moghal offensive.

Death of Shivaji.

He returned to Rāyagaḍ at the beginning of December. On 3rd April of the following year (1680) Śivājī died. It may be noted here that at the time of Śivājī's death his kingdom included all the country stretching from Rāmnagar in the north to Karvar or the Gaṅgavati river in the Kanara district in the south. The eastern boundary embraced Bāglāṇa in the north, then ran southwards along an irregular shifting line through the middle of the Nāśik and Puṇe districts and encircled the whole of the Sātārā and much of the Kolhāpūr districts. A recent but permanent acquisition was the western Karnātak.

Sambhaji.

Śivājī was succeeded by his eldest son Sambhājī[1]. He renewed his war with the Moghals by sending a word to Khān-i-Jahān, the new viceroy of the Deccan, that he would give him battle in the open field after the rains. The news of Akbar's rebellion emboldened the Marāṭhās who, in early January (1681), fell on the suburbs of Burhāṇpūr and carried away booty worth lakhs.

[1] The details about the death of Shivaji, Sambhaji's raids into Moghal territory and flight of prince Akbar to the Deccan are given below :

**Affairs of the Dakhin : Death of Sivaji**

Khan-Jahan Bahadur Kokaltash, after arriving at the *Khujistabunyad* Aurangabad, according to order, laid siege to the fort of Salir. Many *Rajputs* were killed, and many Musulmans also fell. He pressed the siege for four or five months, but making no impression, he withdrew to Aurangabad.

The hell-dog Sivaji went forth with an army on a plundering expedition, and while Khan-Zaman, the *Subadar*, was at Burhanpur, he entered Khandesh, and plundered the town of Dharan-ganw, one of the most flourishing places in that country. * * * Afterwards he ravaged and burnt Chopra and other *parganas*. He then marched against Jalna, a rich mercantile place in the Balaghat. * * In the course of the same year he was attacked with illness and died. The date of his death is found in the words " *Kafir ba-jahannam raft*," " The infidel went to hell," which was discovered by the writer of these pages. Shivaji left two sons, Sambha and Ram Raja. The former succeeded him. He made Kabkalas, the *Brahman* who brought him from Allahabad, his minister.

Sivaji had always striven to maintain the honour of the people in his territories. He persevered in a course of rebellion, in plundering caravans, and troubling mankind; but he entirely abstained from other disgraceful acts, and was careful to maintain the honour of the women and children of Muhammadans when they fell into his hands. His injunctions upon this point were very strict, and any one who disobeyed them received punishment. But the son, unlike his father, obtained an evil name by collecting round him women of all tribes, and by assailing the honour of the women of the places in which he dwelt. His father never showed any backwardness in attacking and plundering prosperous places, but he never made any attack upon Aurangabad aud Burhanpur, the provincial capitals of the Imperial dynasty. If any of his counsellors advised an attack upon these places, he very wisely and prudently forbade it; "for", said he, "if we attack these places, the honour of Aurangzeb will be

**CHAPTER 9.**

**The Moghals in Maharashtra.**

AURANGZEB.

Sambhaji.

of rupees. Khān-i-Jahān made a dash northwards from Auraṅgābād but only after the Marāṭhās had left. Another Marāṭhā band was moving towards Auraṅgābād. It retreated with the approach of Khān-i-Jahān. The Marāṭhā activity continued, however, throughout the Moghal Deccan. In January 1681 Prince Akbar, the fourth son of Auraṅgzeb, had rebelled against his father. In June of the same year he sought refuge with Sambhājī. It was well nigh impossible for Sambhājī to help the

*contd.*

wounded, and he will march hither himself and then, God knows how the strife will end."

When Sivaji was dead, his wretched son Sambha desired to surpass his father. He raised the standard of rebellion, and on the 20th *Muharram* in the twenty-third year of the reign, corresponding with 1091 A. H. (15th February, 1680), he attacked Kakar Khan Afghan, who acted as collector of the *jizya*, under Khan-Zaman, the *Subadar* of the Dakhin. Sambha was returning with nearly twenty thousand men from a plundering expedition in Birar. He made a forced march of three or four *kos*, as was the practice in those days, and early in the morning made his attack while his victims were entirely ignorant of his approach. Thus he fell upon Bahadurpur, one *kos* and a half from Burhanpur. This place was rich, and there were many bankers and merchants in it. Jewels, money and goods from all parts of the world were found there in vast abundance. He surrounded and attacked this place, and also another town called Hafda-pura, which was outside of the fortifications, and his attack was so sudden and unexpected, especially upon Bahadurpur, that no one was able to save a *dam* or a *diram* of his property, or a single one of his wives and children.

Kakar Khan, with his men in the city, saw the smoke of these towns rising to the sky, but he had not a force sufficient to go out and attack the plunderers, so he shut himself up within the walls and looked after the security of his gates and defences. Seventeen other places of note, such as Hasanpura, etc., in the neighbourhood of the city, all wealthy and flourishing places, were plundered and burnt. Many honourable men girded on their swords, and joining in the fight, attained martyrdom. Others submitted themselves humbly to the will of God. Some who were near the fortress took their wives and children by the hand, and fled in distress within the walls. For three days the plunderers ravaged these towns at their will. Large sums of money fell into their hands, much of which had been buried for long periods, and sometimes in places unknown even to the householders. They, then, repeatedly attempted to carry the fortress by assault. But the officers took their stations at the gates and other points of attack, and with great bravery beat off the assailants. Being unable to enter the city, the plunderers carried off with them the gold, silver, jewels, and other articles of value which were portable ; but many other things which they had taken they were obliged to leave behind, because they could not carry them. The property which was thrown into the streets of the bazars and burnt exceeded all computation.

Intelligence of this raid upon the neighbourhood of Burhanpur was carried by runners to Aurangabad to Khan-Jahan Bahadur Kokaltash. He immediately took horse, and accomplished three or four days march in one day and night, and reached the pass of Fardapur, thirty-two *kos* distant. There it became necessary to wait three or four watches to rest the animals, and to provide means for crossing the river. According to the current reports of some men who took a worldly view of things, and had a bad opinion of Khan-Jahan, some emissaries of Sambhaji came to him with an immense sum of money, and prevailed upon him to halt there for four or five watches. One thing is certain. After the enemy were repulsed from Burhanpur, the burden of their plunder, and the knowledge of Khan-Jahan's pursuit, prevented them from reaching their renowned but distant fortresses. They were obliged to go to the fort of Salir, in Baglana, which was the nearest of their strongholds. They went by way of Mustafabad or Chopra. Under these circumstances the proper course for Khan-Jahan was to leave Fardapur without delay, and, bearing towards his left hand, to pass through Dharan-ganw and Chopra, to intercept the marauders. But, through the representations of Sambhaji's emissaries, he went towards his right hand, contrary to what was desirable, and proceeded to Idal-abad. When the enemy heard this, he made the most of his opportunity, and carried off all the plunder he could transport, and all his prisoners, by a rapid march, through Chopra, to the fort of Salir, which he reached in four or five days. The principal inhabitants of Burhanpur wrote a statement to Aurangzeb describing the success of the enemy, the loss inflicted on the property and honour of Muhammadans and the discontinuance of the public prayers on Fridays. Aurangzeb then wrote a letter strongly censuring Khan-Jahan, and announcing his own intention of proceeding to the Dakhin. In his anger he took away from Khan-Jahan all the increased honours and emoluments he had conferred upon him

rebel son against his father in what he sought. The Rajput war, in which the Emperor was engaged, being now over, the Emperor himself descended into the Deccan (13th November 1681) with three of his sons and all his best generals, to punish his rebel son and Sambhājī[1]. A Moghal force under Hasan Ali descended into North Koṅkaṇ and captured Kalyāṇ. Sambhājī who was then busy in his Jañjirā expedition returned and evicted the Moghals from Kalyāṇ. Auraṅgzeb sent Prince Āzam Śāh and Dilēr Khān to Ahmadnagar and Śāhabuddin Khān to Nāśik. The latter general laid siege to Rāmśej fort (April 1682) but failed to take it. Auraṅgzeb's spirit was now up. He opened extensive operations against the Marāṭhās. Bloody battles were

---

*contd.*

in that year. Considering the disorders in the Dakhin, and the flight of Prince Muhammad Akbar, he gave orders for his travelling equipage to move towards Burhanpur.

**Prince Akbar**

When Prince Muhammad Akbar took to flight, not more than three or four hundred men remained with him. Some of them were his own old followers, and others were *Rajputs*. * *All his property and treasure and guns fell into the hands of the royal army, as well as one son a boy of tender years, named Neku Siyar, and two daughters. One son, who had arrived at years of discretion, remained with the *Rajputs*. The Prince himself was distracted and knew not whither to go. At one time he thought of going to Delhi and Lahore by way of Ajmir. Then he proposed to go to Persia. Whichever way he turned, the *faujdars* and *zamindars*, under orders from the Emperor, blocked his way. Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam received orders to pursue him; but the common report is that he only made a feint of doing so, and marched leisurely. Akbar proceeded by way of Lahore and Multan, and under the guidance of the *zamindars* he then passed by difficult roads through the hills towards the Dakhin. * * Orders had been repeatedly sent to Khan-Jahan Bahadur, *Subadar* of the Dakhin, and to all the *faujdars*, directing them to stop him wherever he might come, to take him prisoner alive if possible, if not, to kill him. Under these orders Khan-Jahan pursued the Prince with the intention of making him prisoner. He came within fourteen or fifteen *kos* of him, but on approaching nearer he made only a feint of arresting him. The fact was reported to the Emperor by Mir Nuru-llah, who was very unceremonious in these matters. A strong letter of censure was written upon the matter, and strict directions were sent to all the newswriters.

Prince Akbar then proceeded to Baglana, to the territory of *Raja* Debi Singh, the commandant and *faujdar* of Malir. *Raja* Debi sent out a force to take him prisoner; but when the force followed, the Prince escaped from Baglana. A few of his *Rajputs* remained behind, and these were taken to the *Raja*. Whilst the *Raja* was making inquiries of these men, another party of his horsemen overtook one of the Prince's followers, who had upon his back a blood-stained jacket belonging to the Prince, but which he had thrown off in consequence of the heat. They attacked and wounded this man, and carried him off to the *Raja*, under the impression that he was the Prince. The *Raja* did not believe it, and abused his men for their stupidity. Prince Akbar, after passing through the territories of the Firingis, found unquiet refuge for a while in the hills of Baglana. By means of a bribe of money, he induced the hillmen to guide him to Rahiri, belonging to Sambha. This chieftain came forth to receive him, gave him a house of his own to dwell in, about three *kos* from the fort of Rahiri, and fixed an allowance for his support—*Muntakhabu-l Lubab* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, pp. 304—09.

[1] The descent of Aurangzeb into the Deccan and the details of his activities till 1683 are narrated in the following paragraphs:

After the *'Id-i-fitr*, Aurangzeb started for the Dakhin, to punish the infidels, and to pursue Prince Muhammad Akbar. * * On the 14th *Zi-l ka'da* he reached Burhanpur, the *Daru-s surur* (abode of joy). Khan-Jahan Bahadur, the *Subadar*, and Amin Khan, the *Diwan* of the four *subas* of the Dakhin, with the *faujdars* and the officials and nobles there, waited upon him. Many great men of Bijapur, of the Kutb-Shahi dynasty, and of the Mahrattas, also came to pay their respects.

The infidel inhabitants of the city and the country round made great opposition to the payment of the *jizya*. There was not a district where the people, with the help of the *faujdars* and *mukaddams*, did not make disturbances and resistance. Mir

CHAPTER 9.

The Moghals in Maharashtra.

AURANGZEB.

Sambhaji.

fought between the Moghals and the Marāṭhās but nowhere were the Moghal gains substantial. The Marāṭhās were also engaged in war with the Portuguese. In September 1683 Śāh Ālam marched out of Auraṅgābād with a grand army and invaded south Koṅkaṇ. Passing through Karnāṭak he reached Bicholim on 5th January 1684. From there he moved into Ratnāgiri district ravaging the territory *en route*. However, further progress was made impossible due to severe famine conditions in the Prince's camp. The Prince was forced to retreat by the Rāmghāṭ pass into the Kanara plains with heavy loss in men and material. The Marāṭhās hovered round, cut off

---

*contd.*

Abdul Karim, an excellent and honest man, now received orders to collect the *jizya* in Burhanpur. A suitable force of horse and foot was appointed to support him, and the *kotwal* was directed to punish everyone who resisted payment.

A fire broke out in a house near the citadel and the *chauk*. There were several sacks of powder in the house, the roof was blown off, and many men were burnt. It came to Aurangzeb's knowledge that there were thirty sacks of gunpowder in a cellar under his sleeping apartment. An investigation was made, and it appeared that at the very commencement of the reign, when Aurangzeb left Burhanpur to proceed to Dehli the gunners left this powder there, and during all that time it had never been taken out. The Emperor severely censured the officials who were answerable for this neglect, and degraded some of them. He told them that if this had happended in the reign of Jahangir, that King would have blown them all up with the powder. Aurangzeb's humanity and kindness was such that the severest punishment was reduction of dignity, and this even was soon restored through the intercession and kind offices of men high in office.

Aurangzeb passed three or four months very pleasantly at Burhanpur; he then left for Aurangabad. Before he departed, Mir 'Abdu-l Karim, the *Amin-i jizya*, reported that the *jizya* of the city of Burhanpur for the past year, amounting to 26,000 rupees, had been paid into the public treasury. During the three months that he had been in office, he had settled the sum of one *lac* and 80,000 rupees as the amount payable by half the towns connected with Burhanpur. He now hoped that he might be allowed to leave with His Majesty, and that the collection of the *jizya* might be deputed to someone else. He was applauded and promoted. He was allowed to accompany the Emperor and his deputies were to collect the tax. * *

After Aurangzeb reached Aurangabad, Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam was sent to take the forts and punish the infidels of Ram-darra in the Kokan; and Prince Muhammad A'zam was directed to reduce the fort of Salir, near the fort of Malir in Baglana, which had been held for some time by the Mahrattas. Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam penetrated into the Kokan, and passing through its inmost recesses, passes and thick woods, he laid the country waste in all directions, and put many infidels to the sword. Khwaja Abu-l Makarim, afterwards Jan-nisar Khan, and others, greatly distinguished themselves in this campaign; but the grain and millet and vetches of that country were injurious to strangers, and the climate was very uncongenial to camels and horses. Men in great numbers and quadrupeds beyond compute perished. Horses were so scarce that there was not one left in the stable of the Prince which was fit to carry him. Most men were obliged to walk, and no provisions arrived, for the enemy closed the roads on every side. Life became insupportable, and it was impossible for the Prince to remain there. On the facts being reported to the Emperor, he gave orders for the recall of the army.

The fort of Salir, against which Prince Muhammad A'zam had been sent, is not, one capable of investment. It is near the sea, and there are so many ravines near, that hundreds of thousands of horsemen could not invest that lofty fortress. * * Neknam Khan was commandant of Malir and *faujdar* of Baglana. When the Prince was ordered to conquer it, Neknam opened negotiations with the commandant of Salir, and by promises and presents, * * induced him to surrender the fortress.

*(Three officers in succession, Shahabu-d din, Khan-jahan and Kasim Khan, fail to take the fortress of Ram Sij.)*

**Prince Akbar**

When Prince Akbar went to Rahiri, and became the guest of the accursed Sambha, he was at first treated very kindly and respectfully, and provision was made for the necessary expenses of his followers. One day a *kazi* in the presence of Muhammad

stragglers and plundered the baggage and convoys in all directions. Prince Muāzzam returned to the Emperor in May 1684. The emperor, had, by the end of 1683 arrived at Ahmadnagar from where he used to send flying columns to drive away the Marāṭhās wherever they were reported. He deputed independent armies under his sons and generals, posting them at strategic positions for conquering the enemy dominions. These operations undertaken during 1683—1685 proved indecisive.

Invasion of Bijapur.

It may be pointed out here that during his operations against the Marāṭhās, Aurañgzeb did not contemplate an invasion of

---

*contd.*

Akbar, in a stupid flattering way, said to Sambha, " May all the Maharaja's enemies be trodden under foot." The Prince heard this, and being angry, reprimanded the *kazi* for his folly. He also told Sambha that such vain words ought not to be spoken in his (the Prince's) presence, and that it was also unbecoming in Sambha to listen to them. The report also came that an army had been sent under the command of I'tikad Khan to effect the conquest of Rahiri. Prince Muhammad Akbar therefore thought it advisable to make his way as best he could to Persia. He bought two small ships, furnished them with provisions for forty days, and was about to start. Sidi Yakut Khan Habshi, who scoured the seas in those parts, was at first desirous of stopping the progress of the Prince, but he at last connived at it. The Prince, with Ziau-d din Muhammad Shuja'i and forty or fifty persons, put his trust in God and embarked on his voyage. His ships were separated and endured great distress, the account of which would be too long for admission here.

Through stress of weather, the Prince's ship fell upon an island belonging to the Imam of Maskat. The people of the island made him prisoner and sent him to the Imam. This ruler is one of the great *zamindars* or rulers who are dependent on Persia. He affected to treat the Prince with hospitality and respect; but in reality he kept him under surveillance, and wrote to Aurangzeb offering to surrender the Prince for the sum of two *lacs* of rupees and for a charter exempting goods carried in the ships of Maskat from the payment of duty in the port of Surat. If Aurangzeb would send one of his officers, the Imam promised to give up the Prince.

Upon receiving this letter, Aurangzeb wrote to the officials of the port of Surat, directing them to act in accord with the proposition of the Imam. So the people at Surat sent Haji Fazil, an old sailor in the royal service, to take Prince Akbar in charge. When intelligence of Prince Akbar's arrival in Maskat, and the evil designs of the Imam, became known to the King of Persia, he issued peremptory commands to the Imam, directing him to send the Prince (His guest) to him without delay, or an army would be appointed to deliver him and punish the Imam. So perforce the Imam delivered up the Prince to the Shah's officers. ** When the Prince approached Isfahan, Shah Sulaiman went forth to meet him. **On the death of Shah Sulaiman, his successor showed the Prince even greater hospitality and attention, so that the Prince asked for an army and money to assist him in Hindustan. Shah Husain excused himself, **and the Prince then asked permission to go to Garmsir in Khurasan. **This was granted, and provision was made for his maintenance. **He retired thither, and died there towards the close of the reign of Aurangzeb.

The author of this work has not been able to obtain such satisfactory accounts of these two or three years (*in do sih sal*), as to be worthy of being committed to writing. **But he has here recorded what he has heard from the mouths of trustworthy witnesses; also what he heard from his late brother, Muhammad Murad Khan who was servant of the Court, and on whose statements he places implicit trust; and lastly, what the author himself witnessed in his travels and at Haidarabad. He has compared and considered the information derived from these various sources, and has reduced it to writing. If there should appear to be any excess or deficiency, the pardon of the reader is solicited.

### Siege of Ram-darra

In the beginning of the twenty seventh year Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam marched from Ahmadnagar to lay siege to the forts of Ram-darra, belonging to Sambha which were in a part of the country never before penetrated by an Imperial army. **The roll of his army numbered 20,000 horse. **On the march through the narrow passes, there were many sharp fights with the enemy, in which numbers of the royal soldiers fell; but the enemy were put to flight. On reaching the village of Sampganw, the fort of that place was invested. The besiegers showed great bravery, and took the fort in two days. They then entered the country of Ram-darra. It was in

CHAPTER 9.
The Moghals in Maharashtra.
AURANGZEB.
Invasion of Bijapur.

Bijāpur or Golconḍā. On the contrary he wrote to Śārzā Khān, the leading Bijāpūr general to co-operate with the Moghals in crushing Sambhājī. But the appeal went unheeded and the emperor received clear proof of the complicity of Bijāpūr with the Marāṭhās. A diversion against the Bijāpurīs, in order to increase the pressure on Sambhājī was envisaged in January 1682. A detachment under Ruhullā Khān was sent to ravage the northern frontier of Bijāpūr and to check Marāṭhā activities in the Pareṇḍā and Śolāpūr region. Another force was sent under Prince Āzam. The fort of Dhārvār was captured but the campaign languished for many months when the prince was recalled in June 1683. In 1684 the Moghals changed their strategy against Bijāpūr. They established a number of outposts in the Bijāpūr territory under Āzam in the west and Khān-i-Jahān in the east of that kingdom. They tried to occupy or at least to ravage the surrounding lands. However, the Marāṭhā war in 1684 made any serious action against Bijāpūr impossible. It was only in March 1685 that Bijāpūr was besieged. It may be noted here that, disgusted with the decadent court of Ādil Śāh, Siddi Masūd had resigned in November 1683. Āgā Khuśrāv who had assumed the Vazīrship had died on 19th March 1684. Sikandar Ādil Śāh had taken vigorous defensive steps in the face of constant Moghal encroachments by entrusting the task of defence to Śārzā Khān and inviting his vassal the Berad chief Pām Nāyak to the capital with his brave clansmen. On 30th March a letter was received from Aurangzeb demanding free passage for the Moghal army through the Bijāpūr territory and the expulsion of Śārzā Khān. To this, Sikandar sent a spirited reply refusing to accede to the Moghal demands. Though war was not declared, it became imminent. Ādil Śāh sent a letter to Golconḍā beseeching aid from Qutb Śāh. In early 1685 a promise of support arrived from Golconḍā. The Marāṭhā contingent from Sambhājī under Melgiri Paṇḍit, arrived in Bijāpūr. On 28th March 1685 the Moghal army arrived within sight of Bijāpūr. On 1st April 1685 the first trenches were opened and the siege of Bijāpūr began. Ruhullā Khān and Qāsim Khān were posted on the north-western side.

*contd.*

a very strong position, and the air of the place did not suit the invaders. The enemy swarmed around on every side, and cut off the supplies. On one side was the sea, and on two other sides were mountains full of poisonous trees and serpents. The enemy cut down grass, which was a cause of great distress to man and beast, and they had no food but cocoa-nuts, and the grain called *kudun*, which acted like poison upon them. Great numbers of men and horses died. Grain was so scarce and dear that wheat flour sometimes could not be obtained for less than three or four rupees. Those men who escaped death dragged on a half existence, and with crying and groaning felt as if every breath they drew was their last. There was not a noble who had a horse in his stable fit for use. When the wretched state of the royal army became known to Aurangzeb, he sent an order to the officers of the port of Surat, directing them to put as much grain as possible on board of ships, and send it to the Prince's succour by sea. The enemy got intelligence of this, and as the ships had to pass by their newly-erected fortresses, they stopped them on their way, and took most of them. A few ships escaped the enemy, and reached their destination; but no *amir* got more than two or three *palas* of corn. The order at length came for the retreat of the army, and it fell back fighting all the way to Ahmadnagar, where Aurangzeb then was.....*Muntakhabu-l Lubab* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, pp. 309—315.

Khān Jahān was on the west, and Prince Āzam was posted on the south-western side. The emperor himself arrived at Śolāpūr on 24th May 1685 to be nearer the scene of operations. Prince Āzam was given the supreme command. The Moghal advance was slow and laborious and the Bijāpurīs gave them no rest. A garrison of 30,000 defended the fort, whereas an equally strong army was sent out to cut Moghal communications and raid imperial territory. For one year, the siege languidly continued, the Moghals being unable to hem the fort round and prevent all ingress and egress.

Invasion of Bijapur.

Allies now began to flock to Ādil Śāh. Contingents arrived from Siddi Masūd, Goḷconḍā and the Marāṭhās. This meant an open rupture between the Moghals and the *Sultān* of Goḷconḍā. The Bijāpurī garrison also stiffened its attacks on the besiegers and inflicted heavy casualties upon them. The position of the Moghals was further weakened by the famine which raged in the Moghal camp. The Emperor, to save his son, ordered a retreat but Āzam, whose spirit had been roused, refused to reduce himself to the level of Śāh Ālam who had returned from the Koṅkaṇ campaign with dismal failure. He decided to carry on the siege. When Auraṅgzeb got news of the resolution of his son he took steps to send relief and reinforcement. In spite of heavy enemy attacks, reinforcements reached the Moghal camp under Ghāziuddin Khān Bahādur Firuz Juṅg. Communications between Bijāpūr and Śolāpūr were also restored. Success also crowned Prince Muāzzam-Śāh Ālam when early in October 1685 he entered Hyderābād, the *Sultān* offering his submission and accepting Moghal authority over his state. The emperor now decided to take the command of the siege operations himself. Leaving Śolāpūr on 14th June 1686 he reached Rasulpūr, a suburb, west of the fort on 3rd July 1686. The plight of the garrison was miserable. Scarcity raged in the fort resulting in the loss of men and cattle. The sap had been now carried to the edge of the moat. After incessant efforts the filling of the ditch which seemed an impossible task was completed. Auraṅgzeb, rode to the spot in person, and inspired his men to attack the fort (4th September 1686). But the attack failed due to the brisk fire of the Bijāpurīs. It was eight days after this event that Bijāpūr fell to the Moghals. This was not due to any assault by the Moghals. It was due to the decision of Sikandar Ādil and his officers to capitulate. The prospect before them was bleak. There was no hope of any help from outside. They thought surrender to be the only way of avoiding bloodshed.

Fall of Bijapur.

September 12, 1686 saw the downfall of the Bijāpūr monarchy when, Sikandar the last of the Ādil Śāhī *Sultāns*, issued out of the capital, amidst tears and lamentations of his subjects. He moved towards Auraṅgzeb's camp in Rasulpūr. He was welcomed by Ruhullā Khān and ushered in the presence of the emperor. He was enrolled among the Moghal peers. All the Bijāpurī officers were also taken over in the

CHAPTER 9.

The Moghals in Maharashtra.

AURANGZEB.

Fall of Bijapur.

Moghal service. A week after, the emperor entered the fort and received the respectful felicitations of his courtiers. Thus ended the glory of a once powerful kingdom. Bijāpūr now became a capital of one of the provincial governors. Sikandar Ādil, in vain, begged of the emperor to endow upon him the trans-Kṛṣṇā district of his former kingdom as his fief. He was lodged in the state prison of Daulatābād where shortly after he was joined by the unfortunate Abul Hasan, the *Sultān* of Goḷconḍā. Later he was in the entourage of Auraṅgzeb, in which state he died on 3rd April 1700 in his 32nd year.

Invasion of Golconda.

It was now the turn of Goḷconḍā. It may be mentioned here that Abdullā Qutb Śāh had died in 1672 after a reign of nearly 46 years and was succeeded by his son-in-law Abul Hasan, a youth descended on his father's side from the Qutb Śāhī family. He appointed Mādaṇṇā, a Brāhman, as his *Vazīr* and his brother Ākkaṇṇā as commander-in-chief and raised his nephew Yengana to a high office (1673). Mādaṇṇā continued to be in that office till his assassination in 1686. Mādaṇṇā followed a pro-Marāṭhā policy and as an evidence of this Śivājī was given more than a royal welcome on his visit to Hyderābād in 1677. There was, however, no estrangement with the Ādil Śāhī government. Auraṅgzeb had made his intentions of annexing Goḷconḍā very clear, but Bijāpūr had to be annexed first. Till then Auraṅgzeb found it more profitable to fleece and terrorise the Qutb Śāhī government than to extinguish it. Auraṅgzeb had instructed his envoy Mirzā Muhammad "not to humour Abul Hasan but bandy words with him so fearlessly that he too may be harsh to you and thus give me a justification for extirpating him."

But the last *Sultān* of Goḷconḍā refused to be hustled into a war by his enemy's ambassador and sought distraction by plunging into unrestrained sensuality. He was rightly called Tānā Śāh or the dainty king. His faults were many. Firstly, promised in the treaty of 1656, his war indemnity and older annual tributes were in arrears. Secondly, he had taken hold of the extensive *Jāgirs* which Mir Jumlā had won when in his service and in the declining days of Bijāpūr had seized Maḷkheḍ, Serum and some other districts. Thirdly, in the Moghal war with Bijāpūr he had openly helped the latter. Lastly, his greatest offence was his fraternizing with Śivājī, an infidel in the eyes of the emperor. When Auraṅgzeb, in March 1685, had attacked Bijāpūr, he had warned Abul Hasan to desist from helping Sikandar Ādil Śāh. On May 24, 1685 he dispatched Bahrāmand Khān to watch the Hyderābād frontier. Subsequently in June a letter from Abul Hasan to his agents communicating the dispatch of 40,000 troops under Khalilullā Khān to help Bijāpūr was intercepted. This brought the matters to a head and Auraṅgzeb dispatched on 28th June 1685 a vast army under Śāh Ālam to march on Hyderābād with orders to Khān-i-Jahān to join him on the way. The Moghal vanguard under Jān Nisār Khān approached Serum, 8 miles east of Maḷkheḍ. Here his path was barred by a Goḷconḍā army,

under Mir Muhammad Ibrāhīm, Śaikh Minhāj and Rustam Rāv. Khān Jahān, who was in charge of the advanced division, ran up walls round his camp at Malkhed in the face of the Golconḍā troops and practically stood a siege there. Shortly after, the prince arrived. The Moghal vanguard advanced towards Hyderābād and in an obstinate battle defeated the Deccanis in spite of heavy losses. The rains now started with great hardship to the Moghals. In the battles fought daily, both the sides suffered heavily in killed and wounded. The Moghal soldiery lost heart and had no strength left to pursue the vanquished. This impeded the Moghal advance and they camped for two months in the neighbourhood of Malkhed without fighting. Then a stinging rebuke from the emperor roused the prince to seek battle again which continued till evening, both the sides suffering heavily. In the morning it was learnt that the Deccanis had fled towards Hyderābād, the apparent cause being the seduction of their Commander-in-Chief Mir Muhammad Ibrāhīm. The Moghal approach to Hyderābād was now a matter of time. The desertion of the Commander-in-Chief had paralysed the defences of Hyderābād. Śaikh Minhāj roused the suspicions of the *Sultān* against Mādaṇṇā by telling him that the Commander-in-Chief was the protege of Mādaṇṇā who must have consented to his desertion. The *Sultān* fled to Golconḍā disregarding the advice of Mādaṇṇā to seek refuge elsewhere. In that event he, the *Sultān*, would be free to move about and reinforce its defenders. The news of the flight of Abul Hasan created a panic in the city which was plundered. A party of soldiers sent by Śāh Ālam to protect the citizens themselves joined in the plunder. The city presented the spectacle of a sack after assault by an enemy. The Moghal gains from this rich city in the Deccan were paltry. Aurangzeb suspected his son of culpable negligence. The Moghals entered the city on 8th October 1685. For some days Abul Hasan continued to send agents to the prince appealing to him to make peace on any terms agreeable to the Moghals. On 18th October 1685 Aurangzeb agreed to negotiate peace, on Abul Hasan agreeing (1) to pay 1 crore and 20 lakhs as arrears of dues and 2 lakhs as tribute every year, (2) to dismiss Mādaṇṇā and Ākkaṇṇā and (3) to give up claim to Malkhed and Serum. The payment of this huge indemnity was no easy task for Abul Hasan. He also put off the dismissal of Mādaṇṇā. This roused the wrath of the discontented Muslim nobility against Mādaṇṇā who brought about the murder of that minister early in March 1686. Ākkaṇṇā was also killed. A general attack was made by the mob on the Hindu quarters of the fort wherein many lost their lives. The heads of the assissinated ministers were sent by the Dowager *Sultānā* to the emperor and the Golconḍā envoy presented 100 elephants on behalf of his master. The Moghal troops, thereupon, evacuated the Golconḍā territory and concentrated on the conquest of Bijāpūr. On the fall of Bijāpūr city on 12th September 1686, Aurangzeb became free to deal a death blow to the Qutb Śāhī

**CHAPTER 9.**

**The Moghals in Maharashtra.**

AURANGZEB.

Invasion of Golconda.

kingdom. The campaign against Golconḍā began on 14th January 1687 when the Moghal troops having marched up to Gulburgā and Bidar left for Golconḍā. They arrived on the 28th within two miles of the city. Abul Hasan had again fled to Golconḍā and for the third time the Moghals occupied the city of Hyderābād. Abul Hasan offered new terms of submission to which the emperor's only reply was the sword. In their first assault the Moghals drove away the Golconḍā troops who had assembled in the dry ditch under the shelter of the fort walls. One of their Generals Kilic Khān, the grandfather of the future Nizām-ul-mulk Asaf Jāh died of wounds. Regular siege operations were opened against the fort on 7th February 1687. The vigorous conduct of the siege was, however, impeded by a conflict of policy and bitter personal jealousy in the Moghal camp. Prince Śāh Ālam did not desire the utter ruin of the Golconḍā sovereign. He wanted to take the entire credit for the surrender of Golconḍā to himself by inducing Abul Hasan to come to terms. A regular correspondence, therefore, ensued among the two. Śāh Ālam's secret correspondence was revealed to the emperor by the partisans of Prince Āzam in the camp. Aurangzeb acted promptly and imprisoned Śāh Ālam. The emperor's difficulties were further enhanced by the *Śiāhs* in his camp who opposed the total extinction of their fellow religionist sovereign, the *Sultān* of Golconḍā. The enemy force numbering over 40,000 under Śaikh Nizām also hindered the progress of the besiegers. The fort garrison with its inexhaustible supply of ammunition kept up an incessant fire. Every day many on the Moghal side were slain and wounded. On 16th May 1687, the Commander-in-Chief, Firuz Jung, attempted to take the fort by a surprise attack. The attack failed. The enemy fire continued unabated and the ditch round the fort was still to be filled in. As if the difficulties of the besiegers were few, nature intervened to increase them manifold. The rains lashed the camp with incessant fury and famine stalked among the besiegers due to the scarcity of provisions and forage. The raised gun platforms collapsed and the whole camp became a vast sheet of water. The fort garrison, taking courage in both hands swooped down upon the advanced batteries and trenches killing many artillery men. Reinforcement could not reach the advanced positions due to water logging and mud. Ghairat Khān, the artillery officer and 12 other high officers were captured by the enemy. It took three days for the Moghals to recover the lost ground. Abul Hasan repatriated the officers with honours and again begged for peace on the most humiliating terms. But Aurangzeb would have none of it. He issued orders to carry out siege operations more vigorously. Three mines were carried from siege trenches to under the bastions stored with 500 maunds of gunpowder. 20th June 1687 was fixed for the explosion of the mines and the delivering of the assault. The mine was exploded at early dawn. As the force of the mine was diverted outwards, the debris from the explosion fell upon the Moghal troops assembled in battle order on the plain below. A universal

AURANGZEB.

Invasion of Golconda.

clamour rose from the Moghal army mingled with the groans of the dying and the shrieks of the wounded. The gallant garrison issued out and killed the few survivors of the attacking column. They were, however, driven out by a force sent out by the emperor. This was hardly effected when the second mine exploded with the same disastrous result. More than a thousand Moghal troopers were killed and the fort garrison again took possession of Moghal field works and shelters. Firuz Jung who appeared on the scene with a large force could not dislodge them. In the fierce battles fought, he lost a number of his men. Aurangzeb now personally advanced amidst enemy fire and cheered his dispirited men. When the battle was thus raging, a severe storm broke out. The rain descended in torrents. It was then that the Deccanis made the third sortie. They destroyed the Moghal artillery positions and carried off as many guns as they could. It was difficult for the Moghals even to hold their positions. At sunset the defeated Moghals withdrew to their quarters. On 21st June 1687 the third mine was fired but it did not explode as the enemy had detonated it by removing all the powder from it. All the efforts of the Moghals thus came to naught. The morale of the imperial army was utterly gone. The famine grew worse than before. The siege was thus protracted. The only course left to Aurangzeb was to sit before the fort and starve it into surrender and that was what the emperor did. A wall of wood and earth was built round the fort of Golconḍā and Aurangzeb issued a proclamation annexing the kingdom of Hyderābād. July, August and September passed. When the rains ceased, the roads became dry and the rivers fordable. It was now that Aurangzeb's fortune smiled upon him. Without a stroke of the sword or a thrust of the spear, Golconḍā was captured by bribery. Sardār Khān, a deserter from Bijāpūr to the Moghals had gone over to Abul Hasan. He had risen to a high rank. He now betrayed his master to the enemy. He left the postern gate open for a column under Ruhullā Khān to enter the fort on the morning of 21st September 1687. This party opened the main gate through which the flood of the Moghal army passed into the fort. Abul Hasan was made captive and after a time was sent to Daulatābād. Thus ended the last of the Deccan Sultanates, the remnant of the once mighty Bahamanī kingdom[1]. What remained now were

Fall of Golconda.

[1] The details of the War between the Moghals and Bijapur and Golconda kingdoms as described by Khafi Khan are as follows :

**Kutbu-l Mulk.**

It now became known to the Emperor that Abu-l Hasan *Kutbu-l Mulk*, Sovereign of Hudarabad, had entrusted the government of his kingdom to Madana and Akana, two infidels, who were bitter enemies to the Musulmans, and brought great and increased troubles upon them. The King himself was given up to luxury, drinking and debauchery. ** Aurangzeb having turned his attention to the conquest of Hydarabad, and the subjugation of Abu-l Hasan, he first sent Khan-Jahan Kokaltash with his sons and ** with a detachment against certain adherents of Abu-l Hasan, who had taken possession of some districts dependent upon Zafar-nagar, on the pretence that they had formerly formed part of the country of Telingana. Their instructions were to chastise these men, and to recover the districts. After this, Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam with ** were sent to effect the conquest of the country of Telingana.

CHAPTER 9.

The Moghals in Maharashtra.

AURANGZEB.

Fall of Golconda.

the mopping up operations of the territories of the fallen kingdoms of Bijāpūr and Golconḍā. The Emperor sent Khānāzād Khān to subdue Pām Nāyak of Sagar. He submitted and gave up his fort on 28th November 1687. The Moghal forces under Firuz Jung were now directed towards the east and south of the newly conquered kingdoms. The districts of Karnul and the fort of Adoni were occupied by the invading army.

---

*contd.*

Aurangzeb now sent Mirza Muhammad, and superintendent of his *ghusal-khana* to Abu-l Hasan *Kutbu-l Mulk*, with a message to this effect; " It has come to our hearing that you have two very fine diamonds of 150 *surkhs* in weight, with sundry other rarities. We wish you to ascertain the value of these gems, and to send them to us for the balance of tribute due. " But he told his envoy confidentially that he did not send him to obtain the two diamonds, which he did not at all want, but rather to ascertain the truth of the evil reports which had reached him. ** Upon the arrival of Mirza Muhammad, he demanded the diamonds, according to his instructions. Abu-l Hasan swore that he had no such gems and that if he had, he would have been happy to send them without any demand being made for them. **Such stones as his predecessors possessed had been sent to the late Emperor. * *

Mirza Muhammad returned, and Abu-l Hasan learnt that armies had been sent against him under the command of Khan-Jahan and Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam. He then sent Ibrahim Khan, otherwise called Husaini, who had received the title of *Khalilu-llah Khan*, and was commander-in-chief, and one of the chief nobles of Haidarabad, with **and a force of thirty or forty thousand horse, to oppose the armies sent against him.

When the two armies approached each other, between the territories of Bijapur and Haidarabad, Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam was desirous of avoiding actual war by all means in his power. He sent a message to *Khalilu-llah Khan*, offering peace, on the following terms. Abu-l Hasan must express regret for his offences, and ask forgiveness. He must remove Madana and Akana from the management of affairs, and place them in confinement. The *parganas* of Siram, Ramgir, etc., which had been taken by force, upon unjust grounds, from the possession of servants of the Imperial throne, must be restored. The balance of tribute due must be forwarded without delay. The foolish *amirs* of the Dakhin, in their pride, sent improper answers, regardless of the Imperial anger. So preparations for battle were made on both sides.

The limits of this brief history will not admit of a detailed account of all the actions fought by Khan-Jahan Bahadur Kokaltash; but a short account of one engagement is given. In this action Khan-Jahan had not more than ten or eleven thousand horse and *Khalilu-llah Khan* had more than thirty thousand. ** Khan-Jahan's army was so outnumbered and overpowered that all chance of escape seemed difficult, and the enemy's forces came on every moment with greater strength. **One of the enemy's chiefs pressed forward, with a loud cry, to the elephant of Khan-Jahan, with the intention of hurling a javelin at him. Khan-Jahan encountered him, shouting out, " I am a nobleman, " and, allowing him no time to throw his javelin, Khan-Jahan drew his bow to his ear, and pierced his assailant with an arrow, so that he fell headlong from his horse. The royal army was still very hard pressed, intelligence constantly came in from the front and rear that the enemy were in overwhelming force, and the only course left for the army of Khan-Jahan was to retreat. At this juncture the driver of an elephant belonging to Raja Ram Singh placed a heavy chain in its mouth, and made it charge upon the enemy's advanced force. ** Wherever the elephant charged, the noise of the chain and the blows of his trunk struck terror into the enemy. The horses of two or three officers took fright, and threw their riders. Thus the army of the enemy was put to flight, and Khan-Jahan celebrated his victory, and pitched his camp on the field of battle. Many horses, elephants, and guns fell into his hands. **He then sent an officer who wrested the fort of Siram from the hands of the enemy, and placed a garrison therein.

The enemy advanced also against Prince Mu'azzam, and for some days kept up a deceptive correspondence. Fighting began and went on for three days, with great loss to both sides. On the fourth day the action was continued with increased violence, and the enemy were at length compelled to retreat. The Prince, Khan-Jahan, and the other Imperial officers, did not deem it expedient to pursue them. They determined to remain where they were, and sent a despatch of the victory to Aurangzeb. The Emperor had for some time felt a little dissatisfied with the Prince, and he was displeased with Khan-Jahan for the licence and debauchery which prevailed in his camp, and which he had repeatedly censured without effect. He was

*contd.*

also annoyed with him for not having pursued and secured Prince Akbar when that Prince was near his territory. **Whenever he wrote to him, he got a saucy answer. For these and other reasons Aurangzeb was quite offended with Khan-Jahan.

### The War with Kutbbl Mulk of Haidarabad

The despatch of victory and the intelligence of the retreat of the enemy reached Aurangzeb; but his satisfaction was turned into displeasure when he learnt that the enemy had not been pursued. He wrote an angry letter to the Prince Shah Alam and to Khan-Jahan, and was much dissatisfied. The generals of Abu-l Hasan did not after this dare to venture upon an engagement, but from time to time roving parties of them annoyed the Imperial forces at night with rockets. They sometimes showed themselves in reconnaissances by day, and fell back upon their camp. The Prince and Khan-Jahan were offended, and made no attack upon them, and remained for four or five months inactive without moving. This aggrieved Aurangzeb still more, and he wrote a strong letter of censure with his own hand to the Prince and Khan-Jahan. This letter greatly incensed the Prince.

The morning after the receipt of the letter, he held a council of war with Khan-Jahan, and the other nobles. **Khan-Jahan was opposed to fighting, and some *amirs* agreed with him. Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan and two or three *rajas* advised active operations. Nothing was decided that day, and next day Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan in private (*urged an attack upon the enemy*). Prince Shah 'Alam wrote to Muhammad Ibrahim, the commander of the enemy's army, offering terms of peace on condition of the *parganas* of Siram, Kir (or Khir), etc., being restored to the Imperial officers. **Muhammad Ibrahim consulted with his officers as to the answer to be given, **and the answer given was that they had taken the *parganas* at the point of the sword and were ready to fight for them. **(*Fighting recommenced*), and the enemy were at length defeated and put to flight. The Prince pursued them into their camp, and great consternation fell upon them.

One of the enemy's generals then sent two officers to the royal army to represent that the combatants on both sides were Musulmans, and therefore the honour and safety of the women should be regarded. They asked for a truce of three or four hours to remove the women to a place of safety, and after that they would be ready to fight again. **So the fighting and plundering was stayed. The enemy sent their women to a fort which was near, and at the end of three *pahars* the fighting recommenced on every side. **The enemy kept up the fight till evening, but then retreated.

The Prince sent a message to the enemy, to the effect that in battles number of Musulmans on both sides are killed; it would therefore be better if two or three chiefs from both sides should meet and fight it out. This would be a real trial of strength, skill and courage, and it would be seen which side had favour of God. **Next day messengers brought the news that the enemy's horse had fled towards Haidarabad. The Prince marched in pursuit, and came near to Haidarabad.

Madana Pant and his friends had raised suspicions in the mind of Abu-l Hasan that Muhammad Ibrahim had been the means of bringing the Prince thither. Abu-l Hasan was very angry and was intent upon seizing Ibrahim, and putting him to death. Muhammad Ibrahim got intelligence of this, and went to offer his service to the Prince, who received him with great favour. When intelligence of this desertion became known in Haidarabad, Abu-l Hasan was greatly alarmed, and without consulting with any of his nobles, or even caring anything for his property or the honour of his own women and family, or of others, he fled with a few servants by night, with boxes full of such valuables as he could carry, to the fort of Golkonda. When this fact became public the stores of Abu-l Hasan were plundered as also was the property of the merchants, worth four or five *krors* of rupees. The women of the soldiers, and of the inhabitants of the city were subjected to dishonour, and great disorder and destruction prevailed. Many thousand gentlemen being unable to take horse, and carry off their property, on the greatest distress took the hands of their children and wives, many of whom could not even seize a veil or sheet to cover them, and fled to the fortress.

Before Prince Shah 'Alam got intelligence of what was passing, the ruffians and plunderers of the city began their work of pillage and devastation. Nobles, merchants and poorer men, vied with each other as to who, by strength of arm, and by expenditure of money, should get their families and property into the fortress. Before break of day, the Imperial forces attacked the city, and a frightful scene of plunder and destruction followed for in every part and road and market there were *lacs* upon *lacs* of money, stuffs, carpets, horses, and elephants, belonging to Abu-l Hasan and his nobles. Words cannot express how many women and children of Musulmans and Hindus were made prisoners, or how many women of high and low degree were dishonoured. Carpets of great value, which were too heavy to carry, were cut into pieces with swords and daggers, and every bit was struggled for. Prince Shah Alam

**CHAPTER 9.** *contd.*

**The Moghals in Maharashtra.**

AURANGZEB.

Fall of Bijapur and Golconda.

appointed officers (*sazawal*) to prevent the plunder, and they did their best to restrain it, but in vain. The *kotwal* of the army received orders to go with the Imperial *diwan*, with an escort of four or five hundred horse, to take possession of what was left of the property of Abu-l Hasan.

Some persons now came from Abu-l Hasan to the Prince, most humbly and earnestly begging forgiveness of the sins which he had and had not committed. The Prince thereon strictly enjoined his officers to repress the plundering and to punish those who were setting places on fire. The disorder was in some measure diminished; but the plunderers were not really stopped in their work. After a good deal of negotiation, the Prince took pity upon Abu-l Hasan and the inhabitants of the place. He accepted his proposals, upon certain conditions. A tribute of one *kror* and twenty *lacs* of rupees was to be paid, in addition to the usual annual tribute. Madana and Akana, the two brothers, and the chief causes of the war, were to be imprisoned and deprived of all authority. The fort of Siram and the *pargana* of Khir, and other districts which had been conquered, were to remain in the hands of the Imperialists, and Abu-l Hasan was to ask forgiveness of his offences from Aurangzeb.

While the negotiations were pending, * * * some women of great influence in the harem, without the knowledge of Abu-l Hasan, laid a plot for the murder of Madana and Akana, * * whilst the two doomed wretches were proceeding from the *darbar* to their own houses, a party of slaves attacked them and killed them. Rustam Ras also, who had reached the house, was killed. Many *brahmans* lost their lives and property on that day. The heads of the two brothers were cut off, and were sent to Prince Shah' Alam by the hands of a discreet person. * *

When the Prince's despatch reached Aurangzeb, he in public approved of the terms of peace, and sent * * an officer to receive the tribute. Privately, however, he censured the Prince and Khan-Jahan, and summoned the latter to his presence.

### War with Bijapur.

Aurangzeb determined that he would march in person to effect the conquest of Bijapur, and he started with that intention on the 4th *Shaban*. * * Prince A'zam, with some experienced nobles and a suitable force, was sent to reduce Bijapur. On approaching the place, he found that the forces of the Dakhin, under the command of 'Abdu-r Ruf and Sharza Khan, hovered round him in all directions. In that year calamity had fallen on the crops, and grain was very dear. The Dakhini forces occupied the country all around, and prevented all supplies of corn from reaching Bijapur, so that grain became very scarce and dear in the (Imperial) army, and it was difficult to get a loaf. * * At length, after many severe actions, * * the forces of the enemy were driven back and convoys of provisions were brought safely into the camp of Prince Muhammad Azam and he was relieved from the difficulties which had beset him. * * Great favours and honours were bestowed on Ghaziu-d din Khan for the service he had rendered in bringing in the convoy.

The protracted duration of the siege of Bijapur, and the information he had received of the disaffection of the allies who accompanied Prince Muhammad A'zam made Aurangzeb determined to proceed thither in person. At the beginning of *Shaban*, in the twenty-eighth year of the reign, he set out from Sholapur, and on the 21st of the month he arrived before the fortress, to the great dismay of the besieged. He appointed * * several of his best officers to assist the Prince in carrying on the siege, and addressed to them some soul-stirring words. They set heartily to work constructing lines of approach, driving mines and filling up the ditch. * *

Some mischief-making people reported to Aurangzeb that on a day when an attack was made Shah Kuli was inside the fortress along with Sikandar; also that a person named Saiyid 'Alam used to come out of the city by night, and have interviews in secret with the Prince. This was confirmed by the report of Ruhu-llah Khan *Kotwal*. Orders were accordingly given for the arrest of Saiyid 'Alam when he came out to see Prince Shah 'Alam, and also for the apprehension of Shah Kuli. Shah Kuli was at length seized and brought before Aurangzeb, who examined him and endeavoured to extract from him the truth about his visits to the city. Nothing but denial was obtained from the prisoner, so the order was given for binding him and submitting him to the torture. After receiving a few blows, his spirit gave way; he divulged the whole secret, and named several others who had been concerned with him. Aurangzeb sent for Prince Shah 'Alam, and in a private interview reproached him with these secret negotiations. The Prince denied them, and said that Shah Kuli was no servant of his. Orders were given for the confinement of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan, and for the expulsion of several other persons from the army. Aurangzeb's feelings had been estranged from Prince Shah 'Alam since the transactions at Haidarabad, and he was now still more offended with him. He made no outward change in the Prince's rank and allowances, or in the honours due to him as heir apparent, but his estrangement daily increased.

*contd.*

## Conquest of Bijapur and Haidarabad.

Fall of Bijapur and Golconda.

By the exertions of Ghaziu-d din Khan Firoz Jang, and other renowned warriors and through want of supplies, the garrison of Bijapur was in great distress, and many men and horses had perished. Sharza Khan and other nobles asked for terms on behalf of Sikandar, and at the beginning of the thirtieth year of reign, in *Zi-l ka'da*, 1097 (October, 1686), the keys of the fortress were surrendered to Aurangzeb. The conquest was celebrated with great display, and Sikandar was placed in confinement in the fort of Daulatabad, a suitable provision being made for his support.

At the end of *Muharram* Aurangzeb notified his intention of going to pay a visit to the tomb of Hazrat Banda-nawaz Saiyid Muhammad Gisu and marched towards Kulbarga. He sent a kind *farman* to Abu-l Hasan and another to Sa'adat Khan his own *hajib* at Haidarabad asking for payment of the tribute. He also wrote privately to Sa'adat Khan, to the effect that it was his intention shortly to march against Haidarabad and conquer it; but Sa'adat Khan was meanwhile to do his utmost to obtain money from Abu-l Hasan. Sa'adat Khan flattered Abu-l Hasan with hopes of favours from Aurangzeb and exerted himself to obtain payment of the tribute. Abu-l Hasan in the hope of finding safety told Sa'adat Khan that he was unable to find the money; but he offered instead the jewels and valuables belonging to his wives and others. He therefore asked him to send his young eunuch to select and take away the jewels and other things. Sa'adat Khan refused to send the eunuch and negotiations went on for some days until the intelligence was brought that Aurangzeb was at Kulbarga.

Abu-l Hasan, in the extremes of fear and hope sent for Sa'adat Khan and delivered into his charge several trays of jewels and valuables without even settling the value of them. These were sealed up, and it was arranged that Sa'adat Khan should carry them to his house. In the course of the next two or three days Abu-l Hasan would do his best to obtain the tribute money, and would, send it to the house of Sa'adat Khan. The value of the jewels was then to be settled, and the whole was to be sent to Aurangzeb, with a letter from Sa'adat Khan commending Abu-l Hasan's willingness and obedience, and praying for merciful consideration. Abu-l Hasan sent some baskets with them.

Two or three days later intelligence was brought that Aurangzeb had left Kulbarga and had arrived at Golkonda. Everybody now said that his object was to conquer Golkonda. Abu-l Hasan sent to Sa'adat Khan, saying * * that he had no longer hope of any consideration from Aurangzeb, and demanded back the jewels which he had placed in his charge. Sa'adat Khan replied that* * he had sent the jewels to Aurangzeb in the baskets which accompanied Abu-l Hasan's present of fruit. A great scene followed. Abu-l Hasan placed a guard over Sa'adat Khan's house. * * The latter said that he had only obeyed the orders, and acted in accordance with his wishes in sending the jewels. "For this," said he, "you are now about to kill me. My master has long desired some pretext for destroying you, he cannot have a better one than the murder of his *hajib*. If I am spared, I can do something to obtain forgiveness for you and I will exert myself to the utmsot." * * In some matters Sa'adat Khan had befriended Abu-l Hasan against the designs of his own master. So Abu-l Hasan, thinking of what might follow refrained from injuring him, and made him presents. * *

When Aurangzeb drew near to Haidarabad, Abu-l Hasan felt that the time of his fall was near; but he sent a letter to Aurangzeb renewing his protestations of obedience, and reiterating his claims to forgiveness. * * Aurangzeb wrote a reply, the gist of which was as follows; "The evil deeds of this wicked man pass beyond the bounds of writing; but by mentioning one out of a hundred, and a little out of much, some conception of them may be formed. First, placing the reins of authority and government in the hands of vile tyrannical infidels; oppressing and afflicting the *saiyids*, *shaikhs*, and other holy men; openly giving himself up to excessive debauchery and depravity; indulging in drunkenness and wickedness night and day; making no distinction between infidelity and Islam, tyranny and justice, depravity and devotion; waging obstinate war in defence of infidels; want of obedience to the Divine commands and prohibitions, especially to that command which forbids assistance to an enemy's country, the disregarding of which had cast a censure upon the Holy Book in the sight both of God and man. Letters full of friendly advice and warning upon these points had been repeatedly written, and had been sent by the hands of discreet men. No attention had been paid to them; moreover it had lately become known that a *lac* of *pagodas* had been sent to the wicked Sambha. That in this insolence and intoxication and worthlessness, no regard had been paid to the infamy of his deeds, and no hope shown of deliverance in this world or in the next."

Abu-l Hasan, seeing that there was no longer any hope for him, sent forth his forces, under the command of his best officers, to meet Aurangzeb, urging them to fight valiantly, and to endeavour to make Aurangzeb prisoner. * * On the 24th *Rabiu-l awwal* royal army took ground at gun-shot distance from Golkonda, and

**CHAPTER 9.** *contd.*

**The Moghals in Maharashtra.**

AURANGZEB.

the work of the siege began. * * Abu-l Hasan had forty or fifty thousand horse outside the walls, with whom the royal army had frequent encounters, and a sharp fire of guns and rockets was kept up from the fortifications. Some distinguished officers of the royal army and many men were lost on both sides. After the arrival of Firoz Jang, the whole management of the siege was placed in his hands.

Fall of Bijapur and Golconda.

Prince Shah 'Alam had fallen under the displeasure of his father at the siege of Bijapur; still at the siege of Golkonda, the lines on the right side were under his command. But the days of his fortune and prosperity had been overshadowed by some years of trouble and misconduct. He now secretly received messages and presents from Abu-l Hasan, to secure his services and the services of his associates, in obtaining forgiveness of past offences. The Prince's objects were that peace and war should be dependent upon his approval as heir apparent and that as far as possible he should bind Abu-l Hasan to his interests. He never reflected that this course must eventually end in his fall and disgrace. Some meddling mischief-making people got information of what was going on, and informed Aurangzeb. **The manager of the Prince's equipages now reported to him that the carriages belonging to his *zanana* were far away from his tents, and were open to attacks from the garrison. He accordingly ordered that they should be brought nearer to his tent.

Some of Prince Muhammad A'zam's companions informed Aurangzeb that Shah 'Alam was about to make his way into the city. On hearing this, Aurangzeb was greatly enraged. He called Hayat Khan, and another of Shah 'Alam's confidential servants, to his presence, and questioned them in private as to the Prince's intention. They replied that the Prince's object was to obtain, by his influence, a pardon for Abu-l Hasan, and, failing in that, to do his best for the reduction of the fortress. Of evil intentions he had none. **But for all their pleas and protestations they could not remove the suspicions which Aurangzeb had of his son. **Orders were given for a force to be sent to bring the Prince before him. Hayat Khan said there was no necessity for that. If the Emperor sent an officer to call the Prince, he would come at once, for he had no thought but of obedience. So on the 18th *Rabiu-s sani*, in the twenty-ninth year of the reign, an officer was sent to bring the Prince, with Muhammad 'Azim, his second son, to the royal presence. The Prince obeyed immediately, and waited on his august father. **The Emperor ordered that all the establishments of the Prince should be seized, and his *mansabs* and *jagirs* confiscated. (*Harsh treatment of Nuru-l Nissa, the Prince's wife, and of her eunuchs.*). But here we will refrain from entering upon the unhappy details of the Prince's imprisonment, and his libera tion, and will proceed with the account of the conquest of Golkonda.

Day by day, and week by week, the approaches were pushed forward under the direction of Ghaziu-d din Firoz Jang, but they were encountered with great daring by the besieged under the command of Shaikh Nizam, Mustafa Khan Lari, otherwise called 'Abdu-r Razzak, and others. The fighting was desperate, and many were killed on both sides. **After one sharp encounter, in which a sally of the garrison was driven back with loss, Shaikh Minhaj, Shaikh Nizam, and others, deserted Abu-l Hasan, and came over to the besiegers, when Aurangzeb granted to them suitable *mansabs* and titles. Muhammad Ibrahim, who was the first to quit the way of error, and to enter upon the royal road of rectitude, received a *mansab* of 7,000 and 6,000 horse, with the title of Mohabat Khan. He exerted himself above all others in endeavouring to reduce the fortress. Shaikh Nizam received a *mansab* of 6,000 and 5,000 horse, with the title of Takarrub Khan. Of all the nobles of Abu-l Hasan, the one who never forsook him until the fall of the place, and who throughout exerted himself in an inconceivable manner, was Mustafa Khan Lari, or, as he was also called, Abdu-r Razzak.

The siege was protracted for a long time and from the immense stores of ammunition in the fortress, an unintermitting discharge was kept up night and day from the gates, and towers, walls, of cannon balls, bullets, rockets and other fiery missiles. The smoke arising from the constant firing removed the distinction of day and night, and no day passed without the besiegers suffering a loss in killed and wounded. The assailants exerted themselves vigorously, especially * * and so in the course of a month and some days the lines were carried up to the very edge of the ditch, and orders were issued for filling it up. It is said that Aurangzeb himself, after observing the rite of purification, sewed the seams of the first cotton bag to be filled with earth and thrown into the moat. High mounds were raised, and heavy guns were placed upon them and pointed against the fortress. Their heavy fire greatly harassed the defenders. The scarcity and dearness of grain and fodder (within the city) was extreme, so that many men of wealth were disheartened; who then can describe the position of the poor and needy? Throughout the Dakhin in the early part of this year there was a scarcity of rain when the *jowar* and *bajra* came into ear, so they dried up and perished. These productions of the autumn harvest are the main support of the people of the Dakhin. Rice is the principal food of the people of Haidarabad, and the cultivation of this had been stopped by war and by scarcity of rain. The Dakhinis and the forces of the hell-dog Sambha had come to the assistance of Haidarabad, and hovering

AURANGZEB.

Fall of Bijapur and Golconda.

*contd.*

round the Imperial forces, they cut off the supplies of grain. Pestilence (*waba*) broke out, and carried off many men. Thus great numbers of men were lost. Others, unable to bear the pangs of hunger and wretchedness, went over to Abu-l Hasan, and some treacherously rendered aid to the besieged.

When the siege had been carried on for some time, Aurangzeb recalled Prince Muhammad A'zam, whom, in consequence of the unfaithfulness of Prince Shah 'Alam, he had sent to settle the country round Ujjain and Akbarabad, and who had got as far as Burhanpur. He also summoned Ruhu-llah Khan, an experienced and highly-trusted nobleman, from Bijapur. Soon after the Prince's arrival, the dearness of grain passed all bounds. **In the middle of *Rajab*, when the siege had lasted three months, ** it was resolved to make an attempt to take the place by surprise at night, by means of scaling-ladders and ropes. A few brave men succeeded in ascending the ramparts, ** but the barking of a dog gave the alarm, and the defenders rushed to the walls and soon despatched those who had gained the top. They also threw down the ladders, and so made an end of those who were mounting. Others opened fire. When the leaders of the storming party gained the summit of the ramparts, one of Aurangzeb's servants ran off to report their success, without waiting to see the result of the enterprise. Aurangzeb, on receiving his report, ordered the drums of victory to be beaten, and ordered out his royal equipage and state dress. Next day spies reported that Abu-l Hasan gave the dog a gold collar, a plated chain, etc., and directed that the dog should be kept chained near to himself.

In the middle of *Sha'ban* a heavy rain fell for three days ** which was the cause of very great distress to the besiegers, ** and destroyed many of their works. ** The enemy also took courage, and made a sally in great force, in which they did great damage, ** and killed many men and took some prisoners. Abu-l Hasan treated his prisoners with hospitality and honour. ** He took Sarbarah Khan to his granaries and magazines and showed him his stores of corn and heaps of treasure. He then wrote a letter to Aurangzeb reciting ** and offering to present a *kror* of rupees, and also to pay a *kror* of rupees for each time that Aurangzeb had besieged the place; so that any further slaughter of Musulmans might be prevented. If his proposals were not accepted he offered to supply five or six hundred thousand *mans* of grain for the troops. When these proposals were reported to Aurangzeb, he said, "If Abu-l Hasan does not repudiate my authority, he must come to me with clasped hands, or he must be brought bound before me. I will then consider what consideration I can show him." He then issued orders to the officials of Birar for the preparation of 50,000 bags of cotton, and for other materials for carrying on the siege and filling up the moat.**

On the 19th *Sha'ban* it was reported that a triple mine had been driven under the bastions of the fortress, and charged with gunpowder. Orders were then given that a force should be collected in the lines as if about to make an attack upon the undermined work so that the enemy might observe this, and assemble his men there. The mines were then to be fired. Abdu-r Razzak Lari and others of the besieged, having observed these proceedings, commenced countermining. They pushed their work with such skill and activity, **that they drew the powder and match from one mine, and poured water into the other two. The Imperial troops collected for the assault, and raised their cries; and the gunners watched the ramparts for the proper moment for firing the mine. When the signal was given, one mine exploded, but as part of the powder had been extracted and of the remaining part that which lay nearest to the fortress was wet, the blowing up of the bastion did more injury to the besiegers than the besieged. **The garrison then sallied forth, and occupied the trenches, killing all whom they found alive in them. After a severe struggle, in which many men fell on both sides, the trenches were recovered. The second mine was exploded, and thousands of stones, great and small, were hurled into the air; but, as in the former case, they fell upon the heads of the besiegers, ** and great numbers were killed and wounded.**

Great wailings and complaints arose from the troops engaged in the siege. ** The cannonade recommenced on both sides, and many more of the besiegers fell. **Although Firoz Jang exerted himself most strenuously, he made no impression upon the place. The long delay kindled the anger of Aurangzeb. He called his chiefs and officers together, ** and placing himself at about a gun-shot distance from the walls he ordered an assault to be made under his own eyes. Prodigies of valour were exhibited. ** But a storm of wind and rain arose, and obstructed the progress of the assailants, ** and they were forced to fall back drenched with rain. The garrison again made a sally, took possession of the trenches, spiked the heavy guns, on the mounting of which immense money and labour had been expended, and carried away all that was portable. They pulled out of the moat the logs of wood, and the many thousands of bags which had been used to fill it up, and used them to repair the breaches made by the mines. ** It was afterwards determined that the third mine should be sprung in the presence of Aurangzeb. But although fire was applied, nothing resulted. An examination as to the cause was instituted, but nothing was

CHAPTER 9.

The Moghals in Maharashtra.

AURANGZEB.

Fall of Bijapur and Golconda.

*contd.*

discovered until it was learnt from spies that the enemy had cleared out the powder and cut the match. **Firoz Jang had received two arrow wounds. The command of the army was then given to Prince Muhammad 'Azam.

Several of the officers of Abu-l Hasan had come over to the side of Aurangzeb and had received suitable titles, *mansabs*, and presents. Shaikh Minhaj, having heard of this, was about to desert, but Abu-l Hasan placed him in confinement, and seized his house. Of all his nobles, none remained faithful to Abu-l Hasan but Abdu-r Razzak Lari, who had received the title Mustafa Khan and 'Abdu-llah Khan Pani Afghan. At the end of *Shaban*, the siege had lasted eight months, and Abu-l Hasan's men still worked indefatigably. At length, 'Abdu-llah Khan made secret overtures to Aurangzeb, and agreed to open one of the gates of the city for the admission of his troops.

Aurangzeb frequently communicated with 'Abdu-r Razzak Lari, and promised him a *mansab* of six thousand, with six thousand horse, and other regal favours. But that ungracious faithful fellow, taking no heed of his own interest and life, in the most insolent manner exhibited the Emperor's letter to the men in his bastion, and tore it to pieces in their presence, and he sent message by the spy who had brought it to say that he would fight to the death like the horsemen who fought with Imam Husain at Karbala.

The besiegers continued to show great resolution in pushing on the siege. They cast into the ditches thousands of bags filled with dirt and rubbish, and thousands of carcases of animals and men who had perished during the operations. Several times the valour of the assailants carried them to the top of the walls ; but the watchfulness of the besieged frustrated their efforts so they threw away their lives in vain and the fortress remained untaken. But the fortune of 'Alamgir at length prevailed, and after a siege of eight months and ten days the place fell into his hands ; but by good fortune, not by force of sword and spear.

At the beginning of the month *Zi-l ka'da* at the commencement of the thirty-first year of the reign, agreeing with 1098 A. H. (Sept. 1687) by the efforts of Ruhu-llah Khan a negociation was concluded, through Ranmast Khan Afghan Pani, with 'Abdu-llah Khan who was one of the confidential officers of Abu-l Hasan, and had charge of the gate called the *khirki* (wicket). In the last watch of the night Ruhu-llah Khan and ** at a sign from 'Abdu-llah, entered the fortress by means of ladders. Prince Muhammad A'zam, mounted on an elephant had a large force ready to enter by the gate. Those who had got in went to the gate, posted their men, opened the gate, and raised the cry of victory.

'Abdu-r Razzak Lari heard this, and springing on a horse without any saddle, with a sword in one hand and a shield in the other, and accompanied by ten or twelve followers, he rushed to the open gate, through which the Imperial forces were pouring in. Although his followers were dispersed, he alone, like a drop of water falling into the sea, or an atom of dust struggling in the rays of the sun, threw himself upon the advancing foe, and fought with inconceivable fury and desperation shouting that he would fight to the death for Abu-l Hasan. Every step he advanced, thousands of swords were aimed at him, and he received so many wounds from swords and spears that he was covered with wounds from the crown of his head to the nails of his feet. But his time was not yet come, and he fought his way to the gate of the citadel without being brought down. He received twelve wounds upon his face alone, and the skin of his forehead hung down over his eyes and nose. One eye was severely wounded and the cuts upon his body seemed as numerous as the stars. His horse also was covered with wounds, and reeled under his weight, so he gave the reins to the beast and by great exertion kept his seat. The horse carried him to a garden called Nagina, near the citadel, to the foot of an old cocoa-nut tree where, by the help of the tree, he threw himself off. On the morning of the second day a party of men belonging to Husaini Beg passed and recognizing him by his horse and other signs, they took compassion upon him, and carried him upon a bedstead to a house. When his own men heard of this, they came and dressed his wounds. The remainder of the story of this brave devoted warrior shall be told hereafter.

The shouts and cries, and the groans and lamentations, within and without, made Abu-l Hasan aware that all was over. He went into his harem to comfort his women, to ask pardon of them, and take leave of them. Then though his heart was sad, he controlled himself and went to his reception room, and took his seat upon the *masnad*, and watched for the coming of his unbidden guests. When the time for taking his meal arrived, he ordered the food to be served up. As Ruhu-llah Khan and others arrived he saluted them all, and never for a moment lost his dignity. With perfect self-control he received them with courtesy and spoke to them with warmth and elegance.

Abu-l Hasan called for his horse and accompanied the *amirs*, carrying a great wealth of pearls upon his neck. When he was introduced into the presence of Prince Muhammad A'zam Shah, he took off his necklace of pearls and presented it to the

*contd.*

Prince in a most graceful way. The Prince took it and placing his hand upon his back, he did what he could to console and encourage him. He then conducted him to the presence of Aurangzeb, who also received him very courteously. After a few days the Emperor sent him to the fortress of Daulatabad, and settled a suitable allowance for providing him with food, raiment, and other necessaries. Officers were appointed to take possession of the effects of Abu-l Hasan and his nobles.

'Abdu-r Razzak, senseless, but with a spark of life remaining, was carried to the house of Ruhu-llah Khan. As soon as the eyes of Saf-shikan Khan fell upon him he cried out, "This is that vile Lari ! cut off his head and hang it over the gate". Ruhu-llah replied that to cut off the head of a dying man without orders, when there was no hope of his surviving, was far from being humane. A little bird made the matter known to Aurangzeb, who had heard of Abdu-r Razzak's daring and courage, and loyalty, and he graciously ordered that two surgeons, one a European, the other a Hindu, should be sent to attend the wounded man, who were to make daily reports of his condition to Aurangzeb.

The Emperor sent for Ruhu-llah Khan, and told him that if Abu-l Hasan had possessed only one more servant devoted like 'Abdu-r Razzak, it would have taken much longer to subdue the fortress. The surgeons reported that they had counted nearly seventy wounds, besides the many wounds upon wounds which could not be counted. Although one eye was not injured, it was probable that he would lose the sight of both. They were directed carefully to attend to his cure. At the end of sixteen days, the doctors reported that he had opened one eye, and spoken a few flattering words expressing a hope of recovery. Aurangzeb sent a message to him forgiving him his offences, and desiring him to send his eldest son 'Abdu-l Kadir with his other sons, that they migkt receive suitable *mansabs* and honours, and return thanks for the pardon granted to their father, and for the *mansabs* and other favours. When this gracious message reached that devoted and peerless hero, he gasped out a few words of reverence and gratitude, but he said that there was little hope of his recovery. If however, it pleased the Almighty to spare him and give him a second life, it was not likely that he would be fit for service but should he ever be capable of service, he felt that no one who had eaten the salt of Abu-l Hasan, and had thriven on his bounty, could enter the service of King 'Alamgir (Aurangzeb). On hearing these words, a cloud was seen to pass over the face of His Majesty ; but he kindly said, " When he is quite well let me know ". Most of Abdu-r Razzak's property had been plundered, but such as was left was given over to him.

Some time afterwards it was reported that 'Abdur Razzak had got quite well, and an order was issued to the *Subadar* to send him to the royal presence. 'Abdu-r Razzak tried to excuse himself, and expressed a wish to go with his children on the pilgrimage to Mecca, on returning from which blessed journey he would devote himself to prayer for the long life of His Majesty. Orders were then given for arresting him and sending him to Court. Firoz Jang got information of this, and with great sympathy invited 'Abdu-r Razzak to come and stay with him. He kept him for some time with marked kindness, and after the lapse of a year 'Abdu-r Razzak entered the Imperial service with a *mansab* of 4,000 and 3,000 horse.

The property of Abu-l Hasan which was recovered after its dispersion amounted to eight *lacs* and fifty-one thousand *huns*. and two *krors* and fifty-three thousand rupees, altogether six *krors* eighty *lacs* and ten thousand rupees, besides jewels, inlaid articles and vessels of gold and silver. The total in *dams* was one *arb* fifteen *krors* sixteen *lacs* and a fraction, which was the sum entered on the records.

The mud fort of Golkonda was built by the ancestors of *Raja* Deo Rai, and it was acquired by the Bahmani Sultans after a good deal of resistance. Upon the fall of the Bahmahi dynasty, their territories fell into the hands of a number of petty chiefs ; but Sultan Muhammad Kuli, entitled *Kutbu-l Mulk*, who had been one of the nobles of Sultan Muhammad Shah Bahmani, brought some of the provinces of the Dakhin under his rule. For the old mud fort of Raja Deo Rai, which stood upon the summit of a hill, he substituted one of stone. After some descents, the kingdom came to Muhammad Kutbu-l Mulk, for all the descendants bore the name of Kutbu-l Mulk. He took great pains in repairing the fort of Golkonda. He had a wife named Bhagmati, of whom he was very fond. At her request, he built a city two *kos* distant from the fortress, to which he gave the name of Bhagnagar. Some time after the death of Bhagmati, the name was changed to Haidarabad ; but in the vernacular language of the people it is still called Bhagnagar. That woman had established many brothels and drinking shops in that place, and the rulers had always been addicted to pleasure and to all sorts of debauchery. Abu-l Hasan exceeded all his predecessors in his devotion to pleasure. So the city got an evil name for licentiousness. After the conquest by Aurangzeb, it was called the hostile country (*daru-l jihad*). (*Surrender of the fort of Sakar between Haidarabad and Bijapur.*)—*Muntakhabu-l Lubab* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, pp. 315—36.

CHAPTER 9.

**The Moghals in Maharashtra.**

AURANGZEB.

Capture and death of Sambhaji.

The full force of the Moghal might was now directed against the Marāṭhā kingdom. The need to conquer Bijāpūr and Golconḍā had delayed the invasion of the Marāṭhā kingdom and had given Sambhājī, the Marāṭhā King, some respite to prepare against the threatened attack. In February 1689 Sambhājī was surprised at Saṅgameśvar and seized along with Kavi Kalaś and others by Śaikh Nizām *alias* Muqarrab Khān. He was brought to the imperial camp at Bahādurgaḍ on the Bhīmā on the 15th of February. The captives were subsequently removed to Koregāṅv and executed on 11th March 1689. The year 1689 thus saw the Emperor Auraṅgzeb triumphant in the Deccan.

This was not, however, the end. The Marāṭhās, though they had lost their King, waged a relentless war against the Moghals, first under Rājārām till 1700 and then under Tārābāī till 1707 when with the death of the emperor, the Moghals withdrew from the Marāṭhā territory.

EPILOGUE.

"All seemed to have been gained by Auraṅgzib now; but in reality all was lost. It was the beginning of his end. The saddest and most hopeless chapter of his life now opened. The Mughal empire had become too large to be ruled by one man or from one centre..... His enemies rose on all sides; he could defeat but not crush them for ever. Lawlessness reigned in many parts of Northern and Central India. The administration grew slack and corrupt. The endless war in the Deccan exhausted his treasury. Napoleon I used to say, "It was the Spanish ulcer which ruined me." The Deccan ulcer ruined Auraṅgzib."[1]

[1] Sarkar : *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. *IV*, p. 407.

# CHAPTER 10—MEDIAEVAL ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIAL ORGANISATION



INTRODUCTION.

THE HISTORY OF THE MEDIAEVAL PERIOD OF MAHĀRĀṢṬRA roughly extends from 1317 A.D. to 1687 A.D. In that year the last vestiges of Mediaeval Mahārāṣṭra, the Bijāpūr and Goḷconḍā Sultanates were finally destroyed by the Moghals. The last few years of the Mediaeval period also saw the beginning of the epic struggle between the Moghals and the emerging power of the Marāṭhās. The beginning of the mediaeval period saw the displacement of the Hindu Kingdoms that ruled the various parts of Mahārāṣṭra and the gradual consolidation of Muslim rule. The Delhi Sultanates did not stay for long in the Deccan. A separate Kingdom was established in the Deccan in 1347 under the Bahamanīs. Its rule circumscribed practically the entire area of Mahārāṣṭra. The Bahamanī Kingdom disintegrated with the death of Mahmūd Gāvān in 1482. The Deccan was now governed by the five succession states of the Bahamanī Kingdom *viz.*, Ahmadnagar, Bijāpūr, Berār, Goḷconḍā and Bidar. Of these, Ahmadnagar, (which annexed Berār in 1574) and Bijāpūr (which annexed Bidar in 1619) between themselves brought under their administrative control practically the whole of Mahārāṣṭra excluding Khāndeś, and the Portuguese possessions on the western coast. The last decades of the 16th century saw the Moghal invasion of the Deccan. During the succeeding years the Moghals were locked in a struggle with the Deccan Sultanates and the Marāṭhās. The Marāṭhās, under the able leadership of Śivājī, had established a separate state.

The change over from the so called ancient period to the mediaeval period could be regarded as extremely significant, because it was not a mere replacement of one dynasty by another or by a more powerful one. It represented a change in the basic tenets and principles that governed the political theory and administrative organisation in the ancient period. This change in the character and composition of the monarchy had a profound effect on the socio-economic conditions and the political organizations of the period. In the nature of things this was inevitable. The new rulers brought with them their own institutions, their ideas about the framework of socio-economic and political organisation, their concepts of art and architecture and above all the religious dogmatism which was generally the guiding principle of all mediaeval states. It was natural also for the then existing socio-economic and political institutions to feel the impact of this change. In this chapter it

**CHAPTER 10. Mediaeval Administration and Social Organisation.**

INTRODUCTION.

is proposed to consider the changes brought about in the material and moral conditions of mediaeval Mahārāṣṭra as a result of this impact of foreign or alien rule. The chapter is divided into three sections the first dealing with the conditions under the Delhi Sultanates, the second under the Bahamanīs and their succession states and the third under the Moghals.

DELHI SULTANATES.

Muslim rule in Mahārāṣṭra became consolidated in the year 1317 A.D. The Yādava Kingdom which had continued its precarious existence as a feudatory of the *Sultāns* of Delhi from 1286 was finally annexed to the Delhi empire in 1317 A.D. The sovereignty of Delhi over its Deccan province lasted till 1347 A.D. During these thirty years the aristocracy of the Old Yādava Kingdom seems to have disappeared completely. It was only on the fringes of the Old Yadāva Kingdom as for example in the Goṇḍvana, in Bāglāṇa, in the southern parts of the Koṅkaṇ and in the areas immediately south of Mahārāṣṭra, such as Jamkhiṇḍī and Kampilli that we come across Hindu chiefs who were trying to maintain their independence. The picture of Mahārāṣṭra as it emerges is that it was held by military chiefs of the *Sultāns* of Delhi. They were subordinate to the Governor who had his headquarters at Devagiri, renamed Daulatābād. The areas held by these chiefs were known as *Iqtāfs* and the conditions on which they were held were loyalty to the sovereign and supply of contingents in time of need. The Delhi rule on the Deccan thus appears to be mainly of a military nature. The regime must have been severe in its nature as we do not hear of any rebellion of local population in the heart of Mahārāṣṭra[1].

---

1. In what follows is given detailed information about the various aspects of the rule of Delhi Sultanates such as their administrative set-up, socio-economic conditions under them, their revenue administration, the Kings law, etc.

The Muslim state was founded on the basic principle of the dominant position of Islam in the State. Theoretically the authority of the Muslim *Sultan* was limited by the *Sharia*. In practice, however, the Muslim *Sultan* was an autocrat, a dictator whose authority was derived from the vast military strength that he commanded. This was recognised to be so by all his subjects alike and they regarded him as the principal law giver and the chief administrator of the state. The development of this despotic tendency among the Muslim *Sultans* is attributable to a variety of factors. In the first instance the danger of external attacks especially from the Moghols had not subsided and there was always the fear of the revival of Hindu nationalism. This forced the Muslim *Sultans* to be always on guard and to be in a state of military preparedness. Secondly there was no hereditary class of nobles, alert and equally efficient to safeguard and protect their rights. This gave the *Sultan* an upper hand in dealing with them. The class of nobility generally preferred personal convenience to the interests of the state. Lastly there did not exist a conscious public opinion or a representative body that could act as a firm controlling lever upon the despotic *Sultans*. In short, the *Sultan* was a true despot, acting in a dictatorial manner. His commands were to be acted upon and executed with utmost obedience.

The administration of the state was run by a formal council of ministers, *Majlis-i-Khalwat* with the *Wazir* or prime minister at the head. This council could in no way be compared with its counterpart of the modern time. Its duties were of an executive nature. The *Wazir* controlled the departments of the state such as the *Diwan-i-Rasalat*, the *Diwan-i-Arz*, the *Diwan-i-Insha*, the *Diwan-i-Bandgan*, the *Diwan-i-Qazi-i-Mamaliq*, the *Diwan-i-Amir Qohi*, the *Diwan-i-Mustakharaj*, the *Diwan-i-Khairat*, the *Diwan-i-Ishihqaq*, the mint and the *Karkhanas*. The officers of these departments such as *Khans*, *Maliks* and *Amirs* were received by the *Sultan* in *Bar-i-Khas*. There were other subordinate officers equivalent to the ministers at the

In 1347, Hasan Gaṅgū founded the independent dynasty of the Bahamanīs which was destined to rule in Mahārāṣṭra for nearly 125 years.

The change over of the rule from the Delhi Sultanates to the Bahamanīs was marked by a particular change in the political and economic organization in Mediaeval Mahārāṣṭra. It also affected the social and cultural patterns of the society. It has to be remembered that the rulers had inherited a system of culture that was essentially and basically different from the traditional Hindu culture, which Mahārāṣṭra had maintained and sustained.

---

*contd.*

state level in modern parlance. They were the *Mustaufi-i-Mamaliq*, the *Mushrif-i-Mamaliq*, *the Majumdar*, the *Khazin*, the *Amir-i-Behr*, and the *Bakshi-i-Fauj*. The *Wazir* was assisted by a deputy called *Naib-i-Wazir-i-Mamaliq*.

Though the *Sultan* acted as the supreme judge and heard cases in *Bar-i-Am'* the actual administration of justice was the responsibility of *Qazi-ul-Qazat*. He was assisted by officers such as *Muftis*, the *Muhatasibs* and the *Kotwals* for the execution of the state and the Municipal laws. Though the basis of law was *Sharia* the law officers were often guided by considerations of policy. The system of administering justice in an open assembly prevalent under the Hindu Kingdoms was, however, continued in the villages. The criminal law was very severe and heavy punishments including mutilation and death were imposed upon the criminals. The forts usually served as prisons. The prison regulations, however, were lax and corruption prevailed among the officers.

The principal sources of the revenues of the state were the *Kharaj* or land tax obtained from the landlords, revenue from *Khalsa* or crown lands and *iqta's* or lands granted to officers, *Khams*, religious tax, house tax, grazing tax, water tax and income from trade duties. The taxes were collected both in cash and kind. The financial policy of the state was mainly determined by the personality of the ruler who could make it as comprehensive as Alauddin Khilji or as worse as Muhammad-bin-Tughluq.

The armies of the *Sultan* consisted of the royal bodyguards and the levies procured in times of emergency from the provincial governors and the contingents of Hindu troops. The main components of the army were infantry, cavalry, elephants and archers. Artillery came to be used at a later period. But references are, however, found to mechanical devices such as *manjanigs*, *mangonel's*, *mangons* which were used to discharge fire balls, fire arrows, pieces of rock, stones, earthen or iron balls etc., at the enemy. These mechanical devices were specially used during the siege craft of forts.

For the convenience of administration the state was divided into provinces under the charge of a *Naib*. The provinces were further subdivided into small units equivalent approximately to a district and placed in charge of *Muqtas* or of *Amils*. The charge of the *Amils* was further divided into smaller units and put in charge of *shiqdars*. The lowest administrative unit was called *sadi* and its head was called *Amir-i-Sadah*. He had many subordinate officers under him, mostly Hindus who were called the *Chaudhari*, the *muta Sarif*, the *Khut*, the *Muqaddam* and others. The provincial governors were in full control of the executive, judicial and military administration of the territory in their charge. They were no doubt subject to central control but the extent of this control was determined by the strength or weakness of the ruling Sultan. The provincial governor maintained his own militia. His expenditure was borne on the provincial revenues and he was expected to remit the surplus to the central treasury. It may be noted that in spite of the change in the government, the village communities appear to have been left unaffected in the new administrative set-up.

The end of the Tughluq period saw the introduction of a new element in the old local administrative system with new Muslim appointees. They worked alongwith the old local Hindu Officer who helped them settle local problems.

It is very difficult to arrive at a consolidated account of the socio-economic framework of the mediaeval Maharashtra first under the Delhi Sultanates and then under the Bahamanis. An attempt is made here to present whatever information is available from the works of authors like Amir Khusrav and Isami, Marathi Chronicles, from folklore and fiction, from the accounts left by foreign travellers, from some

**CHAPTER 10. Mediaeval Administration and Social Organisation.**

BAHAMANIS.

The outlook of the new rulers was that of the victors. Their natural tendency was to impose upon the vanquished their own culture by displacing the indigenous one. A conflict of cultures seemed inevitable. The impact of new ideas and innovations upon the original and indigenous Hindu culture was profound. But it goes to the credit of the social structure of mediaeval Mahārāṣṭra that it absorbed the shocks of this impact and allowed for the growth of the resultant new tendencies without losing its original character.

---

*contd.*

official and private correspondence and from the writings of Hindu as well as Muslim mystics and historians, about the social and economic conditions which then prevailed.

The main reason which attracted the foreign invaders to attack the Deccan was its enormous wealth. It may not be an exaggeration to say that the new government was more intent on exploiting the immense resources of the country rather than sustaining and maintaining it by a conscious effort. As a matter of fact any big improvement in the method of production, a more equitable distribution of the economic wealth, or a better adjustment of the economic position of the various social classes was outside the policy of the state.

The economic organisation in the villages and the towns was sustained by the guilds and crafts. Even in the absence of any encouragement from the state towards the development of indigenous industry, these guilds succeeded in absorbing the shocks of political revolutions and furthering the cause of industry and internal and external commerce. Agriculture, however, was the main stay of the livelihood of the people in general and the small crafts and industries were mainly concerned with the manufacture of cotton cloth, woollen cloth and silks, the dyeing industry and calico painting, the sugar industry, metal work, stone and brick work, paper industry, cap making, shoe making, making of arms and manufacture of scents, spirits and liquors. The volume of internal and external trade was high and as the author of *Masalik-ul-Absar* writes, merchants of all countries never cease to carry pure gold into India and to bring back in exchange commodities of herbs and gums.

The prices of commodities were fluctuating, reaching a high in times of scarcity and famine and slumping to extreme low in times of overproduction. Comparative prices in the reigns of Alauddin, Muhammad-bin-Tughluq and Firoz Shah are given in the following table :—

**Prices in *jitals* per maund**

| Commodities (1) | Alauddin (2) | Muhammad Tughluq (3) | Firoz Shah (4) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Wheat .. .. .. | 7½ | 12 | 8 |
| Barley .. .. .. | 4 | 8 | 4 |
| Paddy .. .. .. | 5 | 14 | .. |
| Pulses .. .. .. | 5 | .. | .. |
| Lentils .. .. .. | 3 | 4 | 4 |
| Sugar (white) .. .. | 100 | 80 | .. |
| Sugar (soft) .. .. | 60 | 64 | 120,140 |
| Mutton .. .. .. | 10 | 64 | .. |
| Ghee .. .. .. | 16 | .. | 100 |

Generally, however, the prices were low as could be corroborated from the statement of Ibn Batuta who says that he had nowhere seen a country where the commodities sold cheaper.

The particular division of the society into mainly two classes *viz.*, the nobility and the commoners created a great divergence in the standard of living of the rich nobility and the poor commoners. What Amir Khusrav has to say about this difference makes a very sad reading. He points out that every heart in the royal crown is but the crystallised drop of blood fallen from the tearful eyes of the poor peasant. Even Babar at a much later date states that people disappear completely where they

The capital of the Bahamanī dynasty was originally at Daulatābād. Soon after it was transferred to Gulburgā outside Mahārāṣṭra. Although the Bahamanīs ultimately succeeded in bringing under their control a major portion of Mahārāṣṭra, it must not be supposed that the whole of the Deccan, or for that matter the whole of Mahārāṣṭra was ruled by them. In the Deccan their hold over the Āndhra districts was confined to the Telaṅgaṇa region of the present State of Āndhra. The advance of the Bahamanīs in the coastal region of the Āndhra districts was mainly in the nature of periodical raids. Even in Telaṅgaṇa, their hold was precarious. Muslim rule in Telaṅgaṇa was finally consolidated only under *Sultan* Qutb Śāh in the middle of the 16th century.

---

*contd.*

have been living for many years in about a day and a half. However, the wants of the people were few and simple. The self sufficient village economy of those days easily coped up with the requirements of the vast majority of population who were the residents of the rural areas.

One of the peculiar features of the early mediaeval times was the institution of royal slaves both male and female. Alauddin is said to have 50,000 slaves and Firoz Shah 2,50,000. Slavery represented a typical admixture of the political power and personal fancy. But slavery did not mean serfdom in those days. The slaves were an intelligent class and some of the slaves rose to power and eminence by sheer dint of merit and ability.

An account of revenue administration under Firoz Shah Tughluq is given below:—

*Fifteenth Mukaddama—Sultan Firoz makes new rules for grants of revenue.*

The *Sultan* showed great liberality in his grants of revenue, and excited the cupidity of a host of expectants. To some he gave 10,000 *tankas*, to other, 5,000 and to others 2,000, according to the respective ranks and claims of the different office-bearers. This method (of paying officials) was introduced by Sultan Firoz, and remains as a memorial of him. In the reigns of former rulers of Delhi it had never been the rule to bestow villages as stipends upon office-bearers. The author has understood from various historians that *Sultan* Alaud-din used to speak of this practice with disapprobation, and say that in every village granted there would be two or three hundred residents, all of whom would receive pay (from the grantee). Such a number of pensioners would give rise to pride and insubordination, and if they were to act in concert, there would be danger of rebellion. With these feelings there is no wonder that ' Alau-d-din refused to make grants of villages, and paid his followers every year with money from the treasury. But when *Sultan* Firoz came to the throne, he dismissed such thoughts from his heart, and during the forty years of his reign he devoted himself to generosity and the benefit of Musulmans, by distributing villages and lands among his followers. In the whole of these forty years not one leaf of dominion was shaken in the palace of sovereignty. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 288—90.

An account of the King's Law of the reign of Firoz Shah.

Another law made by Firoz Shah was this : If an officer of the army died, he was to be succeeded by his son ; if he had no son, by his son-in-law, if he had no son-in-law, by his slave (*ghulam*) ; if he had no slave, by his nearest relation ; and if he had no relations, by his wives. During the whole of his reign he made it a rule that, under all circumstances, the succession of every person should be clearly defined.

*Sixteenth Mukaddama—Sultan Firoz's fostering care of his subjects.*

***Unwise regulations had been made in former reigns, and the *raiyats* and subjects were oppressed in the payment of the revenue. Several writers told the author of this work that it was the practice to leave the *raiyat* one cow and take away all the rest. *Sultan* Firoz made the laws of the prophet his guide acting zealously upon the principles they laid down, and prohibiting all that was inconsistent therewith. No demand in excess of the regular government dues was to be made, and the officer who made any such exaction was to make full reparation. Brocades, silks, and goods required for the royal establishments were to be purchased at the market price, and the money paid.** Such rules were made that the *raiyats* grew rich, and were

CHAPTER 10.

Mediaeval Administration and Social Organisation.

BAHAMANIS.

In the Karnāṭak the rule of the Bahamanīs covered roughly the five districts of Bidar, Gulburgā, Rāicūr, Bijāpūr and Belgāṅv. The district of Rāicūr continued to form a sort of no man's land in the incessant conflicts which occurred between the Bahamanīs and the Kings of Vijayanagar. In Mahārāṣṭra the hold of the Bahamanīs on what is today the western part of Vidarbha, the Marāṭhavāḍā region and the upland districts of western Mahārāṣṭra was complete. The districts of Khāndeś were ruled by an

---

*contd.*

satisfied. ***Their homes were replete with grain, property, horses, and furniture; every one had plenty of gold and silver ; no woman was without her ornaments, and no house was wanting in excellent beds and couches. Wealth abounded and comforts were general. The whole realm of Delhi was blessed with the bounties of the Almighty. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 289-90.

An interesting episode in the reign of Firoz Shah Tughluq throws light on the current ideas of the monetary medium of exchange :

The third project also did great harm to the country. It increased the daring and arrogance of the disaffected in Hindustan, and augmented the pride and prosperity of all the Hindus. This was the issue of copper money. The *Sultan*, in his lofty ambition, had conceived it to be his work to subdue the whole habitable world and bring it under his rule. To accomplish this impossible design, an army of countless numbers was necessary, and this could not be obtained without plenty of money. The Sultan's bounty and munificence had caused a great deficiency in the treasury, so he introduced his copper money, and gave orders that it should be used in buying and selling, and should pass current, just as the gold and silver coins had passed. The promulgation of this edict turned the house of every Hindu into a mint, and the Hindus of the various provinces coined *krors* and *lacs* of copper coins. With these they paid their tribute, and with these they purchased horses, arms, and fine things of all kinds. The *rais*, the village headmen and land owners, grew rich and strong upon these copper coins, but the State was impoverished. No long time passed before distant countries would take the copper *tanka* only as copper. In those places where fear of the *Sultan's* edict prevailed, the gold *tanka* rose to be worth a hundred of (the copper) *tankas*. Every goldsmith struck copper coins in his workshop, and the treasury was filled with these copper coins. So low did they fall that they were not valued more than pebbles or potsherds. The old coin, from its great scarcity, rose four-fold and five-fold in value. When trade was interrupted on every side, and when the copper *tankas* had become more worthless than clods, and of no use, the *Sultan* repealed his edict, and in great wrath he proclaimed that whoever possessed copper coins should bring them to the treasury, and receive the old gold coins in exchange. Thousands of men from various quarters, who possessed thousands of these copper coins, and caring nothing for them, had flung them into corners along with their copper pots, now brought them to the treasury, and received in exchange gold *tankas* and silver *tankas*, *Shash-ganis* and *du-ganis*, which they carried to their homes. So many of these copper *tankas* were brought to the treasury, that heaps of them rose up in Tughlikabad like mountains. Great sums went out of the treasury in exchange for the copper, and a great deficiency was caused. When the Sultan found that his project had failed, and that great loss had been entailed upon the treasury through his copper coins he more than ever turned against his subjects. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 239—41.

Coinage under the Delhi Sultanates :

*The Coinage*

(Among the edicts issued in the thirty-seventh year of the reign), was one that all the *dirhams* and *dinars* bearing the devices of former kings should be melted and sold for the price of the gold and silver, so that not a trace of them should remain in the world. The various *ashrafis* and rupees of the Emperor's coinage, whether old or recent, were at once to be put in circulation, and no difference whatever between them and the old coins was to be recognized. Kalij Khan endeavoured to enforce this order. *Sarrafs* were every day called up ; bonds were taken from them, and fines were inflicted on them. As a last resource some were put to death. But for all this they did not refrain from counterfeiting the coin (*Kallabi*). Orders and instructions upon this subject were written and sent to the most remote parts of the dominions, but without effect, until Khwaja Shamsu-d din Khwafi, the *diwan*, succeeded in putting all these orders in force. *Tarikh-i-Badauni* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. V, pp. 541-42.

independent dynasty of the Fāruqīs. The present districts of Ṭhāṇā and Bombay were under the *Sultāns* of Gujarāt, while semi-independent chiefs ruled in Eastern Vidarbha, Bāglāṇa and south Koṅkaṇ. The expansion of the Bahamanīs proceeded very slowly. The south Koṅkaṇ districts were finally conquered by them only in 1472 A.D. a few years before the disintegration of the Kingdom. It will thus be seen that the Bahamanī Kingdom was not of the Deccan but one of the Kingdoms in the Deccan. Even in Mahārāṣṭra while it controlled two-thirds of Mahārāṣṭra, it had to tolerate the existence of the *Sultāns* of Gujarāt, the Fāruqīs of Khāndeś and the Hindu chiefs in Goṇḍvana, Bāglāṇa and south Koṅkaṇ in the remaining one-third of the territory of Mahārāṣṭra.

The nature of the Bahamanī rule in Mahārāṣṭra was essentially military and the divisions of the state were controlled by nobles who were primarily military chiefs. There was no limitation on the powers of the *Sultāns* but the principal officers of the Kingdom who were also military commanders always nursed the tendency either to control the ruler or rebel against him. Where the *Sultān* was strong, he was able to check his nobles but where he was weak disorders would break out in the Kingdom[1]. Like many other mediaeval dynasties, the Bahamanīs too suffered from the disorders at the time of succession. Civil wars among the princes, assassinations and depositions invariably followed the death of a ruling prince. This was a fatal weakness which impeded the progress of the Bahamanīs.

While the state was strong enough to put down rebellions from the indigenous population, it could make headway only slowly against the turbulent Hindu Chiefs in the hilly border regions. In assessing the military and political stability of the surrounding Kingdoms of Vijayanagar, Khāndeś, Gujarāt, Māḷvā and Orissā, one is struck by the essentially weak nature, militarily and politically, of the Bahamanī Kingdom. As often as the Bahamanīs came in conflict with the *Sultāns* of Gujarāt, they were defeated. The *Sultāns* of Māḷvā captured Bidar, the capital of the Bahamanīs and held it for sometime. The Kings of Orissā more than once came very near the Bahamanī capital of Bidar. In their conflict with Vijayanagar, the Bahamanī

1. The Bahamanis during their rule for well over 125 years were never militarily very strong. Although they posed a threat to the neighbouring Hindu and Muslim states, they never succeeded in subduing them by force of arms. On the contrary there are quite a few instances in the history of Bahamanis when their might was humbled by the Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagar and the Muslim states of Khandesh and Gujarat. The reasons for this military weakness could be sought in the sanguinary character of Bahamani successions and the constant feuds that took place between the so called foreigners and the Deccanis which sapped the fighting capabilities of the Bahamanis. The Deccanis and the foreigners dominated the Bahamani political scene. Their constant struggles for supremacy ultimately led to the downfall and disintegration of the Kingdom. The military weakness of the Bahamanis was reflected in their loose-jointed administrative organisation of the territory under their control. The position on the border districts of the Bahamani territory was always fluid and the Bahamanis were never successful in establishing a firm grip over the length and breadth of their territorial possessions. This is well reflected in the internal commotions taking place in the form of revolts by rebellious Muslim Chiefs and by the recalcitrant Chiefs of the former Hindu states who could not acclimatise themselves to the idea of an alien rule.

CHAPTER 10. Mediaeval Administration and Social Organisation. BAHAMANIS.

*Sultāns* won some victories but also suffered defeats more than once. In fact one of the reasons for shifting of the capital from Gulburgā to Bidar was the proximity of Gulburgā to the borders of Vijayanagar Kingdom. It must not be forgotten that there was a change of dynasty in Vijayanagar more than once during this period. The Saṅgam dynasty was overthrown at the end of 15th century by the Sāluva dynasty which too was supplanted by the Tulu dynasty in the beginning of the 16th century. But the change of dynasties hardly affected the strength of Vijayanagar. Viewed in this perspective, the record of the Bahamanī Kingdom, militarily and politically, cannot be called striking[1].

Administration.

Regarding the administrative set up of the Bahamanī Kingdom, it may be pointed out that during the rule of the Delhi Sultanates Mahārāṣṭra was just a part of a vast Empire. With the establishment of a separate kingdom in the Deccan under the Bahamanīs, Mahārāṣṭra became one compact geographical entity and felt the full impact of the new governmental machinery. There was no necessity for the Bahamanīs to change the basic political framework they had inherited from the Delhi Sultanates except perhaps a clear cut division of their kingdom to suit administrative convenience and appointment of officers to serve the interests of the now compact State. The *Sultān* continued to be at the apex in the centre and was assisted by a council of ministers as did the Delhi Sultanates. The reorganization of the Bahamanī state for the introduction of administrative reforms was felt necessary by the second Bahamanī

---

1. A short note on the army organisation of the Bahamanis and the art of war existing during those times is given in what follows :

The Bahamanis had inherited the traditional system of the army organization of the Delhi Sultanates. It had continued for well over hundred years since the establishment of the Bahamani kingdom. As a matter of fact no need was felt by the Bahamanis to reform the composition of the armed forces. Perhaps the Bahamanis allowed the growth of the army to take its natural course. The army grew and adapted itself to the changing modes of the fighting technique. A new element had, however, entered the field of battle and that was the use of cannon as an effective weapon of offensive warfare. A specific mention is made of the use of fire arms as early as in 1366 in the siege of Adoni. The account says that these cannons were operated by *Rumiyan wa-Firangiyan*. The use of cannon as an offensive weapon revolutionised the whole system of warfare. Fortresses were built on hill tops, cities and towns were surrounded by thick walls. Pigeon holes for musketry and various other devices were constructed to put up a strong defence. To the Bahamanis recruitment to the army never posed a problem because people had grown so much accustomed to war that a special call up was not regarded as necessary nor was it heard of. As a matter of fact possession of vast armed forces was not only a sign of strength in those days but a sure guarantee of victory. On the basis of the account of the numerous wars fought by the Bahamanis it would be a fair estimate to put the strength of the standing army of the Bahamanis at about hundred to hundred and fifty thousand men. It will be interesting to state here what Nicolo Conti, an Italian traveller, who visited India during the middle of the 15th century, has to say in connection with the arts of war and peace. The territorial possessions of the Bahamanis comprised the west coast of the Deccan. The Bahamanis possessed a strong navy. Nicolo Conti says that the ships lying at anchor in the ports of the Deccan were much larger than those built in the shipyards of Italy. Each of them bore five sails and as many masts. The lower part of these vessels was built with triple planks in order to withstand the force of the storm to which they were exposed in monsoon climes.

Coming to the arts of war, he says that the army used javelins, swords, arm pieces, round shields, bows and arrows. They made use of the ballistics and bombarding machine as well as siege pieces.

*Sultān* Muhammad I. On the advice of his *vazīr* or prime minister Malik Saifuddin Ghorī, the Kingdom was divided into four *atrāfs* or provinces *viz.*, Daulatābād, Berār, Bidar and Gulburgā. Of these Daulatābād, Berār and Gulburgā covered the major territory of Mahārāṣṭra. The governors of these respective provinces were designated as *Masnad-i-Alī, Majlis-i-Alī, Āzam-i-Humāyūn* and *Malik Nāib.*

The division of the Bahamanī Kingdom into four provinces continued for well over a century. The question of the reorganization of the Bahamanī Kingdom which had expanded far and wide was taken up by Mahmūd Gāvān in the reign of Śamsuddin Muhammad III. The new additions to the Bahamanī territory had made the old provinces too unwieldy for efficient administration. There was also another reason why Mahmūd Gāvān felt a reorganization of the Bahamanī Kingdom essential. The control of the provincial governors over a vast territory gave them unlimited power and immense resources. The result was the development of centrifugal rather than centripetal tendencies among the provincial governors. Mahmūd Gāvān saw the danger inherent in the growth of such tendencies to the stability of the kingdom. He decided to curb the authority and power of the provincial governors by introducing sweeping administrative reforms. The Bahamanī Kingdom was now divided by him into eight *Sarlaṣkarships* or provinces instead of the original four. Berār was now bifurcated into Gāvīl and Māhūr, Daulatābād into Daulatābād and Junnar, Gulburgā into Bijāpūr and Ahsanābād Gulburgā and Bidar into Rāja Mahendri and Waraṅgal.

An additional check was put upon the power of the *tarafdārs* of the newly created provinces. This was done by assigning certain tracts from the newly created provinces to the direct charge of the *Sultān* as the *Khāsā-i-Sultānī* or the royal domain. The reorganization of the administrative boundaries of the Kingdom necessitated a reform in the military system of the kingdom. Formerly, the military power of the *tarafdārs* was unrestricted. They could appoint commanders to the various posts under them and keep as many active men on duty as they liked. A tendency to maintain small military forces developed on the part of the provincial governors if only to effect a saving from the *mansab* received from the central treasury or the *Jāgir* possessed by them. Mahmūd Gāvān revolutionised the entire system of military administration. Under the new reforms, only one fort in the province was kept under the command of the *Tarafdār* whereas the commandants of other forts were to be appointed by the central government and were to be responsible to it. In order to avoid the depletion of military levies by the provincial governors Mahmūd Gāvān made a rule that every *mansabdār* should be paid at the rate of a lakh of *hons* annually for every 500 men kept under arms and if *Jāgirs* were granted in lieu of cash payments, provision was made whereby the

CHAPTER 10. Mediaeval Administration and Social Organisation.

BAHAMANIS. Administration.

*Jāgirdār* was to be compensated to the extent of losses incurred in the collection of rent. On the other hand if a *mansabdār* or a *Jāgirdār* failed to maintain the stipulated number of soldiers, he had to refund the proportionate amount to the royal treasury. The reforms, however, came too late. The restrictions on their powers roused the bitter enmity of the provincial governors and led to the assassination of Mahmūd Gāvān. As anticipated, a few years after the death of Gāvān, the central authority in the Bahamanī Kingdom grew weak and the provincial governors declared their independence.

The Bahamanī *Sultāns* rarely assigned lands in *Jāgir* and when it was thus assigned it was situated far away from the territory which a *Jāgirdār* administered as a governor or an officer. The tenure of a *Jāgir* depended upon the will of the *Sultān*. He could transfer or reassign the *Jāgir*. It was not hereditary but purely military in character and was bestowed for some exceptional service rendered to the state. The position of the *Jāgir* holder was thus a dual one. He was a member of the *Sultān's* court as also the chief administrator of the local affairs. In his former capacity he was responsible to the state ministers, whereas in his latter capacity he had his own authority and had ample discretion.

The Bahamanīs also introduced the system of *mokāsā* which was more in vogue than the bestowal of a *Jāgir*. *Mokāsā* denoted a country or *paraganā* bestowed upon a person for its revenue management on behalf of the state and signified a territory assigned to an officer of the state or grandees of the court either rent-free or at low quit-rent on condition of service. Like the *Jāgir* holder the *Mokāsī* also functioned in a dual capacity.

It is significant to note that the influx of foreigners into the Kingdom continued throughout the period of the dynasty. Immigrants from Persia, Turkey and the Arab countries entered the Deccan, through the ports of Dābhol, Caul and Goā. They brought military and political strength and vigour to the Bahamanī Kingdom. The names of Khalaf Hasan Basrī, Khvājā Mahmūd Gāvān, Yusuf Ādil, Sultān Qulī and Amir Barīd are a few among the hundreds of foreigners who came to the Deccan in search of career. Some divines who migrated from Persia and the Arab countries soon obtained a great influence in the Bahamanī court. The family of Śāh Nimatullāh, who wielded a decisive influence in the councils of the Bahamanī King can be cited as an example.

The Abyssinians too found service with the Bahamanīs especially in the coastal areas. Very soon rivalry sprang up between the foreign element and the indigenous Muslim element in the Deccan. The ranks of the local Muslims had been increased by some of the converts who rose to high power after the dismemberment of the Bahamanī Kingdom. The founders of the Kingdoms of Ahmadnagar and Berār were Brahmins converted to

Islam. So great was the rivalry between foreigners and indigenous nobles that the Bahamanī Kingdom was shaken to its foundation by bloody conflicts between these two elements. The 15th century in the Deccan is a continuous tale of the fights which these warring elements waged against each other. It is the single biggest cause which ruined the Bahamanī Kingdom. The best and the wisest of the foreigners Khvājā Mahmūd Gāvān whose activities resulted in the great expansion of Bahamanī power was executed in cold blood. With his death in 1482 all position departed from the Kingdom[1].

1. The details about the influx of foreigners, their mounting ascendancy, the development of rivalry between the foreigners and the Deccanis, the rise of Mahmud Gawan and his downfall ultimately leading to the dismemberment of Bahamani Kingdom are narrated below :—

The stabilization of the Bahamani rule saw the influx of a great number of foreigners from Iran, Iraq and Arabia. These foreigners were not merely military adventurers and political self-seekers. Among them were poets, literatures, saints, artisans and merchants. These foreigners came to be termed as *Garib-uddiyar* and *Afaquis* where as the original settlers from the north came to be called the Dakhanis. The evolution of the political institutions and cultural development under the Bahamanis could be said to represent the rivalry between these two factions into which the Bahamani Kingdom was divided. The influence of the foreigners on the Deccan culture was more intensely felt in the reign of Muhammad Shah Bahamani (II) when distinguished foreigners such as Mir Fazlullah Inju and Khwaja Shamsuddin Hafiz were invited by the Sultan to come over to India. Muhammad himself being a scholar and adept in Persian and Arabic languages, centres of learning were inaugurated in ivarious parts of the Kingdom such as Gulburga, Bidar, Qandhar, Ellichpur, Daulatabad, Junnar, Chaul, Dabhol and other large cities and towns. The first fifty years of the Bahamani rule saw a healthy rivalry between the foreigners and the Deccanis and no ill effects of this rivalry were felt on the cultural and political development of the Kingdom. Perhaps the personality that wielded together the diverse elements among the two factions was that of the prime minister Malik Saifuddin Ghori who served the Bahamani dynasty for well over 50 years and saw the reigns of five successive Sultans in that capacity. The death of Saifuddin Ghori in 1397 marked an end to the healthy rivalry between the Deccanis and Afaquis. The new monarch Tajuddin Firoz, appreciated the role of foreigners in shaping the policies of the Bahamani Kingdom. He however thought it necessary to curb the growing influence of the foreigners. This he did by allowing the Hindu elements of the population to share greater responsibilities in the state administration. He was himself a scholar well versed in sciences and religious and political philosophies and a linguist of great talents. The great influx of the foreigners encouraged the introduction of the Shiah doctrine in the religious set up of the Deccan and Firoz though himself a *Sunni* allowed the growth of Shiaism more as a matter of convenience than of necessity. Trade and commerce which was mostly in the hands of Hindus greatly increased and Bahamani ships from their ports of Goa and Dabhol plied in all directions for purposes of commerce with foreign lands. The appointment of a foreigner Khalaf Hasan Basri to the high post of the prime minister of the Kingdom by Ahmad Shah, the successor of Firoz, heightened the tensions between the Deccanis and Afaquis and as some historians point out, the great heights attained by this statesman-merchant roused the enmity of all his opponents. It marked the beginning of the cleavage between the Deccanis and the Afaquis which finally sounded the death-knell of the Bahamani Kingdom itself. A new edge to the enmity was given by the advent in the Deccan of Shah Nurullah, grandson of the saint Shah Nimatullah Kirmani and the marriage of the royal Princesses in the family of the saint. The controversy shifted from court politics to the field of battle leading to many disasters that befell the Bahamani army in Konkan and in their confrontation with the Kingdom of Gujarat. The sorry episode of Chakan resulting in the massacre of thousands of foreigners in the reign of Alauddin Ahmad II was the culmination of these feuds. The appearance of Mahmud Gawan on the scene brought about a slight change. Mahmud Gawan was a shrewd politician and did not have the same arrogance which many of the foreigners possessed due to their false sense of superiority. He wisely distributed the offices of the kingdom between the two factions; he attempted to pacify the rivalry between the foreigners and the Deccanis, which he knew was going to destroy the Bahamani Kingdom. He himself fell a victim to it. The death of Mahmud Gawan brought about the downfall of the Bahamani Kingdom. The process of disintegration of the Kingdom now set in and it took only few years for the Kingdom to fall apart.

CHAPTER 10.

**Mediaeval Administration and Social Organisation.**

BAHAMANIS.

Administration.

In the politics of the Kingdom the native Hindu population hardly played any part. Almost till the end of the dynasty we do not hear of any Hindu Officer holding a military or civil post. The high military and civil officers of the Kingdom were one and all Muslims either foreigners or drawn from local Muslim population. It was only towards the end of the dynasty that the names of a few Marāṭhā Officers such as the Ghorpaḍes of Mudhoḷ begin to appear in the annals of the dynasty. There is no doubt that like all other mediaeval Muslim dynasties in India, Bahamanī rule in the Deccan was a minority government based on force from the rulers and passive co-operation from the ruled.

With regard to the civil administration, the Bahamanīs made use of the hereditary *Vatandārs* such as the *Deśmukh, Deśpāṇḍe, Desāī, Pāṭīl* and *Kulkarṇī* for the collection of land revenue which was the principle source of income of the state. The *Vatandār* who collected revenue for the state received commission to see that villages were populated and lands were brought under cultivation. The attachment of the general population of Mahārāṣṭrā to *Vatans*, large and small, is a striking feature of the mediaeval society in Mahārāṣṭrā. The village watchman, the artisan, the trader, the accountant and the collector of revenue, even the priest were all hereditary *vatandārs*. They went to any length of co-operation with the rulers for the sake of their *vatan*. The rulers thus found that they could continue their rule by limiting their interference in the life of the village to the minimum and by making full use of the body of *vatandārs* for the administration of the country at the lower level. The army, high civil posts, forts and strongholds continued to be held by the Muslims but there was little interference in the daily life of the people. This system ensured that the Hindu society was not subjected to any violent changes. This feudal society continued throughout the mediaeval period without any basic change in its pattern.

As in the civil administration, the Bahamanīs made use of the local village community in the judicial administration of the country as well.

Art and Architecture.

As patrons of art and architecture the Bahamanīs have not left many monuments in Mahārāṣṭra. However, they have left a profound impact on the architecture of the Deccan in mediaeval times. The architectural wealth of Mahārāṣṭra of the ancient times included the fine cave temples, the *stupas*, the inscriptions, the temples built in *Hemāḍpanti* style and perhaps a few hill forts. Ancient Mahārāṣṭra is not known for fine palaces, built in extravagant artistic designs or huge buildings built in marble slabs and impressively carved. The rugged nature of the country was reflected in the ruggedness of the character of the people and if the character of the people influences the artistic and aesthetic sense of the people, then in the nature of things whatever the ancient Mahārāṣṭra possessed in the field of architecture was rugged. The new rulers brought with them their influences and revolutionised the Deccan architecture. Mediaeval Mahārāṣṭra could be said to have witnessed

a new development in the cultural growth of their social life and the art and architecture of the times bear a testimony to the new influences that were at work in the field. In all the monuments such as the mosques, the tombs and the forts unknown to Mahārāṣṭra so far a typical Deccan style which was a combination of the Hindu, Persian and Turk elements could be discerned. The mosques are roofed, there is a remarkable appearance for the interiors of the buildings and the walls are supported by very wide arches, a feature unknown in the architecture of Mahārāṣṭra so far. We also see Perso-Bahamanī arches supported by Hindu jambs on either side of the doorways, parapets in original designs and roofs lavishly decorated inside with pendentives. Of the most typical instances where the influence of the new rulers could be found at work are the forts especially the ground forts. They were huge quadrangles, surrounded by circumventing walls, with mots hewn out of solid rock and having massive bastions. The tombs of the Bahamanī rulers are situated either in Gulburgā or in Bidar so also the tombs of prominent Muslim saints such as Gesū Darāj. In Mahārāṣṭra the tombs of some of the saints at Khuldābād, the Cānd minār at Daulatābād and the forts of Udgīr, Ausā, Naḷdurg, Pareṇḍā and Kandhār date back to the Bahamanī period. Khvājā Mahmūd Gāvān has been credited for being responsible for the construction of the forts of Pareṇḍā, Udgīr and Ausā[1]. The Bahamanīs showed themselves as good builders

---

1. A description of a few of the Bahamani Architectural remains is given in what follows :—

To the period between 1294 when Ala-ud-din Khalji invaded the country, and 1347, when Bahman established the Bahmani dynasty, only two monuments can with confidence be ascribed, namely the Jami 'Masjid at Daulatabad (*circa.* 1315) and the Deval Mosque at Bodhan of Muhammad Tughluq's reign (1325—51). Neither of these structures, however, was anything more than an adaptation of a Hindu shrine, slightly altered to suit the new exigencies, and neither of them, therefore, has any real bearing on the history of local Islamic architecture. During this provincial period, however, much sound work must have been put by the Muhammadans into the fortification of strongholds such as Devagiri (Daulatabad) which they had wrested from the Hindus. Unfortunately, the military architecture of the Deccan has attracted little or no attention from archaeologists, and the data at present available are insufficient to enable us to discriminate with confidence between successive periods of building or to determine which parts are attributable to the Hindu founders, which to the provincial governors from Delhi and which to the Bahamani, Qutb Shahi or other dynasties that followed them. In the case of Daulatabad, however, there can be no doubt that though some of its defences were devised by the Yadavas and others by the Bahmanis or their successors, some also were the work of Muhammad Tughluq at the time (1339) when he transferred the population of Delhi to Daulatabad, and constituting, as this city does, one of the most striking example of fortification known to the mediaeval world, it rightly deserves special notice. Its inner citadel stands on an isolated conical rock 600 feet in height, with sides scarped sheer for 150 feet and a moat hewn out of the living rock at their base. The only entrance is through a devious tunnel which in times of siege was rendered impassable by an ingenious contrivance. At a bend in the tunnel which came near to the outer edge of the rock was small chamber provided with a flue pierced through the thickness of the wall and fitted, in addition, with a staging of iron plates. On these plates a charcoal fire was lit which, fanned by the wind blowing incessantly through the flue, would quickly fill the tunnel with its fumes and make any ingress impossible. Round about this almost impregnable acropolis, which be it added, possesses its own perennial springs of water, was a highly complex system of fortifications designed to protect the city. The outer wall has a perimeter of 2¾ miles and between it and the acropolis are three inner walls, each loopholed and battlemented and each furnished with fortified gateways, outworks and bastions, all so disposed that with the help of salient

CHAPTER 10. Mediaeval Administration and Social Organisation.

BAHAMANIS.

Religious Influence.

of forts. The striking example of such construction is to be found in the fort of Pareṇḍā.

The 14th and 15th centuries in the Deccan witnessed the establishment of Islam as a significant element in the culture of Mahārāṣṭra. This was mainly due to the work of Muslim saints, missionaries and scholars, largely patronised by the rulers. The excesses committed on the Hindu idols of worship seem to have taken place mostly during the 14th century. The temples at Puṇe, Kandhār, Devagiri, Paiṭhaṇ and other places were converted into mosques or monasteries. A number of Muslim Sūfīs who spread throughout Mahārāṣṭra during this period is considerable. To name a few, Muñjabuddin Zarazarī

*contd.*

and re-entrant angles the maximum of fire could be directed against assailant; in addition to which the outer wall is surrounded by a moat and glacis in much the same manner as the mediaeval fortresses of Europe. In the military architecture of Northern India-even including that of the Mughuls-there is nothing at all comparable for strength and ingenuity to these elaborate defences of Daulatabad. The Bahmanis, indeed who were largely responsible for them, seem to have done more for military engineering than any of their contemporaries, though it was left, it is true, to their successors in the following century to make the radical changes in military architecture which the introduction of artillery rendered necessary. Threatened as they constantly were by powerful enemies on every side-by the *Rajas* of Vijayanagar, Telingana and Orissa, by the Gonds, and by the *Sultans* of Khandesh, Malwa and Gujarat, the Bahmanis were compelled to safeguard themselves by multiplying the number and increasing the strength of their fortresses. On the north, the *taraf* of Berar was defended by its capital Ellichpur as well as by the two strongholds of Gawilgarh and Narnala, the former of which was built and the latter extensively repaired by Ahmad Shah Wali I between the years 1425—28. Mahur, in the modern district of Adilabad (now Nanded) served to keep in check the highland chiefs of the Satpuras and the wild tribes beyond the Wardha. On the west, besides Daulatabad, there were the powerful fortresses of Parenda, Naldurg and Panhala and, a little farther south, the capital Gulbarga itself. Nearer the centre of their dominions stood Bidar to which the capital was subsequently transferred; and, towards the east, Warangal and Golconda; while in the south-west corner, watching the ever-dangerous Vijayanagar border, were Mudgal and Raichur. Some of these fortresses (and there are many more of lesser note that might be added to their number) had been taken over from the conquered Hindu states but so transformed by the Muhammadans as to ratain little of their original character. Such were Raichur, built in 1294 by Gore Gungaya Ruddivaru; Mudgal, once the seat of local Yadava governors; Warangal, Gulbarga and Bidar captured by Muhammad-bin-Tughluq, and Golconda ceded to Muhammad Shah I in 1364. Some again, stood in the open; others like Mahur and Naldrug, were built on precipitous rocks are among the hills, and relied as much on their natural as on their artificial defences. Of those,like Daulatabad, which possessed an elaborate system of fortification, the most remarkable perhaps and second only to Daulatabad itself, are Bidar and Pareida. The former was mainly constructed by Ahmad Shah I in 1426—31, at the time when it supplanted Gulbarga as the Bahmani capital. Its walls, which are some 50 feet in height and 3 miles in circumference, are furnished with battlements, bastions and outworks-all very solidly constructed, and are further protected by a triple ditch (75 feet wide and 45 feet deep) hewn out of the solid rock. The Parenda Fort is traditionally attributed to Mahmud Gawan, but whether the tradition has any basis in fact is questionable. Though relatively small in area, its defences are singularly efficient. They comprise an inner and outer wall separated by a covered passage, a moat from 80 to 110 feet in width, a second and broader covered passage outside the counterscarp and a glacis which rises to the height of the faussebraye. The outer or scarp wall is strengthened by 22 bastions and, like the inner, provided with loopholes, battlements and projecting galleries. The only entrance was by way of a draw bridge and gateway at the north-west corner, and thence through a narrow and devious vaulted passage to a second gateway defended by traverses and redoubts. Anyone familiar with the military architecture of mediaeval Europe will perceive at once the close resemblances between it and the system of fortification described above, which is followed not only in these but in many other Deccan forts of the period. So striking, indeed, are these resemblances that there can be no doubt but that the works in the Deccan were directly imitated from the Europeans,and though nothing is known of the engineers responsible for this imitation, it may be assumed that men well capable of planning such fortifications would not be difficult to find among the Turkish and

bakṣa, Burhāṇuddin, Zainuddin and Alāuddin Ziya settled at Khuldābād from where the cultural influence of the Muslims spread to the interior of Mahārāṣṭra. The father of Gesū Darāz Bande Navāz, the saint of Gulburgā, lies buried at Khuldābād. Soon *Dargāhs* (tombs), *Chhallās* (replicas), *Khankapas* (monasteries) and mosques spread over in every part of Mahārāṣṭra. Some of the Sūfīs attracted Hindus of all classes. The Hindu sect of *Nāth panthi Gosāvīs* prominent among whom was Kāniphnāth shows considerable Islamic influence. It is difficult to say to what extent Islam influenced the religious thought

*contd.*

other foreign mercenaries in the armies of the Bahmani *Sultans* and their successors, by whom these fortresses were largely added to and improved. This adoption of western principles of military engineering must not, however, be taken in to imply that western influence also accounts for the architectural style of these forts. With a few notable exceptions, that style belongs essentially to the Deccan. It is a style which combines sincerity of purpose with an innate sense for the decorative. The Indian builders of these forts grasped what was required and designed their structures accordingly, not slavishly following established precedent nor matching one feature meticulously against another as the later Mughul builders did, but setting each where it was needed, making it of such size and strength as was required, and giving to the whole that touch of beauty that comes naturally and instinctively to the artists of southern India. It is this quality of simple purposefulness in their architecture that gave to these fortresses of the Deccan much of their romantic charm-a charm which was denied to many a building in which beauty was more consciously aimed at. What this particular charm signified can perhaps best be appreciated by comparing, for example, the dignified but unpretentious gateway of Golconda with the highly ornate and conventionally laboured Mahakali gateway of the Narnala fort erected in 1486 during the reign of Shihab-ud-din Mahmud Shah and manifestly inspired by the contemporary *Lodi* architecture of Delhi.

As stated above, the capital of the Bahmanis was established first at Gulbarga and afterwards at Bidar and it is in these two cities that the most valuable materials are to be found for the study of their civil architecture. At Gulbarga, the two groups of royal tombs are particularly instructive. In the first group, which is situated near the south gate of the fort, are the tombs of 'Ala-ud-din Hasan, Bahman Shah (d. 1358), Muhammad Shah (d. 1375) and Muhammad Shah II (d. 1397), besides two anonymous tombs of a later date; the second, which is known as the Haft Gumbad or 'Seven Domes' and is situated to the east of the town, contains the tombs of Mujahid Shah (d. 1378), Daud Shah (d. 1378), Prince Sanjar, Ghiyas-ud-din (d. 1397) and his family, and Firuz Shah (1422) and his family. In their general form all these tombs present a striking family likeness; the single ones, that is to say, are simple square chambers, crowned with battlements and corner turrets and roofed by a single dome, the whole standing on a low square plinth; while the double ones are merely a duplication of the single ones, resulting in a building twice as long as it is broad and covered by two domes instead of one. In their detail features, however, they clearly reveal the phases through which the architecture of the Deccan passed during this period. Thus, the tomb of the first king, Hasan, with its battering walls and low dome, its fluted turrets, tall narrow doorways and band of blue enamel tiles below the springers of the dome, is typical of the Tughluq style of Delhi and the tombs of Muhammad Shah, Mujahid Shah, Daud Shah and Prince Sanjar are direct products of the same style. In the tomb of Ghiyas-ud-din, on the other hand, which was built in the closing years of the fourteenth century, Hindu craftsmanship begins to show in the carvings of the prayer-niche; and a generation later the splendid mausoleum of Firuz Shah and his family (153′ × 78′ externally) bears witness to the steadily growing strength of this Hindu influence as well as to the new fashion for Persian ornament, the former obtruding itself on the outside of the building in the carved and polished black stone pilasters of the entrance and in the dripstones and elegant brackets that support them; the latter, in the resplendent plaster and painted decorations of the interior which are closely akin to those found in the contemporary tombs of the Sayyid and Lodi kings at Delhi and call to mind the rich designs of Persian bookbinding and embroidery.

Muhammad Shah Bahmani, whose tomb has been noticed above, was the author also of two mosques at Gulbarga, the earlier and smaller of which is now known as the *Shah Bazar Masjid*. Its gateway is an almost exact replica of the Sultan's tomb and in other respects also, notably in the tall stilted archways of its prayer chamber and in the austere simplicity of its style, imitates the Tughluq architecture of Firuz Shah's reign at Delhi. The other mosque is the famous *Jami Masjid* within the

CHAPTER 10. Mediaeval Administration and Social Organisation.

BAHAMANIS.

Religious Influence.

of the Hindus. It is possible to find traces of this influence in some of the cults such as the devotees of Dattātraya and the *Nāth panthis*. But there was hardly any influence on the social structure of the Hindu community. The caste system continued to flourish even when its rigours were modified to some extent by the movement known as the *Bhāgvat Dharma*. Of course, due to prolonged Muslim influence, the local *Qāzī* and the *Mullāh* increasingly tended to become *Vatandārs* in the rural areas and thus a part of the social life of the community.

Literature.

Persian flourished in glory in the court of Bahamanī rulers and Persian writers made eloquent contributions to poetry, biography, history, inśā and religio-mystical writings. Among

*contd.*

fort, which was built by one Rafi', the son of Shams, the son of Mansur of Qazwin,' whose Persian sympathies find expression in the stilted domes and narrow entrances, though in other respects, the style of this building appertains rather to Delhi than to Persia. Two features of this mosque call for particular remark. One is the design of the broad squat arches of the cloisters which now make their appearance for the first time, but are destined henceforth to become familiar adjuncts of the architecture of the Deccan ; the other is the unique treatment of the courtyard, which instead of being left open to the sky, as usual, is covered in by 63 small domes carried on arched bays, the cloisters at the sides being roofed with corresponding vaults, and light and air being admitted to the interior through open archways in their outer walls. At the four corners of the building, which measures 216 by 176 feet over all, are four shapely domes, while a fifth and larger one dominating the whole is raised on a square clerestory above the prayer chamber. To single out for praise any particular feature of this mosque would be difficult ; yet there is about the whole a dignified simplicity and grandeur that place it in the first rank of such buildings and sufficiently account for the influence it exerted on the subsequent development of the Deccan style. The date of its erection, as stated in an inscription, was 1367-a few years, that is to say, before Jauna Shah built the Kali and Khirki mosques at Delhi, and it is not unlikely therefore that Jauna Shah's architect may have been acquainted with the design of this Gulbarga prototype and sought to improve upon it by introducing open aisles across the closed court and thus obviating the need for the admission of light and air through the surrounding cloisters. The main drawback, however, to both the Gulbarga and the Delhi plans must have been that on important ceremonial occasions, most of the worshippers were obstructed from seeing the central *liwan* and *mimbar*— a drawback which was quite enough to account for their plans not being copied in later buildings.

The peculiar form of wide arch with low imposts initiated at the *Jami Masjid* was subsequently imitated at Gulbarga in the stupendous archway over the entrance to the shrine of Banda Nawaz, which is traditionaliy ascribed to the reign of Taj-ud-din Firuz Shah (1397—1422) but which there are good reasons for referring to a later date. Whatever its age, this archway is eloquent of the fearless imagination of the architects of the Deccan, which led them to essay the construction of domes and arches as vast as any known to the mediaeval or ancient world.

Bidar, where, from the reign of Ahmad Shah Wali onwards the story of Deccan architecture continues to unfold itself, boasts, like Gulbarga, of two separate groups of royal tombs : one of the later Bahmani kings, the other of the Barid Shahis. The former are twelve in number of generally similar to their predecessors at Gulbarga, though their scale is larger, their domes loftier and more bulbous and their facades adorned with a greater multiplicity of arched recesses or screened windows. The finest of them is the tomb of Ahmad Shah Wali, the interior of which is adorned with brilliantly coloured paintings in the Persian style and enriched with bands Kufic, Tughra and Naskh inscriptions worked out in letters of gold on a ground of deep blue or vermilion. This Persianising tendency which continued to gather strength during the fifteenth century found further expression during the reign of the next king 'Ala-ud-din Shah, in the Chand Minar at Daulatabad, the whole design of which is characteristically Iranian, as well as in the tomb of the same emperor, the facade of which is covered with a veneer of enamel tiles in various shades of blue. But of all the monuments of this period built in the Persian style the most remarkable is the *Madrasa* or College erected at Bidar in 1472 by Mahmud Gawan, the minister of Muhammad Shah III. This building, which resembled, so it is said, the College of Ulugh Beg at Samarqand was of imposing appearance. Three storeys in height with towering minarets at its two front corners, it covered an area of 205 feet by 180.

the authors who were also Sūfīs, Śāh Rājū Qattāl, the father of the celebrated saint Gesū Darāz Bande Navāz and the author of a *Divāṇ* (collection of poems) is the earliest. Among the other saint authors Burhāṇuddin Garibśāh, Sirāj-e-Junaydi and Aynuddin Gāñjul-ulum flourished in the early decades of the Bahamanī rule. Khvājā Bande Navāz who died at an advanced age in the year 1422 A.D. at Gulburgā is the author of one hundred works, twelve of which have been published. They deal mostly with theology and principles of Sufism. Khvājā Bande Navāz was also a poet of a high order. Makhdum Faqih Alī, the saint who died at Māhim in 1482 is said to have been the author of 11 works in Persian and Arabic. Another saint is Śāhbuddin Ahmad Daulatābādī. He died in 1445 A.D. He is the author of the famous work *Bahre Mawwaj* and other works on religion and literature. The Bahamanīs were patrons of Persian poetry and prose. There was a continuous contact with Persia and other regions of the middle east. Poets and learned men from Persia and other places were attracted to the court of the Bahamanīs. Khvājā Hafiz, the great poet of Persia had been invited to visit the Bahamanī court during the time of Muhammad Śāh II. He had decided to leave for the Deccan but was prevented because of the rough weather in the sea. Firoz Śāh Bahamanī was himself a noted poet. The court chronicler of Firoz Śāh, Mullāh Dāud Bidarī was the author of the famous work *Tohafut Salātin*. The poet Āzarī is supposed to have written a history of the Bahamanī monarchs under the title of *Bahaman nāmā*. Āzarī remained for sometime in the court of Bahamanīs and later returned to Persia. Khvājā Mahmūd Gāvān, the celebrated *Vazīr* of the Bahamanīs founded a college at Bidar where scholars from Persia and Iraq were invited to deliver lectures. Mahmūd Gāvān was a great patron of letters.

*contd.*

In it were a mosque, library, lecture halls, professors' quarters and students' cubicles, ranged about an open courtyard, a hundred feet this way and that. The mosque and library were to the front of the building on either side of the entrance; the lofty lecture rooms (which rose to the full height of the three storeys) in the middle of the other sides; and the professors' rooms in the corners—all planned for convenience and comfort and amply provided with light and air. In form the corner towers resembled somewhat the Chand Minar at Daulatabad, but unlike that minar they were emblazoned, as was also the whole of the front facade between them with a glittering surface of encaustic tilework, which with its chevron patterning and deep bold bands of sacred texts would challenge comparison with anything of its kind in Persia. But with all its elegance of outline, its unimpeachable proportions, and refined details, there is little or no feeling in Mahmud Gawan's college for plastic form and mass, or for the values of contrasted light and shade. The architect has visualised his subject, as the architects of Eastern Persia habitually did, in two rather than in three dimensions, and has sought to achieve beauty by a glistening display of enamel, helped out by symmetry of outline and a nicely adjusted balance of parts. For sheer loveliness of colour the result could hardly be bettered; but divest the building of its superficial ornament and little is left save a mathematically correct, tame, and highly stylised fabric. To the reign of Muhammad Shah III probably belongs also the *Sola Khamb* Mosque in the Bidar Fort, and near by it an interesting group of palace buildings including the Gagan, Tarkash, Chini and Nagina Mahals. Shorn of all ornament, modernised and converted to baser uses as record office, court and jail, these palace buildings are impressive even in their decay, and with their spacious halls, their water courses and cascades, still awaken echoes of their former splendour. The mosque, too, despite its fallen domes and crumbling masonry, is a good example of the Bahmani style as illustrated in the royal tombs of Gulbarga and Bidara style which is imposing but never pretentious, solemn in its simplicity but never austere. (The *Cambridge History of India* Vol. III, pp. 630-36).

CHAPTER 10. Mediaeval Administration and Social Organisation.

BAHAMANIS. Literature.

His versatility and literary aptitude made him establish cultural contacts with the outside world. He corresponded with scholars from Persia, Turkey and other countries such as Maulānā Jāmī, Śarfuddin Aḷī al Yāzdī, a biographer, the *Sūfī* saint Khvājā Ubaidullāh al Ahrār, Jalāluddin Davani and a number of others well known in the realm of letters. In the field of politics he kept himself in communion with Muhammad II, the *Sultān* of Turkey, the *Sultāns* of Gilān, Egypt and Iraq and rulers and ministers of Gujarāt, Jaunpūr and Māḷvā. His correspondence *'Riāzul Inśā'* which has been published reveals Mahmūd Gāvān as a great master of Persian prose.

The Deccani language had come into existence during the Bahamanī period. But the development of its literature took place during the period of the Sultanates. There is no indication of any patronage by the Bahamanīs to the development of Marāṭhī literature. The 13th century could be regarded as the period of renaissance in the field of literature which flourished during the beneficent rule of the Yādavas. The Muslim invasion of the Deccan, the fall of the Yādavas and the subsequent establishment of the Muslim power in the Deccan brought in their wake religious and social disturbances. This development was bound to have a profound effect on the literature of the times, which bereft of its political patronage was the literature meant for the common man. Another disturbing factor that was sure to make its impact felt upon the literature of the times was the doctrine of *Sufism* whose salient features come very near the doctrine of *Bhakti* school. As a matter of fact the later Mahānubhāvas and the famous *Dattātraya Panth* in the 15th century attempted to combine the main principles of both Hindu and Muslim faiths. The fact, however, cannot be denied that the rulers hardly showed any interest in the language of the people. The contribution to Marāṭhī literature came from saints both of the *Bhāgvat* and Mahanubhāv movements. They were drawn from all classes of society. Nāmdev, Gorobā, Cokhāmeḷā, Kānhopātrā and Sāvantā Māḷī are some of the *Bhāgvat* saints who flourished during this period.

Condition of the People.

It was during the ascendency of Mahmūd Gāvān that the Russian traveller Athanasius Nikitin visited the Deccan from 1469 to 1474 under the assumed name of Khvājā Yusuf Khurāsānī. He has given a fine description of the people and the country. He calls the Bahamanī capital of Bidar as the chief town of the whole of Muhammedan Hindustan. The Kingdom was a rendezvous not only for the Deccanis but for the whole of India. It had a place (meaning Gulburgā) where people from all parts of India assembled and traded for ten days and as many as 20,000 horses were brought there from the capital. He mentions Mustafābād Dābhoḷ as the Bahamanī seaport of trade and commerce where many horses were brought from Misser, Arabia, Khurāsān, Turkistan and other places and a profitable trade was carried on by sea with Indian as well as African coast towns.

Condition of the People.

Nikitin further says that the country people were poor but the nobles were extremely opulent. They were wont to be carried on their silver beds (meaning palanquins) preceded by twenty chargers caparisoned in gold and followed by three hundred men on horseback and five hundred on foot along with ten torch bearers and ten musicians. The palace where the king stayed was most wonderful to behold, for every thing there was carved or gilded or otherwise ornamented. Nikitin had the privilege of seeing the *Sultān* himself on the *Īd* day and describes him as riding on a golden saddle, in an embroidered dress studded with sapphires and with a large diamond glittering on his pointed headdress. About Mahmūd Gāvān, Nikitin says that five hundred sat down to dine with him every day and most of them did not belong to the class of the high and the mighty. In his stables stood two thousand horses half of which were always saddled and kept in readiness night and day. His mansion was guarded every night by a hundred armed men and ten torch bearers[1].

Disintegration and after.

With the break up of the Bahamanī Kingdom, Mahārāṣṭra found itself once again under various Kingdoms. About seven districts of Mahārāṣṭra including Ratnāgiri, Kolhāpūr, Saṅglī, Sātārā, Puṇe and Śolāpūr and a part of Osmanābād were under the Ādilśāhī Kingdom of Bijāpūr. The Barīd Śāhīs of Bidar controlled the districts of Nānded and a part of the district of Osmanābād The Imād Śāhī dynasty of Berār extended over the present western districts of Vidarbha, the district of Parbhaṇī and a part of the district of Nānded. The eastern districts of Vidarbha continued under the local Goṇd rulers. Khāndeś was ruled by the Fāruqī dynasty but a portion of western Khāndeś continued to be held by the *Sultāns* of Gujarāt. The *Sultāns* of Gujarāt also held a major portion of the present districts of Bombay and Ṭhāṇā, till they were replaced by the Portuguese in the year 1534 A.D. The Portuguese continued to hold a small enclave in Caul and the small territory including Goā. The rest of Mahārāṣṭra including the districts of Ahmadnagar, Nāśik, Auraṅgābād, Bīḍ, Junnar in Puṇe district, Kalyāṇ in Ṭhāṇā district, the district of Kolābā and a part of Osmanābād district fell to the share of the Nizāmśāhī dynasty of Ahmadnagar. The hilly regions of Bāglāṇa in the district of Nāśik continued to be ruled by the Hindu Kings who owed nominal allegiance sometimes to the *Sultāns* of Gujarāt and sometimes to the Nizāms of Ahmadnagar. Thus Mahārāṣṭra found itself to be under as many as nine rulers. There was no question of integration of these areas. Mahārāṣṭra knew no peace throughout the 16th century. The above mentioned states were constantly warring among themselves. Throughout the century not a single year passed when there was no war among the one or the other Kingdom. In 1534 the Portuguese wrested the present districts of Thāṇā and Bombay from the *Sultāns* of

1. Travels of Athanasius Nikitin of Tver included in Major, India in the Fifteenth Century, Hakluyt Society, London 1857, pp. 8—30.

CHAPTER 10. Mediaeval Administration and Social Organisation.

BAHAMANIS. Disintegration and after.

Gujarāt. The power of Vijayanagar had rapidly expanded and was filling into the Deccan mainly as a result of wars between the Deccan Sultanates. The *Sultāns* of Gujarāt had not only reduced Khāndeś to the position of a feudatory kingdom but had also seriously weakened the Nizāmśāhī kingdom of Ahmadnagar. In the years immediately following 1560 A.D. the Vijayanagar armies advanced right into the heart of Mahārāṣṭra and laid siege to Ahmadnagar. The advance of the Vijayanagar empire could not but reveal to the people of Mahārāṣṭra the inherent weaknesses of the successor Muslim Kingdoms of the Deccan. The defeat of these Kingdoms at the hands of Portuguese also made deep impression on the minds of the people. If the crucial battle of Tālikoṭā in which the Vijayanagar empire had received a check had only been delayed by a decade or two, the growing Moghal menace on the north could not only have ruled out a confrontation with Vijayanagar but it would also have ensured the continuance of Vijayanagar as a powerful ally of Deccan Sultanates against the Moghals. As it is the Moghal menace did not impose any restraint on the kingdoms from fighting among themselves. In 1574 Ahmadnagar annexed the Kingdom of Berār and for a brief period became the biggest Kingdom in Mahārāṣṭra controlling nearly one half of Mahārāṣṭra. Bijāpūr annexed the Kingdom of Bidar in 1619 A.D. The Moghals annexed Berār in 1506 A.D. They captured Ahmadnagar in 1600 A.D. In 1601 A.D. Khāndeś was annexed to the Moghal empire. Although the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar put up a war of resistance against the Moghals for 36 years first under Malik Ambar and then under Śahājī, ultimate Moghal victory was never in doubt.

The successor states of Bahamanīs had limited resources at their disposal. A state to claim the allegiance of its subjects must ensure their protection against foreign invasion and internal commotion. These states failed in this crucial respect. Invasions were frequent and wars between the states continued practically every year. Internal commotions resulting from dynastic succession were also very frequent. Religious and sectarian disturbances were also a part of the uncertainties of the period. These Muslim states found manpower from among their co-religionist insufficient for civil and military duties. To fight against their neighbours, against the southern empire of Vijayanagar and to withstand the menace of Moghal invasion these states had to draw upon the indigenous population. It is thus that we find a number of high civil appointments held by Hindus, in the courts of Bijāpūr and Ahmadnagar in the 16th century. Marāṭhā, Koḷī and other warlike communities began to be freely recruited to the armies of Bijāpūr and Ahmadnagar.

By the end of the 16th century a number a Marāṭhā Chiefs and high Hindu dignitaries are found in the civil and military employ of these states. After the fall of Ahmadnagar in 1600 A.D. the importance of the Marāṭhā Chiefs began to rise. It is

in this way that the families of Lakhujī Jādhav, Rājā Udārām and Mālojī Bhosle, the grandfather of Śivājī began to play an increasingly important role in the politics of the Deccan. In Bijāpūr too the More, the Ghorpaḍe, the Ghāṭge, the Ḍafḷe and the Nimbāḷkar began to exercise a significant influence in the affairs of that Kingdom. Although high civil and military dignitaries continued to be in a majority of cases, Muslims, yet the number of Hindus employed in high and low positions marked a significant departure from conditions prevailing during the period of Bahamanī Kingdom. In what follows is given the description of the administrative, judicial and revenue structure under the Nizāmśāhī Kingdom of Ahmadnagar and the Ādilśāhī Kingdom of Bijāpūr.

BAHAMANIS. Disintegration and after.

AHMADNAGAR.

As under the Bahamanīs, the *Sultān* was the head of the central administration and he alongwith the officers of the State, the *Vazīrs* and *Amirs* constituted the *Rākhtakhānās* or central establishment from which various orders issued. The *Sultān* was helped in the administration of the country by officers who were selected by him and were responsible to him. The heads of the departments were the: (1) *Vakīl* or the *Peśvā*. According to Sayyad Alī, the author of *Burhān-i-Māsir*, it was a joint office, whereas Ferishta attributes the highest power to the *Peśvā* alone; (2) *Vazīr* who was mainly responsible for revenue management and (3) The *Amir-i-Jumalā* corresponding to the office of a modern finance minister. The various *paraganās* of the State were entrusted to the above-mentioned members of the court in *Mokāsā* or *jāgir* which meant that the members of the *Rākhtakhānā* played a dual role in the administration of the country as under the Bahamanīs. The other officers of the Central Government were the *Sarśilehdār*, the *Sar-i-Naubats*, the *Amir-ul-Umarā*, the Chief *Nāikvādī* and the *Citṇīs*. These were also connected with the local government. The country was divided into districts. Each district was further sub-divided into sub-divisions known generally by Persian names such as *paraganā, karyāt, sammat, mahāl* and *tālukā*. The Hindu names for these sub-divisions were *prant* and *deś*. The western part of the Kingdom was hilly and managed by Hindu officers. This hilly west continued to be arranged by valleys with their Hindu names of *khorā, murā* and *māval*.

Administration.

The collection of revenue was entrusted to the farmers of Revenues, the *Deśmukhs* and the accountants, the *Deśpāṇḍes* under the supervision of the Government Officers known as *Amils*. Sometimes the farms included only one village.

In addition to his duties as revenue Collector, the *Amil* managed the police and settled civil suit. All civil suits pertaining to land were generally referred to juries or *pañcāyats*. The introduction of Hindu element in the administration of the Kingdom which had made a beginning in the days of Bahamanīs was followed up by the succession states of the Bahamanīs. Ahmadnagar was no exception. A very large number of Hindus was employed in the services of the State though most of the key

**CHAPTER 10. Mediaeval Administration and Social Organisation.**

AHMADNAGAR. Administration.

posts were held by the Muhammedans. References have already been made to Kānhū Narsī, the famous prime minister of Burhāṇ Nizām Śāh and to Aṇṇerāv, Samṭyā, Tāṭyā, Bhopālrāi, Śahājī Anant who held different military and civil charges under the Ahmadnagar *Sultāns*. The commandants of the forts known as *Killedārs* were usually Muhammedans, barring a few cases where the post was held by a Hindu. The garrisons of the forts, however, mostly consisted of Marāṭhās, Koḷīs and Dhangars. There are instances where Marāṭhās and Brāhmaṇs were appointed to civil administration and put in charge of a district and designated as *Deśmukh*. Similarly, *Jāgirs* were conferred upon the Hindus so that these *Jāgirdārs* alongwith their Muhammedan counterparts constituted the nobility of the court. The Ahmadnagar Government did not deviate much from the Bahamanī system of granting estates on military tenures. In such cases the value of the grants was in proportion to the number of troops which the grant holder maintained. Hindus of distinguished service were rewarded with the Hindu titles of *Rāja, Nāik* and *Rāv*. Among the principal Hindu *Jāgir* holders of the Nizāmśāhī Kingdom of Ahmadnagar, the following could be mentioned among others. Jādhav Rāv of Sindkhed and Mālojī Rāje Bhosale of Veruḷ or Elurā.

The provinces or *Atrāf* as they were called were divided into *paraganās* or *Māmlās*. The size of the *paraganā* varied greatly in different parts of the country. The *Deśmukh vatan* was taken as a criterion while forming these divisions. Such a division was specially known as *Māmlā* in the Koṅkaṇ.

The royal establishment of a *paraganā* was known as the *Divāṇ-e-Paraganā*. Orders issued from the *paraganā* office were issued in the name of the office in general and not in the name of the head of the *paraganā*. The head of the *Divāṇ* was known as *Havāldār* and held his office at the pleasure of the *Vazīr* who held the *paraganā* either in *Mokāsā* or in *Jāgir*. If the *Hāvāldār* was appointed by the *Sultān* he was called *Mokāsādār* and was responsible to him. Officers such as *Mujumdār, Muśrif* or *Nijhāvar* assisted the *Havāldār* in his work.

Besides the royal establishment, the *paraganā* had its *Gota* or indigenous establishment which was composed of *vatandārs* or the *Deśak* and the *Mirāsdārs*.

Then there was the *paraganā Majlis* for the early development of which the office of the *Qāzī* was responsible. The *Qāzī* was at the head of the *Majlis* of a *paraganā* held to settle problems of local importance. The *Qāzī* probably brought together the *Divāṇ* and *Gota* in a *Majlis* to solve the local problems by common agreement. In course of time the *Majlis* attained the form of an instrument of local administration both fiscal and judicial; so much so that the whole *paraganā* later came to be represented by its *Majlis*.

The *Majlis* used to confirm private transactions, give testimony and could make representations to higher authorities if necessary.

The *paraganā* was further divided into *tarfs* or *karyāt* and *sammat*, the latter two of which were very rarely found. The office of a *Tarf* was known as *Divāṇ-e-ṭhāṇā* with the *Ṭhāṇādār* or *Havāldār* as its head. He was appointed by the *Mokāsādār* and had a *Kārkūn* to assist him in his work.

The *Gota* of a *tarf* was usually constituted by the *Mukādam* and the *Kuḷkarṇi* and sometimes by the *Deśmukh* and the *Deś-pāṇḍe* and other *mirāsdārs* of the *tarf*. The *tarf* had a *Majlis* similar to that of a *paraganā* and if granted new *vatans*, confirmed local transactions and gave testimony whenever required.

The chief place or the market town in a *paraganā* or a *tarf* was called the *kasbā*. The *paraganā* or the *ṭhāṇā Majlis* was sometimes held at such places. It was also often summoned at the *tarf* which was a militāry centre in the division.

The village was the last unit in the local administration and had the *Mukādam* as its head. He acted in a dual capacity as a government officer and as the chief member of the village community or the village *Gota*[1].

The highest judicial authority in the state was the *Sultān*. The royal Court of Justice administered justice in the kingdom. *Burhāṇ-i-Māsir* mentions that Murtazā Nizām Śāh commanded that a chain of justice should be hung in the plain of *Kālā Cabutrā* and that a court of justice composed of several leading officers of the state should sit daily in that building to hear such cases as were brought before them. Next to the *Sultān* in the judicial hierarchy was the chief justice or *Qāzī* appointed by the *Sultān* and responsible to him. There was a special *Qāzī* for the army.

The *Vazīrs* and the *Amirs* of the court were the other constituents of the central judicial establishment. They were the judicial heads of the territory under their jurisdiction and enjoyed both appellate and original powers. They generally referred the suits to their own appointees and where they themselves administered justice, sought the help of the *Majlis*. The decision by a *Majlis* formed of the *Divāṇ* and the *Gota* was the accepted method of deciding suits. The Government officers of a *paraganā* constituted the *Divāṇ* which was composed of the *Qāzī*, the *Mokāśī* or the *Havāldār* and the *Majalasī* or *Sabhāsad* among other officers. The *paraganā Qāzī* or the *Nāib Qāzī* was appointed by the *Sultān* and was responsible to him. He presided over the meeting of a *Majlis* held to settle disputes. His seal and signature on documents was considered a sufficient guarantee of their genuineness. Next to *Qāzī* was the *Mokāśī* who derived his judicial powers from the *Vazīr* of the court who

1. This account is based upon the book "*The Judicial System of the Marathas*" by Dr. Vithal Trimbak Gune, Pune, 1953.

**CHAPTER 10. Mediaeval Administration and Social Organisation.**

AHMADNAGAR.

Administration.

held the *paraganā* either in *Mokāsā* or *Jāgir*. The *Majalasī* or the councillor probably acted as the law officer for Hindus on behalf of the Government along with the *Qāzī*. The *Gota* was composed of officers such as *Deśmukh, Deśpāṇḍe* and other *Vatandārs* and *Mirāsdārs*. The *ṭhāṇā* or *tarf Majlis* was the primary judicial authority. It was headed by the *Ṭhāṇādār* before whom most of the complaints were first brought. He tried them with the help of the local *gota* in open *Majlis*. Though the relation between the *paraganā Majlis* and the *tarf Majlis* is not clearly defined, it appears that the suitor was not entitled to go to the *paraganā Majlis* until the *ṭhāṇā Majlis* had made a default in jurisdiction.

BIJAPUR Administration.

The administrative set up under the Kingdom of Bijāpūr, the general state of the country and the social conditions of the people did not differ much from those prevailing in the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar. The reason was that both the Kingdoms had derived the same traditions of the parent state of the Bahamanīs and had not thought it necessary to introduce any radical changes in the existing conditions. Yusuf Ādil, the founder of the Ādil Śāhī dynasty of Bijāpūr developed the revenue reforms introduced by Mahmūd Gāvān in 1478. He also revived those reforms of Mahmūd Gāvān which the revolution of 1490 resulting in the declaration of independence by provincial governors had prevented from being carried out. As under the Bahamanīs the *Sultān* was the head of the administration and was helped by a number of such officers as the *Vakīl* and the *Paśvā*, the *Vazīr*, the *Amir-i-Jumalā*, the *Sarśilehdār*, the *Sar-i-naubats*, the *Amir-ul-umarā*, the chief *Nāikvāḍī* and the *Ciṭṇīs*. All these with the *Sultān* constituted the *Rākhtakhānās* or central establishment from where various orders were issued. The central establishment was divided into different departments known as *divāṇs* and these officers worked as heads of these departments. The various *paraganās* of the Kingdom were assigned to these officers in *Mokāsā* or *Jāgir* so that they were at one and the same time the agents of the central power and the executive heads of the *paraganās* placed under them. Under the early *Sultāns* of Bijāpūr the office of the *Vakīl* was highly honoured. The office of the *Paśvā* was never made a permanent one. In the latter part of the Ādilśāhī Sultanate, the office of the *Vazīr* was raised to the position of the chief minister. The office of the *Amir-i-Jumalā* was sometimes associated with that of the *Vakīl*. As under Ahmadnagar the country was divided into districts. The districts were further parcelled out into *tālukās* or *prānt* or *deś*. Revenue collection was farmed out. Over the revenue collectors was the government agent or the *Amil*. Civil suits were generally dealt with by the juries or *pañcāyats*. In case of hereditary property to which the government was a party, the Bijāpūr jury consisted of fifteen men of whom two-thirds were Hindus. Over the government agents or the *Amils* was the chief collector or *Mokāsādār*. The appointment of the *Mokāsādār* was actually meant for a short period of time. In reality, however, the

*Mokāsādār* continued in the post till his life time and sometimes the position passed on to his son. The officer next above to the chief collector was the provincial governor or the *Subhā*. Deeds and formal writings were made out in the governor's name but he did not always live in the district and he never took part in its revenue management. There are numerous instances of provincial governors appointing their deputies to their respective charges in their place. The government of Bijāpūr had a larger number of Hindu Officers as compared to Ahmadnagar. There was a special corps of Marāṭhā cavalry. The Hindu officers worked alongwith their Muslim counterparts in the administration of the Kingdom and held many *Jāgirs* and posts in civil and military departments. The principal Hindu officers in the employ of the government of Bijāpūr were Candrarāv More of Javlī, Nāik Nimbāḷkar of Phalṭaṇ, Jhuñjār Rāv Ghāṭge of Malvaḍī, Ḍaphaḷe of Jath, Māne of Mhasvaḍ and Ghorpaḍe of Kāpśī.

The judicial system of the Bijāpūr kingdom was as under : The *Sultān* was the highest judicial authority in the state. References to royal court of justice are always found. The royal court often used to consult the leading members of the community such as the Śeṭe and Mahājan, while deciding suits.

Next to the *Sultān* and his royal court was the chief justice, appointed by the *Sultān* and responsible to him. He was called the *Qāzī*. The other Officers of the Central judicial establishment were the *Vazirs* and *Amirs* who were the judicial heads of territory under their administrative control. Usually they delagated the powers to their appointees and when they personally administered justice generally sought the help of the *Majlis*.

The decision of a *Majlis* was the accepted method of deciding suits. The government officers both central and local acted as intermediaries between the parties in dispute and the *Gota*. Their Chief Judicial duties were to register the suit, to supervise the proceedings of the *Gotasabhā*, if necessary to transfer the suit to some other place and to execute the award of the *Majlis* or the order of their superior authority regarding the decisions.

The Government Officers of a *paraganā* constituted the *Divāṇ*. Among them, the *Qāzī*, the *Mokāśī* or the *Havāldār* and the *Majalasī* or *Sabhāsad* were important. The other component part of the *Majlis* was constituted of indigenous officers such as the *Deśmukh* and *Deśpāṇḍe* and other *Vatandārs* and *Mirāsdārs*. The *paraganā Majlis* had jurisdiction over civil cases only and the award of the *Majlis* was known as the *Mahazar*.

The *ṭhāṇādār* of a *tarf* or *karyāt* was the primary judicial authority and had jurisdiction over civil suits only. Both the *paraganā* and *ṭhāṇā Majlis* were sometimes summoned at the *kasbā* or the fort in the division to try suits.

CHAPTER 10. Mediaeval Administration and Social Organisation.

BIJAPUR.

Administration.

It will thus be seen that the administrative, judicial and revenue structure under the Sultanates at the village, *tālukā* and district level continued as before and was left mainly to local elements. The village *pañcāyat*, the *gota sabhās*, the *Mahazars*, the hereditary *Vatandārs*, *Pāṭīl*, *Kuḷkarnī*, *Deśmukh* and *Deś-pāṇḍe* reduced to a great extent any effective interference from the courts of these Kingdoms. It cannot be said that there was any advance in material prosperity during this century. Constant disturbances could not make for an accelerated commerce or trade. Land continued to be the principal means of subsistence of the population. The religious zeal of the Muslim rulers used to show itself in fanatical outbursts at intervals but the hard realities of life, foreign invasions, constant warfares with the neighbours, the ever present dangers of the sectarian disturbances such as between the *Śiās* and *Sunnīs*, between the foreigners and the Deccanies and a consciousness of their military weaknesses effectively put a check to an aggressive policy of discrimination against the local Hindu population which formed an overwhelming majority in these states.

ACCOUNT OF FOREIGN TRAVELLERS—AHMADNAGAR AND BIJAPUR.

An excellent description of the country and people of the Kingdoms of Ahmadnagar and Bijāpūr given by foreign travellers who visited the Kingdoms during 15th and 16th centuries throws an interesting light upon the state of the country and hence is reproduced below:—

Varthema.

Varthema (1502), the Italian traveller, describes the Bijāpūr King as powerful, rich, liberal and living in great pride and pomp. A great number of his servants wore on the insteps of their shoes rubies, diamonds and other jewels. The people who were generally of a tawny colour were Muhammedans whose dress consisted of robes or very beautiful silk shirts. They wore shoes or breaches after the fashion of sailors. When the ladies went abroad, their faces were covered. The Bijāpūr army consisted of 25,000 men, horse and foot, the greater part of them, foreigners. The king owned many vessels and was a great enemy of Christians. The island of Goā which belonged to Bijāpūr, every year paid the Bijāpūr king ten thousand golden *ducats* called by them *pardais*. These *pardais* were smaller than the seraphim of Cairo, but thicker and had two devils stamped on one side of them and certain letters on the other. Before entering a recruit among the braves he (king) tested his strength by exchanging blows with him each putting on a leather tunic. If the new comer proved strong he was entered in the list of able bodied men, if weak he was given work other than fighting.

Barbosa.

Durate Barbosa (1500 to 1514) calls Yusuf Ādil by the name of Sabaym Declani and says he was very found of Goā. He lived much in Goā and kept there his captains and men at arms and without his leave no one went out or in by land or by sea. Yusuf's Kingdom of Deccani had many great cities and many towns inhabited by Moors and Gentiles. It was a country very well cultivated and abundantly supplied with provisions and had

an extensive commerce which produced much revenue to the Moor King Mahamuza (that is Muhmūd Śāh Bahamanī II) the nominal overlord of Yusuf Ādil Śāh.

ACCOUNT OF FOREIGN TRAVELLERS—AHMEDNAGAR AND BIJAPUR. Barbosa.

Durate Barbosa then gives a very fine account of the political situation in the country of those times. It would not be out of place to reproduce it to find out how a foreigner interpreted the political conditions of the times. Durate Barbosa says that he (Mahmūd Śāh Bahamanī II) lived very luxuriously and with much pleasure in a great city inland called Mavider (that is Ahmadabad Bidar). This king had the whole of his kingdom divided among Moorish lords, to each of whom he had assigned cities, towns and villages. These lords governed and ruled, so that the king did not give any orders in his kingdom, nor did he meddle, except in giving himself a life of pleasure and amusement. All these lords did obeisance to him and brought him the revenue with which they came to his presence. If any one of them revolted or disobeyed, the others went against him and destroyed him or reduced him again to obedience to the king. These lords frequently had wars and differences among one another and it happened that some took villages from others. But afterwards the king made peace and administered justice between them. Each one had many horsemen, very good archers with the Turkish bow, and white people of good figures. Their dress was of cotton stuff and they wore caps on their heads. They gave large pay to their soldiers. They spoke Arabic, Persian and the Deccani language which was the natural language of the country. These Moorish lords took tents of cotton into the field, in which they dwell when they went on a journey or to war. They rode a small saddle and fought tied to their horses. They carried in their hands very long light lances with four sided iron points, very strong and about two feet (three palms) in length. They wore tunics quilted with cotton called *laudes* and some wore tunics of mail and had their horses caparisoned, some carried iron maces and battle axes, two swords and a buckler and a Turkish bow supplied with many arrows so that each man carried offensive weapons for two. Many of them took their wives with them to the wars; they made use of pack oxen, on which they carried their chattles when they travelled. The gentiles of this Kingdom of Deccani were, well made and brave. Most of them fought on foot and some on horseback. The gentile foot soldiers carried swords and shields and bows and arrows and were very good archers. Their bows were long after the fashion of English bows. They went naked from the waist upwards and wore small caps on their head. They ate all meat except that of a cow. They were idolaters and when they died their bodies were burnt and of their own free will their wives burned themselves with their dead husbands.

Caesar Frederick.

Caesar Frederick, the Venetian traveller (1586) has the following to say about the king and the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. The Moor king Zamalluco, (that is Nizām-ul-mulk) was of great power with 2,00,000 men of war, a great store of artillery, some

CHAPTER 10. Mediaeval Administration and Social Organisation.

of them made in pieces because the whole gun was too great to carry. Though they were made in pieces, the guns worked marvellously well. Their shot was of stone and some of the stone shots had been sent to the king of Portugal for the rareness of the thing. The city where king Zamalluco had his being was Abeqar (that is Ahmadnagar) seven or eight days inland of Caul.

ACCOUNT OF FOREIGN TRAVELLERS—AHMADNAGAR AND BIJAPUR.

Caesar Frederick.

Francois Pyrard.

The French traveller Francois Pyrard who was in India between 1601 and 1608 writes—the reigning prince of Caul is called Melique (that is Malik) and is a vassal of the great Moghal. The Malik has a large number of elephants. When he dines he sends for many handsome women who sing and dance during the meal. Then some of them cut a piece of cloth called taffety into bits so minute that they have no other use than that of being carried away by spectators who stick them on to their breasts, as if they were so many medals. When the spectacle is over the king remains alone in his palace, his mind absorbed in the contemplation of the vanity and uncertainty of life until he goes to sleep.

Mandelslo.

In the year 1639 the French traveller Mandelslo visited Bijāpūr. He has the following to say about the Kingdom of Bijāpūr. The king though a tributary to the Moghal emperor could raise 2,00,000 men. He was famous for his artillery of which he had a greater store than any Indian princes. Among his guns was one great of brass whose ball weighed eight hundred weight and required 540 pounds of fine powder. The caster of this cannon was an Italian, the most wicked of men, who in cold blood killed his son to consecrate the cannon and threw into the furnace the treasurers who came to upbraid him with the cost of the piece. The chief exports of the kingdom including the coast line, according to Mandelslo, were pepper to Surat, Persia and Europe, Calico in exchange for silk stuffs to the neighbouring provinces of Hindustan, Golconḍā and Koromandal and provisions, rice and wheat through Goā to Hindustan. The grain trade was in the hands of Vañjārīs or carriers, who with as many as 1,000 beasts at a time moved about with their families, their wives being so expert and brave in managing the bow that they served them for a guard against robbers. Besides the peculiar coins in circulation from each village and town of note, the ordinary currency were the *Larins* or *Lārīs* a Persian coin equal in value to about 10½ d. and the *pāgoḍā* equal in value to about 7 s. The Benjans or Banians that is Hindus formed the bulk of the people, who except that they wore wooden shoes tied with leather straps over the insteps, did not differ from Benjans in other parts of India.

Barbosa.

Barbosa, the Portuguese traveller of the early years of the sixteenth century (1510), observes that on coming out of Gujarāt towards the south "in the inner parts of India is the kingdom of the Dakhani king. The king is a Moor and a large part of his people are Gentiles. He is a great lord and has many subjects

ACCOUNT OF FOREIGN TRAVELLERS—AHMADNAGAR AND BIJAPUR.

Barbosa.

and a large territory which stretches far inland. It has very good sea ports of great trade in the goods used on the mainland, the chief being Caul in Kolābā about thirty miles south of Bombay". Durate Barbosa has also given a fine description of Caul, a flourishing port in the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar. He writes, "leaving the Kingdom of Cambay, along the coast towards the south at eight leagues' distance, there is a fine large river and on it is a place called Caul, not very large, of handsome houses, which are all covered with thatch. This place is one of the centres of great commerce in merchandise and in the months of December, January, February and March, there are many ships from Malabar country and all other parts which arrive with cargoes. That is to say, those of Malabar laden with coconuts, arecas, spices, drugs, palm, sugar emery and there they make their sales for the continent and the kingdom of Cambay; and the ships of Cambay come there to meet them laden with cotton stuffs and many other goods, which are available in Malabar, and these are bartered for the goods, which have come from Malabar country. And on return voyage they fill their ships with wheat, vegetables, millets, rice, seasame, oil of seasame, of which there is much in the country and these Malabarese also buy many pieces of muslin for women's head-dress and many beyranies of which there are plenty in the kingdom. A large quantity of copper is sold in this port of Caul and at a high price for it is worth 20 *ductas* the hander weight, or more because in the interior, money is made of it and it is also used throughout the country for cooking pots. There is also a great consumption of quick-silver and vermilion for the interior and for the kingdom of Gujarāt. Copper, quick silver and vermilion is brought to this place by Malabar merchants, who get it from the factories of the king of Portugal and they get it more by way of Makkah which comes there from Div. These people wear the beyranies put on for a few days nearly in the raw state and afterwards they bleach them and make them very white and gum them to sell abroad and thus some are met with amongst them which are torn. In this port of Caul, there are few inhabitants, except during three or four months of the year, the time for putting in cargo, when there arrive merchants from all the neighbourhood and they make their bargains during this period and dispatch their goods and after that to return to their homes until the next season so that this place is like a fair in these months. There is a moorish gentleman as governor of this place who is a vassal of the king of the Deccan and collects his revenues and accounts to him for them. He is called Xech and does great service to the king of Portugal and is great friend of Portuguese and treats very well all those who go there and keeps the country very secure".

Tavernier.

In 1648, Tavernier who visited Bijāpūr observes that the Bijāpūr king was always at war with the Moghals whose armies failed to make any impression on him as he was helped with money secretly by the king of Golconḍā and with many forces by the petty chiefs round about the kingdom and as the country

CHAPTER 10. Mediaeval Administration and Social Organisation.

ACCOUNT OF FOREIGN TRAVELLERS—AHMADNAGAR, AND BIJAPUR.

was unfit for an army to enter, it was badly off for water and forage. Tavernier observes that the two great marts of the kingdom were Rāybāg within Belgāṅv limits for pepper and Veṅgurlā in Ratnagiri district for cardamoms.

Tavernier.

In 1660, according to the Dutch traveller Baldaeus, the Bijāpūr Kingdom was no less than 250 leagues long and 150 broad. The king though formerly independent after a lengthened war had been made vassal to the great Moghal. His forces consisted of 1,50,000 horse besides a large number of foot. The kingdom abounded in salt petre works.

Ogilby.

Shortly, before the fall of Bijāpūr to the Moghals, an account of Bijāpūr was given by the English Geographer Ogilby in about 1680. He observes that Bijāpūr had many jewellers who traded in diamonds and pearls of great value. The arms used by the people, both by horse and by foot were broad swords, pikes, lances with a square iron at the end about a span long, bows and arrows, shields and darts. Their defensive arms were coats of mail and coats with cotton. When they marched a-field they carried calico tents under which they slept. They used oxen to carry their baggage. Their common mode of fighting was on foot, though, when they marched some walked, others rode on horses and some on elephants of which the king kept a large number. The king was very powerful and able in a short time to bring 80,000 or 2,00,000 armed men into the field, both horse and foot. The king had diverse great guns in his magazine and about 200 cannons, demi cannons and culverines. The king was called Adelcan or Ādil Śāh meaning the lord of justice, of keys, that is the keeper of the keys which locked the treasury of the Bisnagar kings. At the capital, civil justice was administered by the high sheriff or *kotvāl*, and criminal cases were decided by the king. The criminals were executed in the king's presence with great cruelty. They were thrown often before elephants and other wild beasts to be eaten. Sometimes cutting of their arms and other members of the body was ordered. A debtor who failed to pay his debt within the period fixed by the judge was whipped and his wife and children were sold by the creditors as slaves. Persons taking oaths were placed in a round circle made on the ground and repeated some words, with one hand on ashes, and the other hand laid on their breasts[1].

[1] Perhaps the best description of the people of the country comes from the author of *Matlau-s Sadain*. Though it pertains to the people and the Hindu Kingdom of Vijaynagar it will not be out of place to reproduce it here as the population of the sultanates was predominantly Hindu.

This humble individual having taken his leave, departed from Kalikot, and passing by the seaport of Bandana, which is on the Malibar coast, arrived at the port of Mangalur, which is on the borders of the kingdom of Bijanagar. Having remained there two or three days, he departed by dry land, and at the distance of three *parasangs* from Mangalur, he saw a temple which has not its like upon the earth. It is a perfect square of about ten yards by ten, and five in height. The whole is made of molten brass. There are four platforms or ascents, and on the highest of them there is an idol of the figure and stature of a man, made all of gold. Its eyes are composed of two red rubies, which are so admirably set that you would say that they gaze upon you. The whole is made with the greatest delicacy and is perfection of art.

*contd.*



Passing on from that place, I arrived each day at a town or village well populated, until a mountain rose before me, the base of which cast a shadow on the sun, and whose sword (peak) sheathed itself in the neck of Mars : its waist was encircled with the bright stars of orion, as with a ring, and its head was crowned with a blazing chaplet. Its foot was coverd with such numbers of trees and thorny bushes that the rays of the world-enlightening sun were never able to penetrate its obscurity, and the genial clouds could never moisten its soil with their rain. On leaving this mountain and forest, I arrived at the city of Bidrur, of which houses were like palaces and its beauties like *houris*. In Pidrur there is a temple so high that you can see it at a distance of several *parasangs*. It is impossible to describe it without fear of being charged with exaggeration. In brief, in the middle of the city, there is a open space extending for about ten *jaribs*, charming as the garden of Iram. In it there are flowers of every kind, like leaves. In the middle of the garden there is a terrace (*kursi*), composed of stones, raised to the..... height of a man ; so exquisitely cut are they, and joined together with so much nicety, that you would say it was one slab of stone, or a piece of the blue firmament which had fallen upon the earth. In the middle of this terrace there is a lofty building comprising a cupola of blue stone, on which are cut figures, arranged in three rows, tier above tier.

Such reliefs and pictures could not have been represented upon it by the sharp style and deceptive pencil.

From the top to the bottom there was not a space of the palm of hand of that lofty building which was not adorned with paintings of Europe and Khata (China). The building was constructed on four terraces of the length of thirty yards, and of the breadth of twenty yards, and its height was about fifty yards.

All the other edifices, small and great, are curved and painted with exceeding delicacy. In that temple, night and day, after prayers unaccepted by God, they sing and play musical instruments, enjoy concerts, and give feasts. All the people of the villages enjoy pensions and allowances from that building ; for offerings are presented to it from distant cities. In the opinion of those irreligious men it is the *kaba* of the infidels (*gabran*). After remaining here two or three days, I continued my journey, and at the close of the month Zi-hijja arrived at the city of Bijanagar. The king sent out a party to escort us, and we were brought to a pleasant and suitable abode.

**Account of the city of Bijanagar and its seven surrounding fortifications.**

From our former relation, and well-adjusted narrative, well-informed readers will have ascertained that the writer 'Abdu-r-razzak had arrived at the city of Bijanagar. There he saw a city exceedingly large and populous, and a king of great power and dominion, whose kingdom extended from the borders of Sarandip to those of Kulbarga, and from Bengal to Malibar, a space of more than 1,000 *parasangs*. The country is for the most part well cultivated and fertile, and about three hundred good seaports belong to it. There are more than 1,000 elephants, lofty as the hills and gigantic as demons. The army consists of eleven *lacs* of men (1,100,000). In the whole of Hindustan there is no *rai* more absolute than himself, under which denomination the kings of that country are known. The Brahmans are held by him in higher estimation than all other men. The book of *Kalila* and *Dimna*, than which there is no other more excellent in the Persian language, and which relates to a Rai and a Brahman, is probably the composition of the wise men of this country.

The city of Bijanagar is such that eye has not seen nor ear heard of any place resembling it upon the whole earth. It is so built that it has seven fortified walls, one within the other. Beyond the circuit of the other wall there is an esplanade extending for about fifty yards to which stones are fixed near one another to the height of a man ; one half buried firmly in the earth, and the other half rises above it, so that neither foot nor horse, however bold, can advance with facility near the outer wall. If anyone wishes to learn how this resembles the city of Hirat, let him understand that the outer fortification answers to that which extends from the hill of Mukhtar and the pass of "the Two Brothers" to the banks of the river, and the bridge of Malan, which lies to the east of the village of Ghizar, and to the west of the village of Siban.

The fortress is in the form of a circle, situated on the summit of a hill, and is made of stone and mortar, with strong gates, where guards are always posted, who are very diligent in the collection of taxes (*jizyat*). The second fortress represents the space which extends from the bridge of the New River to the bridge of the pass of Kara, to the east of the bridge of Rangina and Jakan, and to the west of the garden of Zibanda, and the village of Jasan. The third fortress would contain the space which lies between the tomb of the Imam Fakhr-u-din-Razi, to the vaulted tomb of Muhammad Sultan Shah. The fourth would represent the space which lies between the bridge of Anjil and the bridge of Karad. The fifth may be reckoned

**CHAPTER 10,** *contd.*

**Mediaeval Administration and Social Organisation.**

ACCOUNT OF FOREIGN TRAVELLERS.

equivalent to the space which lies between the garden of Zaghan and the bridge on the river Jakan. The sixth fortification would comprehend the distance between the gate of the king and that of Firozabad. The seventh fortress is placed in the centre of the others, and occupies ground ten times greater than the chief market of Hirat. In that is situated the palace of the king. From the northern gate of the outer fortress to the southern is a distance of two statute *parasangs*, and the same with respect to the distance between the eastern and western gates. Between the first, second, and third walls, there are cultivated fields, gardens, and houses. From the third to the seventh fortress, shops and bazars are closely crowded together. By the palace of the king there are four bazars, situated opposite to one another. That which lies to the north is the imperial palace or abode of the Rai. At the head of each bazar, there is a lofty arcade and magnificent gallery, but the palace of the king is loftier than all of them. The bazars are very broad and long, so that the sellers of flowers notwithstanding that they place high stands before their shops, are yet able to sell flowers from both sides. Sweet-scented flowers are always procurable fresh in that city, and they are considered as even necessary sustenance, seeing that without them they could not exist. The tradesmen of each separate guild or craft have their shops close to one another. The jewellers sell their rubies and pearls and diamonds and emeralds openly in the bazar. (Eulogy of the gems).

In this charming area, in which the palace of the king is contained, there are many rivulets and streams flowing through channels of cut stone, polished and even. On the right hand of the palace of the *Sultan* there is the *diwan-khana*, or minister's. office, which is extremely large, and presents the appearance of a *chihal-sutun*, or forty-pillared hall; and in front of it there runs a raised gallery, higher than the stature of a man, thirty yards long and six broad, where the records are kept and the scribes are seated. These people have two kinds of writing, one upon a leaf of the Hindi nut (cocoa-nut), which is two yards long, and two digits broad, on which they scratch with an iron style. These characters present no colour, and endure but for a little while. In the second kind they blacken a white surface, on which they write with a soft stone cut into the shape of a pen, so that the characters are white on a black surface, and are durable. This kind of writing is highly esteemed.

In the middle of the pillared hall, a eunuch, called a *Danaik*, sits alone upon a raised platform, and presides over the administration; and below it the mace-bearers stand, drawn up in a row on each side. Whoever has any business to transact advances between the lines of mace-bearers stand, drawn up in a row on each side, offers some trifling present, places his face upon the ground, and standing upon his legs again, represents his grievance. Upon this, the *Danaik* issues orders founded upon the rules of justice prevalent in that country, and no other person has any power of remonstrance. When the *Danaik* leaves the chamber, several coloured umbrellas are borne before him, and on both sides of his way panegyrists pronounce benedictions upon him. Before he reaches the king he had to pass through seven gates, at which porters are seated, and as the *Danaik* arrives at each door an umbrella is left behind, so that on reaching the seventh gate the *Danaik* enters alone. He reports upon the affairs of the State to the king, and after remaining some time, returns. His residence lies behind the palace of the king.

On the left of the palace where is the mint, where they stamp three different kinds of gold coins, mixed with alloy. One is called *varana*, and weighs about one *miskal*, equal to two *kopaki dinars*. The second kind is called *partab*, and is equal to half of the first. The third is called *fanam*, and is equal to the tenth of a *partab*. The last is the most current. Of pure silver they make a coin equal to a sixth of a *fanam*, which they call *tar*, which is also in great use. The third of a *tar* is a copper coin, called *lital*. The usage of the country is that, at a stated period, every one throughout the whole empire carries to the mint the revenue (*sur*) which is due from him, and whoever has money due to him from the Exchequer receives an order upon the mint. The *sipahis* receive their pay every four months, and no one has an assignment granted to him upon the revenues of the provinces.

This country is so well populated that it is impossible in a reasonable space to convey an idea of it. In the king's treasury there are chambers, with excavations in them, filled with molten gold, forming one mass. All the inhabitants of the country, whether high or low, even down to the artificers of the bazar, wear jewels and gilt ornaments in their ears and around their necks, arms, wrists, and fingers.

### The Elephants, and mode of catching them.

Opposite the minister's office are the elephant sheds. The king has many elephants in the country, but the large ones are specially reserved for the palace. Between the first and second *enceinte* of the city, and between the northern and western faces, the breeding of elephants takes place, and it is there that the young ones are produced. The king has a white elephant, exceedingly large, with here and there as many as thirty spots of colour.

*contd.*

Every morning this animal is brought into the presence of the monarch ; for to cast eye upon him is thought a favourable omen. The palace elephants are fed on *kichu*, which, after being cooked, is turned out from the cauldron before the elephant, and after being sprinkled with salt and moist sugar, is made into a mass, and then balls of about two *mans* each are dipped in butter, and are then placed by the keepers in the mouths of the animas. If any of these ingredients is forgotten, the elephant is ready to kill his keeper, and the king also severely punishes his negligence. They are fed twice a day in this way. Each has a separate stall ; the walls are very strong and high, and are covered with strong wood. The chains on the necks and backs of the elephants are firmly attached to the beams above ; if the chains were bound any other way, the elephants would easily detach themselves. Chains are also bound upon the fore-legs.

The manner in which they catch elephants is this : they dig a pit in the way by which the animal usually goes to drink, which they coverover lightly. When an elephant falls into it, no man is allowed to go near the animal for two or three days; at the end of that period, a man comes up and strikes him several hard blows with a bludgeon, when suddenly another man appears who drives of the striker, and seizing the bludgeon, throws it away. He then retires, after placing some forage before the elephant. This practice is repeated for several days ; the first lays on the blows, and the second drives him away, until the animal begins to have a liking for his protector, who by degrees approaches the animal, and places before it the fruits which elephants are partial to, and scratches and rubs the animal, until by this kind of treatment he becomes tame, and submits his neck to the chain.

They tell the following story of an elephant that fled from his bondage, and absconded to the deserts and the jungles. His keeper, in pursuit of him, dug pits in the paths which he was likely to frequent. The elephant, apprehensive of his artifices, seizing a club, and holding it like a staff in his trunk, kept feeling and sounding the earth with great caution as he advanced ; and so arrived at the drinking ford. The elephant-drivers despaired of taking him ; but as the king was very anxious to have him caught, one of the keepers mounted a tree under which the elephant was likely to go, and there lay hid, till, at the moment of his passing underneath, he threw himself down on the back of the animal, and seizing the strong cord which they strap over the back and chest of those animals, and which had not yet been detached, he held it fast within his grasp. In spite of all the turnings and motions which the elephant made to escape, and in spite of his lashing with his trunk, it was all of no avail. When he began rolling upon his side, the keeper leapt upon the flank which remained uppermost, and meanwhile struck the animal several sharp blows upon the head, so that, being at last exhausted, the beast gave in, and submitted his body to the bonds, and his neck to the fetters. The keeper brought the elephant into the presence of the king, who bestowed a handsome reward upon him.

The kings of Hindustan go out hunting elephants, and remain a month or more in the jungles, and when they capture elephants, they rejoice at their success. Some times they order criminals to be cast down before the feet of an elephant, that may be killed by its knees, trunk and tusks. Merchants carry elephants from Silan to different countries, and sell them according to their height, so much more being demanded for each additional yard.

### The Brothels.

Opposite the mint is the office of the Prefect of the City, to which it is said 12,000 policemen are attached ; and their pay, which equals each day 12,000 *fanams*, is derived from the proceeds of the brothels. The splendour of those houses, the beauty of the heart-ravishers, their blandishment and ogles, are beyond all description. It is best to be brief on the matter.

One thing worth mentioning is this, behind the mint there is a sort of bazar, which is more than 300 yards long and 20 broad. On two sides of it there are houses (*Khanaha*) and fore-courts (*safhaha*), and in front of the houses, instead of benches (*kursi*), lofty seats are built of excellent stone, and on each side of the avenue formed by the houses there are figures of lions, panthers, tigers, and other animals, so well painted as to seem alive. After the time of mid-day prayers, they place at the doors of these houses, which are beautifully decorated, chairs and settees, on which the courtezans seat themselves. Every one is covered with pearls, precious stones and costly garments. They are all exceedingly young and beautiful. Each has one or two slave girls standing before her, who invite and allure to indulgence and pleasure. Any man who passes through this place makes choice of whom he will. The servants of these brothels take care of whatever is taken into them, and if anything is lost they are dismissed. There are several brothels within these seven fortresses, and the revenues of them, which, as stated before, amount to 12,000 *fanams*, to pay the wages of the policemen. The business of these men is to acquaint themselves with all the events and accidents that happen within

CHAPTER 10. *contd.*

Mediaeval Administration and Social Organisation.

ACCOUNT OF FOREIGN TRAVELLERS.

the seven walls, and to recover everything that is lost, or that may be abstracted by theft; otherwise they are fined. Thus, certain slaves which my companion had bought took to flight, and when the circumstance was reported to the Prefect, he ordered the watchmen of that quarter where the poorest people dwelt to produce them or pay the penalty; which last they did, on ascertaining the amount. Such are the details relating to the city of Bijanagar and the condition of its sovereign.

The author of this history, who arrived at Bijanagar at the close of Zi-hijja, took up his abode in a lofty mansion which had been assigned to him, resembling that which one sees in Hirat on the high ground at the King's Gate. Here he reposed himself after the fatigues of the journey for several days, and passed under happy auspices the first day of the new moon of Muharram in that splendid city and beautiful abode.

### Interview with the King of Bijanagar.

One day messengers came from the king to summon me, and towards the evening I went to the Court, and presented five beautiful horses and two trays, each containing nine pieces of *damask* and *satin*. The king was seated in great state in the forty-pillared hall, and a great crowd of Brahmans and others stood on the right and left of him. He was clothed in a robe of *zaitun* satin, and he had round his neck a collar composed of pure pearls of regal excellence, the value of which a jeweller would find it difficult to calculate. He was of an olive colour, of a spare body, and rather tall. He was exceedingly young, for there was only some slight down upon his cheeks, and none upon his chin. His whole appearance was very prepossessing. On being presented to him, I bowed down my head. He received me kindly, and seated me near him and, taking the august letter of the emperor, made it over (to the interpreters), and said, "My heart is exceedingly glad that the great king has sent an ambassador to me." As I was in a profuse perspiration from the excessive heat and the quantity of clothes which I had on me, the monarch took compassion on me, and favoured me with a fan of *Khatai* which he held in his hand. They then brought a tray, and gave me two packets of betel, a purse containing 500 *fanams*, and about 20 *miskals* of camphor, and obtaining leave to depart, I returned to my lodging. The daily provision forwarded to me comprised two sheep, four couple of fowls, five *mans* of rice, one *man* of butter, one *man* of sugar, and two *varahas* in gold. This occurred every day. Twice a week I was summoned to the presence towards the evening, when the king asked me several questions respecting the Khakan-i-Sa'id, and each time I received a packet of betel, a purse of *fanams*, and some *miskals* of camphor.

The monarch addressed us through his interpreter, and said, "your kings feast ambassadors and place dishes before them, but as I and you cannot eat together, "This purse of gold represents the repast of an ambassador."

### The properties of the betel-leaf.

This betel is a leaf which resembles that of an orange, but is longer. It is held in great esteem in Hindustan, in the many parts of Arabia, and the kingdom of Hormuz and indeed it deserves its reputation. It is eaten in this way; they bruise a piece of areca nut, which they also call *supari*, and place it in the mouth; and moistening a leaf of betel or *pan* together with a grain of quick-lime, they rub one on the other; roll them up together, and place them in the mouth. Thus they place as many as four leaves together in their mouths, and chew them. Sometimes they mix camphor with it, and from time to time discharge their spittle, which becomes red from the use of betel.

This masticatory lightens up the countenance and excites an intoxication like that caused by wine. It relieves hunger, stimulates the organs of digestion, disinfects the breath, and strengthens the teeth. It is impossible to describe and delicacy forbids me to expatiate on its invigorating and aphrodisiac virtues.

It is probably owing to the stimulating properties of this leaf, and to the aid of this plant, that the king of that country is enabled to entertain so large a seraglio; for it is said that it contains as many as 700 princesses and concubines. With respects to all these establishments no male child is permitted to remain in them after attaining the age of ten years. Two women do not dwell together in the same apartment, each one having her concerns separate. When any beautiful girl is found throughout the whole kingdom, after the consent of her father and mother has been purchased, she is brought in great state to the harem, after which no one can see her; but she is treated with great consideration.—*Matlau-s Sadain* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, pp. 103—15.

### The Showmen and Jugglers.

The Jugglers performed astonishing feats; they set up three beams joined one to the other; each was a yard long and half yard broad, and about three or four high. Two other beams were placed on the top of the first two beams, which are of about

The Nizāmśāhī rulers of Ahmadnagar as also the Imādśāhī rulers of Berār were patrons of architecture but the paucity of resources of these states accounts for a smaller number of buildings of artistic merit. The fort at Ahmadnagar, the tomb of Salābatkhān and the two well-known gardens of *Haśta Bihiśta* and *Farah Bāg* are some of the monuments which the Nizāmśāhīs of Ahmadnagar had left to posterity. These have withstood the ravages of time and destiny and are today an everlasting testimony to the greatness of their creators[1]. The constructions

*contd.*

the same length and breadth. They placed another beam, a little smaller on the top of the second beam, which were already supported by the lower beams, so that the first and second series formed two stages supporting the third beam, which was placed on the top of them all. A large elephant had been so trained by them, that it mounted the first and second stages, and finally to the top of the third, the width of which was less than the sole of the elephant's foot. When the elephant had secured all four feet on this beam, they removed the remaining beams from the rear. Mounted thus on the top of the third beam, the elephant beat time with his trunk to every song or tune that the minstrels performed, raising his trunk and lowering it gently in accord with the music.

They raised a pillar ten yards high, through a hole at the top of the pillar they passed a beam of wood, like the beam of a balance; to one end of this they attached a stone about the weight of an elephant, and to the other they attached a broad plank about one yard in length, which they fastened with strong cords. The elephant mounted this plank, and his keeper by degrees let go the cord, so that the two ends of the beam stood evenly balanced at the height of ten yards; at one end the elephant and at the other his weight in stone, equal as two halves of a circle. In this way it went (up and down) before the king. The elephant in that high position, where no one could reach him, listened to the strains of the musicians, and marked the tune with motions of his trunk.

All the readers and story-tellers, musicians and jugglers, were rewarded by the king with gold and garments. For three continuous days, from the time that the world-enlightening sun began to glow like a peacock in the heavens, until that when the crow of evening's obscurity displayed its wings and feathers, this royal fete continued with the most gorgeous display. One cannot, without entering into great detail, mention all the various kinds of pyrotechny and squibs, and various other amusements which were exhibited.—*Matlau-s Sadain* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, pp. 118-19.

[1] A description of a few of the monuments of the Nizamshahi, Adilshahi and Farugi dynasties is given below :—

**The Gol Gumbaz, Bijapur.**

Distinct in character from the architecture of the Mughuls, but simultaneous with that dynasty during the first century of its rule, a provincial style prevailed in a part of the Deccan represented by a large and important group of buildings of pronounced appearance and rare architectural merit. This independent development of the art of building was due to the power and artistic patronage of the *sultans* of the 'Adil Shah dynasty, who, until absorbed into the Mughul empire in the middle of the seventeenth century, made their capital at Bijapur one of the most magnificent cities in the whole of India. Unlike Akbar's capital at Fathpur Sikri, with which many of its buildings were contemporary, instead of being the result of an autocratic impulse to provide an architectural setting for the pageantry of the court, Bijapur grew out of a real need for a large town, strongly fortified, essential for the permanent accommodation of its rulers and their retinue, and from which the province could be properly administered. It consists therefore of a wide circular area enclosed by a wall having a citadel towards the centre, and the remainder of the spare occupied with all the constituent buildings of a state capital, such as palaces, mosques, tombs, mint and gateways. Compared also with the cities of the Mughuls bright with red sandstone and white marble, the capital of the 'Adil Shahs, constructed almost entirely of a local trap, dark brown in colour, presents in spite of its many fine monuments a somewhat monotonous and sombre effect. Attributing to themselves a Turkish origin denoted by the crescentfinial surmounting several of the state buildings, the 'Adil Shahs brought into the style of these structures a new and vigorous infusion, with remarkable results. This is shown in the wide range of their types of buildings, combined, with a knowledge of construction which equals, if it does not exceed, that of the master-masons of the Mughuls. As an instance of the versatility of the Bijapur workmen, the contrast between the majestic

**CHAPTER 10.** *contd.*

**Mediaeval Administration and Social Organisation.**

AHMADNAGAR. BIJAPUR AND KHANDESH.

Architecture.

proportions and breadth of treatment of the Gol Gumbaz, Muhammad 'Adil Shah's tomb, and the exquisite detail of the miniature Mihtar Mahall, is noteworthy. The former building is a *tour de force*, as its dome, in some of its dimensions, is one of the largest of its kind, the total area that it covers being over eighteen thousand square feet. Under Muhammad (1627-56), the 'Adil Shahi dynasty reached the height of its power, a circumstance which is marked by this immense mausoleum, unquestionably the most striking monument in Bijapur, and one of the most impressive in the whole of India. Seen in the gathering dusk of evening its great bulk rises above the surrounding plain like mountain scenery rather than the product of the puny hand of man. The Gol Gumbaz is, however, only the central portion of a considerable architectural complex which was intended to include a mosque, a gateway and musicians' gallery, a hostel and other annexes essential to a royal tomb, all disposed within an extensive walled enclosure. Some of these buildings still exist, but it is doubtful whether the entire scheme was ever quite completed, the bareness of the interior of the mausoleum, which was evidently intended to be decorated, being a significant omission. The design of the tomb building itself is comparatively simple as it encloses one chamber only but this is a hall of noble proportions, and like the Pantheon at Rome and the Basilica of Constantine one of the largest single cells ever erected. Externally, apart from the vast size of the dome, the most arresting features are the octagonal turrets which project at each angle, and the ponderous bracketed cornice below the parapet. The wall space between these is relieved only by three sunk arches, and it is here that the design seems to have been left unfinished ; a little detail judiciously applied would have given more interest to these facades. Above the corbelled cornice is an arcade, and the parapet is surmounted by ornamental crenellations, while as in all the domes at Bijapur the low drum is encircled by a foliated band. In the interior, except for the wooden pavilion in the centre under which the cenotaph is placed, the only other noticeable features in this great bare hall are the tall pointed arches supporting the dome. And in the arrangement of these arches the builder showed his consummate skill in solving a difficult problem of construction in a scientific and at the same time artistic manner. The intention of the building required him to lay out the foundations of the hall on a square plan, and the walls gained height, gradually change this square so that the summit of the walls finished in a circle ; on this circular cornice he could readily construct his dome. By an ingenious combination of eight interesting arches, the foot of each standing within the square plan but its plane set at an angle, the corner was bridged over, the whole construction eventually forming a broad circular gallery or platform of masonry some 24 feet wide and more than 100 feet from the ground. With this platform as a base the builders proceeded to erect the huge inverted bowl of the dome. The materials used for this purpose were bricks and mortar and a noticeable fact is the great thickness of the mortar between each course, so much so that the dome may be described as consisting of a hollow mass of concrete reinforced with layers of brick set in levelcourses. Of a somewhat similar composition most large domes have been built, as for instance that of St. Sophia and also the Pantheon, and here may be suspected slight evidence in support of that Turkish attribution to which the 'Adil Shahi dynasty laid claim, as this method of construction was probably derived from Ottoman sources. Another indication that the builders of Bijapur may have sought far and wide for inspiration is known by the device of intersecting arches referred to above, which made the raising of this great dome in such a manner a practical expedient. For probably the only other example of this particular system by which a dome may be supported is in the cupola of the mihrab vestibule at Cordova in Spain erected considerably over six hundred years before.

The Gol Gumbaz, however, is a building which depicts the Bijapur style in what may be termed its masculine aspect, while its colossal size is perhaps its most distinctive characteristic. For the opposite of all these qualities there is the comparatively small edifice known as the Mihtar Mahall erected in 1620, one of those rich gems of the builder's art which the Indian's mind at times found such delight in producing, and in the decoration of which his most skilled craftsmen expended their ungrudging care. Although called a *mahall*, or palace, this structure is really a gateway to the inner courtyard of a mosque which lies a little way behind it. But it is something more than a mere entrance, for it is a tall graceful building with an upper storey containing an assembly room, and above this again is an open terrace surrounded by a high wall with oriel windows and a perforated parapet. On each side of the facade are two slender ornamental minarets of a type characteristic of the Bijapur style, but it is the projecting balcony window filling in the entire space between that is the most striking feature. It is thrown out from the wall on a series of closely set carved brackets, and the wide eaves-board is supported by struts of stone so finely wrought with the chisel as to have every appearance of wood. Perhaps in its imitation of other and more plastic materials, and its delicate prettiness as a whole, this charming little structure is open to criticism ; it conveys the impression that its designer had been commissioned to prepare a miniature masterpiece complete

*contd.*

in every detail regardless of time or cost, and had been allowed a free hand in the matter. The manner in which he played with the stone as if it were clay in reproducing mouldings, joggled joints, and particularly the sunk coffers in the ceiling of the ground storey, show the exuberance of his fancy and the sheer delight he took in his task.

One of the first buildings of importance to be erected in the city of Bijapur, and thus illustrating the style in its formative state, was the Jami' Masjid begun by 'Ali' Adil Shah I about 1565. Never quite finished it still lacks the frontage of the courtyard and two minarets which were to complete this portion of its outer facade. An endeavour was made by the Mughul emperor Aurangzeb to supply this deficiency, and under his orders an eastern entrance gateway was added, but on this side of the structure much still remains to be done. The exterior shows a large rectangular building of plain aspect but powerful proportions rising at its western end into a low square battlemented tower supporting a fine dome. As usual this dome is over the central prayer hall of the sanctuary, and it is in the remarkable depth of space covered by the sanctuary that this mosque differs from many others. This arched prayer hall consists of five aisles separated by piers, thus dividing the whole into a series of square bays of wide pointed arches; the effect of this great expanse, with its perspective of piers and arches, is very impressive. The appearance of the entire building is forceful and uninvolved, a consummation achieved by the correct relation of its parts and the skilful subordination of the lesser to the larger forms of the composition. Ornament has been sparingly introduced and then only to enrich a shadow or emphasise a line, as may be seen in the cusping of the central arch of the facade, the elaboration of the brackets between the arches, and other features that called for decorative accentuation. All the surfaces have been treated to a coat of plaster, the interior walls having been furnished with a layer of very fine quality which has mellowed to a pleasing creamy tint. Amidst this display of austere refinement on the removal of a heavy protecting curtain covering the central bay containing the principal *mihrab*, it is surprising to find this particular space embellished with the most gorgeous array of patterns in colour and gold. Although there is much to admire in this unexpected blaze of colour, which depicts arcades and minarets, lamps, arabesques and inscriptions all conventionally treated, it is not in exact harmony with its surroundings and is the work of a later hand.

That the Bijapur master masons could, however, produce a highly ornate type of architecture on a large scale is shown by the Ibrahim Rauza, a group of buildings erected towards the end of the sixteenth century. The Rauza consists of the tomb of *Sultan* Ibrahim II together with its mosque, the two structures confronting one another on a raised terrace, the whole being contained within the usual square-walled enclosure. Rivalling even the finest buildings of the Mughuls in this respect, the premeditated completeness of this mausoleum and its appurtenances is astonishing, every detail of the scheme from the lettering of the inscriptions to the stone hooks in the stables having evidently been determined before the first stone was laid. Great ingenuity has been shown by the manner in which the designer has disposed the two main structures, each widely different in plan and purpose, so that together they form a symmetrical unity. Both are arcaded edifices with wide eaves on carved brackets, ornamented minarets at each angle as turrets, and each is surmounted by a bulbous dome. The mausoleum, as was intended, is the more important building, and on this the workmen have exercised their exceptional artistic ability, so that in design, construction and ornamentation it leaves little to be desired. Enclosed within a double verandah the tomb-chamber is square in shape with a flat coffered ceiling composed of stones set together edge to edge, having apparently no means of support, but evidently with concealed joggled joints. Above this ceiling is the vaulted void of the double dome, a large empty upperstorey chamber entered from the roof but having no particular use. The mosque which faces the tomb across a courtyard is in the same ornate style but slightly modified, and consists of an open arcaded prayer chamber of three pillared aisles with a deeply sunk *mihrab* in the western wall. Where, however, both these buildings excel is in the individual character of the carved decoration, which like the Bijapur architecture itself, denotes the presence of a definite school. The substance of this ornamentation is similar to that found in all Islamic art, but certain factors have been introduced, such as a special kind of bracket supporting a medallion, which are as original as they are graceful. Unlike the somewhat hybrid designs which satisfies the Mughuls, the Deccani patterns exhibit little extraneous influence; they are clearly the creation of the fertile imagination of the Bijapur craftsmen. Equally distinctive are the buildings themselves, the typical features of which may be readily recognised. These consist of the bulbous dome with its foliated drum, the tall slender turret or pinnacle in the form of an ornamental minaret, and the almost invariable preference for the pier instead of the pillar. In their methods the Bijapur builders were often bold and daring, but this adventurous spirit was accompanied by no little engineering experience and scientific knowledge. This has been already noticed in referring to the

**CHAPTER 10.** *contd.*

**Mediaeval Administration and Social Organisation.**

AHMADNAGAR, BIJAPUR AND KHANDESH.

**Architecture.**

technical skill displayed in the construction of the Gol Gumbaz and the ceiling of the Ibrahim Rauza, but it is similarly shown in the immense size and spread of some of the archways, as for instance that of the Gagan Mahall and a viaduct which leads to the Athar Mahall. These *mahalls* are two of the several palaces built in or near the citadel and illustrate the secular buildings of the 'Adil Shahs, but none of them compares in architectural character with their mosques and tombs, nor are they in the same class as the noble marble pavilions of the Mughuls.

One other style of building of a quasi-independent order manifested itself in the Deccan both before and during the Mughul ascendancy, in the state of Khandesh. Here in the local capitals of Burhanpur and Thalner several monuments were erected in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by the Faruqi dynasty ; later, in the seventeenth century, the Mughul governors were responsible for a number of tombs of a particular kind. The geographical position of this comparatively small state, surrounded as it was by a number of powerful kingdoms each with its own form of artistic expression, rendered it specially liable to external influences. These show themselves unmistakably in the character of many of its buildings. Yet although these borrowings are discernible they do not entirely dominate the style, as the architecture of Khandesh in some of its phases displays certain originality. One of the first buildings erected by the Faruqi rulers was a large palace on commanding situation above the Tapti river at Burhanpur, followed by a group of tombs at the same place and another group at Thalner, all dating from the first half of the fifteenth century. Although the palace is now in ruins, enough remains to indicate that this edifice, and perhaps more noticeably the tombs, owed not a little of their appearance to similar buildings being then raised in the neighbouring city of Mandu, the capital of Malwa. The tombs of the founders of the Faruqi dynasty, such as that of Nasir Khan (1399-1437) at Burhanpur, and Miran Mubarak I (deceased 1457) at Thalner, show a marked affinity to the more famous mausoleum of Hushang at Mandu in the solidity of their effect and proportions generally. The Khandesh masons have, however, endeavoured to lighten the mass of the structure by the introduction of projecting openings on each side of the central doorway, and have also provided more height by raising the dome on a well-proportioned drum, which, together with other features, constructive and decorative, give these Faruqi tombs an air of no little distinction. At a later date two mosques were erected at Burhanpur, the Jami Masjid built by Ali Khan in 1588 being the larger and more important, while the Bibi-ki-Masjid is better designed. The former is a comparatively plain structure, the fifteen pointed arches comprising its facade being flanked by two lofty minarets, a simple conception, but the symmetry and disposition of its parts has been carefully considered. It is not unlikely that the construction of this building was interrupted by the subjection of the state by Akbar, its completion being undertaken by the Mughuls, so that its final appearance may not be as originally intended. As an example of coherent composition the Bibi-ki-Masjid is much superior, but it is too obviously dictated by similar structures in Ahmadabad and Champaner to be commended for its originality, although the minarets are departure from the Gujarati type, particularly the projecting windows and rounded cupolas. The concluding phase of the style, when it came under the influence of the Mughuls, is seen in the tomb of Shah Nawaz Khan, one of its provincial governors in the seventeenth century. Much of this building is frankly a composite conception displaying elements acquired from a variety of sources. Its square design in two storeys is suggestive of some of the royal tombs of the Ahmad Shahi dynasty, the pinnacles are those introduced by Firuz Tughluq but ornamented with foliations from Bijapur, and, finally, the whole is surmounted by a " Lodi " dome. Yet these attributions are combined with no little skill, and the general appearance of the structure is not unattractive. At the same time it is clear that the style had no further resources of its own, and could only be maintained by appropriating the ideas of others. In such circumstances it naturally follows that no more buildings of any consequence were erected in Khandesh.—*Cambridge History*, Vol. IV, pp. 570-76.

### Ahmadnagar Fort

About the centre of the cantonment half a mile east of the city, in level ground with well grown *babhul* and banian trees, stands the fort, oval in form, one mile and eighty yards in circumference. From the outside a steep wooded bank or glacis, with a broad top or covered way, hides the walls nearby to the top. Inside of the bank runs a great dry ditch, eighty-five to 180 feet wide and fourteen to twenty feet deep, whose outer side is an unbroken perpendicular wall four feet thick. The cut stone masonry walls of the fort, said to have been built from the rock hewn out of the ditch, are massive throughout, the parapets being five feet thick and the lower masonry of gradually increasing strength. Of two entrances, one as old as the fort, for wheeled traffic and guns, is on the west side at the main gate bastion, the other a modern entrance for foot passengers is on the east side by a sallyport and suspension bridge. At the chief entrance the moat is crossed by a wooden suspension bridge swung on thick iron chains, and the road, skirting the principal bastion

*contd.*

enters the fort through two gateways placed at right angles with doors studded with large nails to guard against elephants. The court between is occupied by guard rooms. At the postern gate on the east, the moat is crossed by a chain suspension bridge, built some 150 years ago by Colonel Jacob of the Engineers. The walls, rising about thirty feet from the bottom of the ditch, consist of a number of semicircular bastions eighty-five yards apart, connected by curtains with parapets varying from five to ten feet in height, pierced in most places with loopholes. Behind the parapet a six feet wide path turns round the top of the wall. The bastions are all full, and, except the flag staff of chief gate bastion, have embrasures. In bastions 1, 2, 14, 15, 20, 21 and 22 the embrasures are cut down from the top of the parapets ; for the rest there is a walk or berme above the embrasures, and the parapets are loopholed for musketry fire. Between each pair of embrasures is a massive stone traverse. The flag staff or chief gate bastion has, from a covered passage in its middle storey, several projections over the ditch from which stones and other heavy missiles could be dropped. One hundred and two guns can be mounted on the embrasures and several more on the flag staff bastion. The inside of the fort is sixteen to twenty-two feet below the terreplein of the bastions and curtains with which it is connected by frequent stone staircases. Except for some buildings and *babhul* and banian trees it is smooth and open. Of the buildings some are of old native construction, others are offices and store-rooms of the commissariat public works barrack and ordnance departments, and the rest are workshops and gun-sheds formerly used by the headquarters of the Bombay foot artillery. The whole area within the fort is vaulted for stores. There is one large powder magazine able to hold two thousand fifty pound barrels of powder, and one ball cartridge room with space for 10,50,000 rounds of ball ammunition. In the thickness of the inner walls of bastions and curtains many arched recesses might serve as temporary expense magazines. The walls are kept in careful repair, and four wells yield an abundant supply of fair drinking water.... Of the old native buildings in the fort the one of the most interest, in the centre and still in good order, is Malik Ahmad's palace (1490—1509), afterwards repaired by Husain Nizam Shah (1553—1565). Of the palace the most notable part is the public room about ninety-one feet long, twenty-two broad and eighteen high. The roof is a series of domes, the inside of them adorned by richly embossed stucco work.

### Rumikhan's or Makka Mosque

Rumikhan's or the Makka Mosque close to the city wall between the Mangal and Sarjepur gates, about eighty yards east of the Sarjepur gate, was built in the reign of the second king Burhan Nizam Shah (1509—1553) by Rumikhan Dakhni the caster of the great Bijapur gun Malik-i-Maidan. The mosque is built of trap and lime masonry. It is about forty feet long north and south by about thirty feet broad east and west and on its east front has an enclosure or yard (39′ × 27′) surrounded by mud walls about seven feet high. The mosque has two floors, the first or ground floor intended for a rest-house or *musafarkhana* and the top floor for a place of worship. The flat roof of the mosque rests on four round polished one-stone pillars two in each row much like the pillars used in Kasimkhan's palace. Each pillar is about three feet round and eight feet high and looks like black marble. The pillars are said to have been brought from Makka and to have given the building its name of the Makka mosque. Over the pillars two rows of three arches run north and south and on the arches rests the roof. The roof over the west part of the mosque is said to have been in ruins since about 1680. The front is in good repair and is mostly used by beef butchers.

### Khwaja Sherif's Haveli

Khwaja Sherif's *Haveli* about 130 yards south-east of Rumi Khan's mosque is an old Musalman mansion with mud walls, about seven feet high enclosing a space of about 107 yards square. It is said to get its name from Khwaja Sherif the brother of Kavi Jang, to whom the third Peshwa Balaji presented it in reward for his brother's cession of the fort in 1759. The entrance is on the north by a strong doorway built of dressed stone and lime. In the enclosure, to the south, is a mosque (about 50′ × 20′ × 16′) of dressed stone and lime masonry and still in good repair. Besides the mansion and the mosque the enclosure has a few flat roofed houses some of them occupied by the descendants of Khwaja Sherif, and two cisterns fed by the Kapurvadi channel. A bier or *tajia* in honour of Khwaja Sherif is made every year during the Muharram holidays. The bier is held second in rank to the Bara Imam's bier or *tajia*, and hundreds of people offer sweetmeats and oil to it in fulfilment of vows.

### Kasimkhan's Palace

Kasimkhan's Palace is a handsome two storeyed building added to and fitted up in 1818—19 as the Collector's residence. It was built in the beginning of the sixteenth century during the reign of the first king Ahmad Nizam Shah (1490—1509).

*contd.*

The centre hall entered by a long-flight of steps is a stately room, the ceiling supported on large one-stone pillars of black stone similar to the pillars in Rumi Khan's mosque. The ceiling of the side rooms is domed and handsomely carved.

### Khan Zaman's Palace and Mosque

Khan Zaman's palace and mosque, about 225 yards south-west of Kasimkhan's palace, were built in H. 967 (A. D. 1559) by Khan Zaman Khan Dakhni in the reign of the third king Husain (1553—1565). The palace is in ruins but the mosque, a small very plain stone building, is still in use. Over the doorway an inscription gives the name of the founder and the date. Except the name the wording of the inscription is the same as that on Farhadkhan's mosque.

### Nyamatkhan's Palace and Mosque

Nyamatkhan's palace and mosque, about eighty yards north-west of Khan Zamankhan's mosque, is a magnificent pile of buildings now mostly in ruins. It was designed by Sardar Ferrah Bakhsh and was finished by Nyamatkhan Dakhni in H. 987 (A. D. 1579) in the reign of the fourth king Murtaza I (1565—1588). The buildings contained a very large bath and attached to them was a famous Badgir or ventilator which was pulled down by Mr. Woodcock a former Judge of Ahmadnagar. A part of the building with an upper storey still stands fronting the roadway and was occupied by a Musalman fire-work maker. The buildings were supplied with water from the Nepti channel which was specially built for them. The foundations of the ruined parts of the palace and bath may still be traced. The mosque (50′ × 30′ × 15′) is on a four feet high plinth and is built of dressed stone and lime masonry. Its flat top rests on eight stone pillars about two feet square and about five feet high over which rise the arches. It is still in good repair and is used for records and stores by the municipality whose office is close by. The left or south side contains two rows of three archways and was formerly used as a mosque. The right side with two rows of two archways contains the tombs of Nyamat Khan and his wife. From the foundations the palace and the bath seem to have filled a space of about 500 square yards. The main entrance was in the line of the north wall close to the mosque which is still standing. The gate bears a Hindustani and Arabic inscription in eleven lines on the top of the doorway engraved in two stone tablets which gives the date of the mosque as H. 987 that is A. D. 1579.

### Changizkhan's Palace

Changizkhan's palace, built by the distinguished and ill used noble of that name in the reign of the third Ahmadnagar king Husain Nizam Shah (1553—1565), about sixty-eight yards north-east of Sarjekhan's palace and mosque, is a fine upper storeyed building now used as the District Judge's court. On its plinth is an inscribed stone but so covered with whitewash as to be almost unreadable.

### Jama Mosque

The Jama Mosque, about sixty-five yards west of Changiz Khan's palace, is a large plain stone building (75′ × 44′) on a low plinth. It was built in H. 1117 that is A. D. 1705 by Kazi Abdul Rasul Sahib Usmani under orders from Aurangzeb. The property, worth about £4,000 (Rs. 40,000) of a Khatri named Gopal who died intestate, fell to the crown and was spent by Aurangzeb in making this mosque.

### Farhadkhan's Mosque, Shrine, and Rest-House

Farhad Khan's mosque, Shrine, and rest-house, about 130 yards north-east of the Jama Mosque, were built by one Farhad Khan in H. 967 that is A. D. 1559. Over the doorway an inscription gives the date and name of the founder in words the same as those on Khan Zamankhan's mosque. The mosque is still used, a part of the buildings as a rest-house and the rest as a Government store. The mosque is raised on a stone plinth but has no special architectural beauty. The front is of pointed arches and the roof has six domes resting on four central eight-sided pillars. The whole is enclosed in a paved courtyard at the east end of which is Farhad Khan's tomb. The rest-house is a separate courtyard surrounded by a veranda supported on pointed arches.

### Salabatkhan's Tomb

Six miles east of the city on the Shah Dongar hill, about 900 feet above Ahmadnagar and 3,080 feet above sea level stands the tomb of Salabatkhan II, the famous minister of Murtaza Nizam Shah I (1565—1588). The hill is one of the highest peaks in the neighbourhood and with the tomb looks from a distance like a short round tower and forms the most marked feature in the landscape. A made road with an avenue of trees runs from the city past the foot of the hill to Shevgaon. On

*contd.*

the way it passes the old town of Bhingar and the deserted village of Shahapur. At the Shahapur mosque the road is crossed by the Shahapur aqueduct and a reservoir about 100 yards to the left receives the hill water and feeds a channel which goes to the cantonment. Not far from the reservoir is the road up the hill eight feet-broad with a gradient of one in fifteen which was made in 1859 by the military department. It is passable for carts and *tongas*. The hill side is strewn with black boulders and is almost bare of trees, but the lower part is being wooded. An easy walk of about fifteen minutes leads to the top of the hill where the tomb is seen to great advantage. By the simple contrivance of a stone terrace built about twelve feet high and 100 yards broad the tomb seems to rise with considerable dignity from the centre of an octagon. The building is plain but the eight-sided platform, the three tiers of pointed arches, and the dome have all much beauty of form.

A few steps lead from the terrace into the vault which contains the tomb. The tomb has angular holes so placed that the rising and setting sunlight falls on the tomb. At night the keeper of the tomb lights a lamp before the tomb. Salabat Khan's name is forgotten and the tomb is locally known as Chandbibi's Mahal. The tower is about seventy feet high and the base about twelve feet wide, while the galleries are about twenty feet broad. A narrow stone staircase runs round the tower hidden inside the wall which separates the tower from the galleries. The top storey over the dome is unfinished. It is difficult to say whether an outside dome was intended as a finish or the building was meant to be carried higher by adding additional galleries of smaller size. According to one account Salabat Khan meant to carry up the tower, till from the top of it he could see his beloved Daulatabad. The natural advantages of the hill and tomb as a health resort were early recognised by the English. Captain Pottinger the first Collector pitched his tents on the terrace and occupied the tomb. He stopped up one of the inner arches to protect himself from the strong breeze and cut a road up the hill beginning from a point near the present toll-house and ending where the new road ends. The only difficulty on the hill is its scanty water-supply. The legend is that before British rule the tomb was occupied by a Musalman mendicant or *fakir* skilful in medicine. Afterwards the tomb was held by a gang of Bhil robbers who were attacked and captured by the people of Mehekri village. In 1859 about forty soldiers were sent to the tomb and some of the arches were closed for their convenience. It was then settled to make the tomb a health resort for about fifty men with women and children by stopping all the arches on the first and second storeys with mud and stone leaving windows and openings for air and providing a wooden staircase inside the tower. The Superintending Surgeon reported that though from its small height the hill could hardly be called a health resort, it would prove beneficial during the hot season for convalescents from fever and for the weakly men of the Nagar Brigade. It was afterwards intended to close all the arches and make a staircase to the top storey, but the cost of these changes prevented their being carried out. A cistern has been made at the foot of the hill over a fresh spring of water. It was at one time intended to make four cisterns on the hill top to store rain water. The masonry walls are still in repair but the cisterns do not hold water except for a short time in the rains. The walls of a large pond stand some way below the main road. It failed as a pond but a *patil* has drained it and its rich deposit of silt bears excellent crops. The hill has a trigonometrical survey cairn.

### Kotla Mosque

Near the Mangal gate about 200 yards outside the city is the Kotla Mosque, a walled enclosure with out-houses. It was built by Burhan Nizam Shah (1509—1553) in H. 944 that is A. D. 1536 under the advice of his minister Shah Tahir when Burhan embraced the *Shiah* faith. Burhan presented the mosque to Shah Tahir and intended it as a charitable institution and college. It was largely endowed and still enjoys a yearly grant of Rs. 15,000' chiefly from the revenues of a village in Nevasa. The mosque has since been used as a *Bara-Imams'* or the Twelve Saints' holy place and during the *Muharram* holidays thousands of people offer presents of sweet oil and sweetmeats to the *Mujavar* in charge, the oil for burning lamps in front of the *Bara Imams'* bier or *tajia* and the sweetmeats for distribution among

**CHAPTER 10.** *contd.*

**Mediaeval Administration and Social Organisation.**

AHMADNAGR, BIJAPUR AND KHANDESH.

Architecture.

the worshippers for the fulfilment of prayers? Except the outer wall, little of the old buildings is left. The enclosure, which is about 300 feet square is surrounded by a wall about fifteen feet high built of dressed trap and lime. It has two entrances on the east and south. The east and main entrance is about seven feet high and four feet wide. In front on either side of the entrance are travellers' resting places, with two feet square stone pillars and covered with stone archways set in lime. The central part of the west enclosure wall, which is about 100 feet long, forms the back of the mosque, which is similar in plan to the Jama mosque. On either side of the mosque along the enclosure line are sheds inhabited by the descendants of the *Mujavars*. The second or south entrance, which is about twenty feet wide by fifteen high, was opened about 1865 under Government orders for better ventilation. In the centre of the enclosure is a large cistern said to have been fed by the Kapurvadi duct. About 1870 a small cistern about ten feet square fed by the Kapurvadi duct was built in the middle of the old cistern at the joint expense of the mosque people and the cantonment committee. The mosque, out-houses and enclosure are in good repair.

### Rumikhan's Tomb or Pila Ghumat

About 100 yards north of the Kotla is Rumikhan's Tomb, also called *Pila Ghumat*, or the Yellow Dome. It is a square tomb surmounted by a dome. The tomb is eighteen feet square inside, and, including the dome, is forty feet high. The walls are four feet thick. It has been made into a dwelling by introducing a floor which divides the tomb into an upper and lower room. The tomb stone which is a single large block, lies outside where it was probably removed when the tomb was made into a dwelling. In the enclosure close alongside of the tomb a large hollow, about 100 feet by sixty feet and six feet deep, is said to be the mould in which the great Bijapur gun *Malik-i-Maidan* was cast in H. 956 that is A. D 1549.

### Bagh Rauza

About half a mile north-west of the city a few hundred yards of the Nalegaon gate, is the Bagh Rauza or the Garden of the Shrine, where the first Nizam Shahi king Ahmad I (1490—1509) is buried. This is one of the finest buildings in Ahmadnagar. It is of black stone about forty feet square and roofed by a dome and inscribed inside with texts from the *Kuran* in letters of gold. Except the one to the south the doors are closed. In the centre of the building, with other tombs on both sides, is a tomb of Ahmad Nizam Shah. All the tombs are usually covered with a green or black cloth and have no inscriptions. To the south-east of the main building and near a ruinous reservoir is a small square-domed building believed to be the vault, wherein, previous to its being carried to Karbela, the body of Shah Tahir, the *Shiah* minister of Burhan Nizam Shah (1509—1553) was laid. Both these buildings are enclosed by a wall about ten feet high. The gateway to the south is domed and also contains some graves. Immediately to the left is a stone and masonry platform about ten feet high and eighteen feet square. It is partly canopied by a stone-slab supported by a number of elegantly worked stone pillars. It is said to be raised on the place where lies buried the body of the elephant Gulam Ali which captured Ramraja of Vijayanagar in the great battle of Talikota (1565). On the dais are two or three grave-like mounds on which are inscribed in beautiful Persian characters the Muhammadan creed. Close by the canopy on the stone chair is a tomb said to be that of the elephant's driver or *mahut*.

### Hazarat Abd-ur-Rahman Chisti's shrine

About half a mile north of the city, close to the Aurangabad road, is the shrine of Abd-ur-Rahman Chishti, who came to Ahmadnagar as a beggar during the reign of Ahmad Nizam Shah and died at Ahmadnagar. About 313 *bighas* of land were assigned for the repair of this shrine.

### Adhai Ghumats

On the Malegaon road about a mile to the north of the city, within the limits of Savedi village, are two large domed tombs known as the Adhai Ghumats. About 1579 a *Jamadar* in Murtaza I's (1565—1588) service, suspecting the chastity of his mistress, killed her and her lover, a rich Delhi trader. The merchant left a large property from which the two tombs were built. About 1770 they were being pulled down by Babjirav, the second Maratha governor of Ahmadnagar, to build stone bastions on the fort instead of the old clay bastions. The labourers employed died next day, and Babjirav was warned that he also would die if he did any more harm to the tombs. The tombs were added to and made a residence which for many years was held by the District Judge, but is now the property of the American Mission.

### Farah Bag

About two miles south-east of the city are the ruins of the Farah Bag, a fine building in the middle of what was formerly a lake but is now dry except during the rains. The palace was begun for Burhan Nizam Shah I (1509—1553) by Changiz Khan and finished by Nyamat Khan. When he came to see it Burhan disliked the design

of the Ādilśāhīs of Bijāpūr lie for the most part outside Mahārāṣṭra. The 16th century in the Deccan thus cannot be regarded as rich in brilliant architectural remains. A few lines on the significance of forts in the 15th and 16th centuries would not be out of place here.

The hill, the ground and the coastal forts have played a distinguishing role as the guardians of frontiers of the various kingdoms from Ancient to Mediaeval times. The topography of the region facilitated the construction of hill forts which commanded, due to their sheer heights, regions extending over scores of miles especially in the western part of Mahārāṣṭra.

The plains of Vidarbha and Marāṭhavāḍā necessitated the construction of ground forts which served an useful purpose as seats of administration over the surrounding areas. The vast coastal line of the Bahamanī and of the Ahmadnagar and Bijāpūr Kingdoms created the necessity of building a few fortified pockets on the coastal region to ensure protection to trade and pilgrimage and guarantee against the attacks from marauders and pirates. As a matter of fact after the downfall of the Bahamanīs each new state strove to strengthen its ever changing boundaries with the

---

*contd.*

and instigated by Shah Tahir, who was an enemy of Nyamat Khan, ordered it to be pulled down and re-built. The work was entrusted to Salabat Khan I, who died while it was in progress. It was finally finished by Salabat Khan's nephew the great Salabat II in H. 991 that is A. D. 1583. The palace is octagonal with a flat roofed upper storey. The central hall has a dome about thirty feet high. Including an outer platform all round about twenty-five feet wide the building is about 250 feet in diameter and built of rough stone and lime masonry, plastered inside and outside with stucco. Round the palace is a dry pond about 150 feet wide and about seventeen feet deep which was fed by the Bhingar aqueduct. About 500 yards round the pond the ground was made into a fine garden. The pond is still surrounded by clumps of mango, tamarind, and woodapple trees.

**Hasht Behisht Bagh**

About three miles to the north of the city, in the limits of Hadiri village, is a ruined palace and garden called *Hasht Behisht* or the Eighth Paradise. It was built in 1506 by Ahmad Nizam Shah on the advice of Salabat Khan Gurji and was at first called *Faiz Baksh* or the Gain Giver. Inside the garden in the middle of a large pond was built an eight-sided two-storeyed palace representing the eight gates of Paradise which according to Muhammadan belief has eight doors. Water was brought by a duct from the villages of Vadgaon and Shendi, and on the banks of the pond another high palace with out-houses was built. Burhan Nizam Shah, the second king, named it the *Hasht Behisht* or Eighth Paradise and made in it eight flower beds watered by a canal from the Sina, and enlivened with singing birds. This and the *Farah Bagh* were the special possessions of the royal household and Murtaza Nizam Shah often retired here to play chess with a Delhi singer. The central eight-sided palace is now in ruins and except an embankment no signs of the pond remain. Between this garden and the city are seventy domes and forty mosques said to have contained the tombs of many of the royal favourites. [The description is based on the accounts appearing in the *Ahmadnagar District Gazetteer*, 1884, pp. 693—706.]

CHAPTER 10. Mediaeval Administration and Social Organisation.

help of fortresses. The Bahamanīs with the vast expanse of their kingdom and later their succession States felt the necessity of having such strongly fortified places.

AHMADNAGAR, BIJAPUR AND KHANDESH. Forts.

"A chain of strongholds hinging on those at Gawilgarh, Narnala, Ellichpur and Mahur stood on the north-east. To the west Daulatabad, Purandhar, Panhala, Parenda, Naldurg and finally Gulburga constituted the nucleus of the defence. Mudgal and Raichur faced the enemy on the south and south-west. To the east, Warangal and Golconda supported by numerous smaller forts like Bhongir, Elagandol, Jagtil, Balaconda etc., guarded the frontier. In later years Bidar, Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Aurangabad, Sholapur and a number of other places were fortified and several strong fortresses were constructed in the hilly ranges on the west."[1].

"The Deccani forts were by and large excellent specimens of the art and science of military architecture. Most of them were impregnable. Only stratagem depending on treachery or else starvation through long drawn sieges could reduce them. This did not happen very often, as has been indicated by episodes in the Bahamani history. Forts being parts of a much larger defence net-work, arrangement existed for weeding out any treacherous elements and sieges could be raised in time with the help of diversionary raids and alliances. The Deccani forts are the most vigorous expression of the war-like tendencies and politics of the rulers. Even the gloomy shells remaining today do not fail to impress the onlooker with their sturdy strength."[2].

AHMADNAGAR AND BIJAPUR. LITERATURE.

In the matter of patronage to letters, the rulers of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar extended generous assistance to Scholars, both Indians and foreigners. The celebrated historian Ferishta was formerly employed at Ahmadnagar. He later migrated to Bijāpūr and wrote his monumental work:—The Rise of the Muslim power in India-*Gulshane Ibrahimi.* The author of *Burhan-i-Masir,* Sayyad Ali Tabatabai flourished at the court of Ahmadnagar. Rafiuddin Shiraji wrote his *Tajakarat-ul-muluk* and completed it in 1609 A.D. Among the poets Malik-i-Qummi, Zahuri, Mulla Haider and Sanjar-e-Kashi were some who flourished at the Courts of Ahmadnagar and Bijāpūr. Ibrāhīm Ādil Śāh II of Bijāpūr was himself a great musician and composer. He was a great patron of the Deccani Hindustani poetry. Owing to his patronage the Deccani language and literature produced a number of great poets.

It cannot be said, however, that Marāṭhī received any encouragement at the hands of the *Sultāns.* The development of Marāṭhī literature during this period was a result of the contribution from the people of Mahārāṣtra from all walks of life. Janardan Swami, a devotee of the *Dattātraya Pantha,* was in the service of the Ahmadnagar *Sultāns.* A few songs and

[1] *Islamic Architecture of the Deccan* by M. S. Mate, pp. 80-81.
[2] *Ibid,* p. 87.

*abhaṅgas* are credited to him. However, the most prolific contribution to Marāṭhī literature during this period comes from Eknath of whom Janardan Swami was the *Guru*. *Dñyāneśvarī* proved a great source of inspiration to the literary genius of Eknath (1548 b). He first wrote his commentary on the 11th section of the *Bhāgvata Purāṇa* and no other work barring *Dñyāneśvarī* has received such high plaudits. It is highly philosophic, poetic and reveals depth of thought and beauty of style. Among his other works are *Rukmiṇī Svayaṁvara, Bālkreeḍā, Pralhāda Caritra, Sukhaśataka, Swātmasukha, Anandlaharī, Anubhavānanda, Rāmāyaṇa* etc. A mention may be made of some of the contemporary writers such as Vitha-Renukananda, Jani-Janardan and Rama Janardan, all of whom are known as authors of *bhaktī* songs and works of philosophy, especially Jani-Janardan, as also Adanya Kavi, the author of *Varadanāgeś*, Kanho, Nama and Nirmala Pathaks and a queer personality Bahirapisa who wrote a commentary on the 10th chapter of *Bhagvatgītā*. However, the important among them is Dasopant (1551 b.) whose father was in the services of the Ahmadnagar *Sultān*. Dasopant was a prolific writer and has to his credit six different commentaries on *Bhagvatgītā*. Dasopant is also known for his other works *Padārṇava, Vākyavivrutti* and *Pañcikaraṇ*, the last of which is written on cloth and hence called *pāsoḍī*. Outside the medium of poetry colloquial Marāṭhī and Marāṭhī used in prose such as official documents became affected by heavy influx of Persian words directly or through the medium of Deccani language.

While the general population remained unaffected by cultural changes introduced by the Muslim rulers, the upper class in Mahārāṣṭra constituting the Marāṭhā military chiefs and civil dignitaries was influenced to a great extent in matters of language, dress and Court behaviour. Owing to the absence of patronage Sanskṛt learning languished in the Deccan. A great number of families noted for their scholarship migrated from Nānded, Paiṭhaṇ, Puṇtaṁbā and Nāśik to Banaras in the north and the Koṅkaṇ region in the south. These towns, however, continued to be looked upon as seats of religious divine throughout the period of the Sultanates. The religious movement known as the *Bhāgvat Dharma*, with its emphasis on the equality of all and devotion to God continued to flourish among all classes in Mahārāṣṭra. It cannot, however, be said that the movement had any significant effect on political conditions in the Deccan.

MOGHALS.

The Moghals annexed a small part of Mahārāṣṭra in Khāndeś *viz.*, the districts of Nandurbār and Sultānpūr in 1572 A.D. In 1596 they annexed Berār to their empire. In 1600 they captured the city and fort of Ahmadnagar. In 1601 they annexed the whole of Khāndeś. Thus by the beginning of 17th century nearly one-third of Mahārāṣṭra had come into their possession. The entry of the Moghals into the politics of the Deccan threw the entire region into a great turmoil. Many officers of the

CHAPTER 10. Mediaeval Administration and Social Organisation.

MOGHALS.

Nizām Śāhī kingdom of Ahmadnagar went over to the Moghals among whom the two Marāṭhā Chiefs, Lakhujī Jādhavrāv and Rājā Udārām, both from Berār, deserve specific attention. Under the courageous leadership of Malik Aṁbar, the Nizāmśāhī kingdom of Ahmadnagar put up a gallant fight against the Moghals with the result that it was only in 1636 that the entire kingdom became a part of the Moghal empire. From Junnar in the south-west to Māhūr in the east and from Bīḍ in the south to the northern limits of Khāndeś and Berār in the north, more than one-half of Mahārāṣṭra came under the sway of the Moghals. In the hilly regions of Nāśik, the kingdom of Bāglāṇa was annexed while the Goṇḍ rulers to the east of the Wardhā river were reduced to the status of feudatories. However, the Moghal rule was never directly introduced to the east of Wardhā with the result that in the 4th decade of the 18th century the Bhosles could establish themselves in the Nāgpūr area. Śahājī, the father of Śivājī, continued the tradition of Malik Aṁbar of resistance to the Moghals from 1632 to the end of 1636. He fought incessantly against the Moghals. But it was an unequal fight. The understanding arrived at between Bijāpūr and the Moghals at last forced Śahājī to surrender the last Nizāmśāhī rulers to the Moghals and seek service under Bijāpūr.

By the end of 1636 A.D. the Moghals controlled more than two-third of Mahārāṣṭra. There was prolonged peace between Bijāpūr and the Moghals for nearly 20 years. By 1656 the Moghals started exerting pressure against Bijāpūr. Within the next 20 years they had annexed the districts of Śolāpūr and Osmānābād. In the meanwhile Śivājī had carved out a kingdom from the Marāṭhī districts of Bijāpūr. It can thus be said that by 1680 there were only three powers ruling in Mahārāṣṭra *viz.*, Moghals who controlled two third of Mahārāṣṭra, Śivājī who controlled nearly 7 districts of the present day Mahārāṣṭra and the Portuguese who exercised sway in the district of Bombay and half the portion of the district of Ṭhāṇā. In the prolonged war with the Marāṭhās which lasted for 27 years till the death of Auraṅgzeb, the Moghals carried warfare into the heart of the Marāṭhā kingdom. They proclaimed the annexation of the entire Marāṭhā kingdom to the empire but the annexation was never effective and the territory reverted to the Marāṭhās soon after the death of Auraṅgzeb.

Administration.

The Moghal administration was of a higher standard than that of the Bahamanīs and the Sultanates. The province of Mahārāṣṭra was under a number of *Subhās i.e.*, governorships. The provinces of Khāndeś, Berār and Auraṅgābād fell within the present territory of Mahārāṣṭra. The province of Bidar controlled the present district of Nāndeḍ and a part of the district of Osmānābād while the province of Bijāpūr controlled the districts of South Koṅkaṇ and South Mahārāṣṭra. At the head of each province was a governor who was known as the *Nāib*

*Subhedār* or *Subhedār*. The governor of the *Subhā* of Aurangābād was usually a prince of the royal blood or at least a very high dignitary. For transactions of revenue, the *Subhedār* was assisted by the *Divāṇ* and for defence matters by a *Bakṣī*. The provinces were subdivided into well defined districts known as *sarkār*. The head of the district was known as *Fauzdār*. Officers of the sub-division of the district known as *Paraganās*, *Mahāls* or *Ṭhāṇās* were known variously as *Amils* or *Śiqdārs*. The Moghals took great care of measuring cultivable lands and making proper assessment of revenue. Even at the district headquarter there would be revenue officers attached to the *Fauzdār* but in no way subordinate to him. The provincial *Divāṇs*, too, were not subordinate to the governors. On the whole the land revenue administration of the Moghals was fair and equitable. While the Moghal officers directly supervised the collection of land revenue and other dues, the agency of the hereditary *Vatandārs* such as the *Pāṭīl*, the *Kuḷkarṇī*, the *Deśmukh* and *Deśpāṇḍe* was utilised fully by them.[1]

---

[1] A description of the revenue regulations under the Moghals is given below :

**A Census**

An Imperial mandate was issued directing the *jagirdars*, *shikkdars*, and *darogahs* throughout the Empire to draw up, village by village, lists of all the inhabitants, specifying their names and occupations ; and that these lists should all be collected together. The officers were not to allow any one to reside who was not engaged in some business or occupation, and they were to inquire into the arrival and departure of clever men, and ascertain whether their designs were good or evil, so that in a short time the true characters of the outwardly respectable and inwardly malicious might be brought to the test. This regulation was the means of establishing tranquillity, and of providing security for the broad expanse of Hindustan.

**Revenue Regulations**

At the beginning of this year, His Majesty directed his attention to an improvement of the administration of his territories, and passed new laws for the management of civil and revenue business. *Raja* Todar Mal had, previous to this, been named as *wazir* ; but the dangers and difficulties of the post, and the opposition to be encountered, made him unwilling to accept the office. But this unambitious man, who was acquainted with all the mysteries of administration, was now elevated to the office of *diwan*, and in reality to the *wakalat*. His clear judgment soon set matters to right. Civil and revenue matters received his especial attention. Careful to keep himself free from all selfish ambition, he devoted himself to the service of the State, and earned an everlasting fame. He devoted his skill and powerful mind to simplify the laws of the State, and he allowed no grasping and intriguing men to obtain any influence over him. He now proposed several new laws calculated to give vigour and glory to the government.

That the collectors of the *khalisa* lands and the *jagirdars* should realize the *mal* and *jihat* (cesses), according to the *dasturu-l' amal* ; and if by fraud or oppression anything beyond the settled amount should be received from the cultivators, they were to account it an excess of the proper payment, and were to levy a fine upon those who had exacted it, and enter the amount in the monthly accounts. At every harvest they were to carefully guard the rights of the lower classes. These cases of giving and taking were dealt with in two ways ; the complainant received redress, and power was given to punish the offenders.

The *amils* of the *khalisa* had two subordinates, a *karkun* (manager), and a *khassnavis* (accountant). These officers had been oppressors, and leaguing with the rich, they had been a great source of evil to the poor. If instead of these two infamous officials, one worthy and honest man should be appointed, the country would prosper, and the people would be contented.

It had been discovered that in the *khalisa* districts, the cultivated lands decreased year by year ; but if the lands capable of cultivation were once measured, they would increase year by year in proportion to the powers of the *raiyats* ; and engagements

**CHAPTER 10.** *contd.*

**Mediaeval Administration and Social Organisation.**

MOGHALS.

Administration.

should be made for them according to rule. The *raiyats* having nominated each other as sureties were to take the proper writings, and in all questions of arrears were to be treated in a considerate manner.

For lands which had lain waste four years, they were to receive a deduction of one-half for the first year, for the second year one-quarter, and for the third year they were to pay according to established rule. For lands which had lain untilled for two years they were to receive a deduction of one-fourth for the first year. For uncultivated lands, they were to receive a small allowance of grain, so as to make the lands capable of yielding revenue. When advances were made for the a ssistance of poor cultivators, engagements were to be taken from men of respectability, and part was to be repaid at the spring harvest, part at the autumnal harvest. By these arrangements, the country would in a short period become cultivated, the *raiyats* would be contented, and the treasury flourishing. When the collectors increased the assessment, back payments were not to be required from small and insignificant estates.

Every year a report was to be made to the Emperor by the collectors, so that efficient officers might receive augmentations of their pay, and an increase of their honours and rewards ; while those who did not faithfully discharge their duties would incur punishment and fall into disgrace.

When a portion of cultivated land was fixed upon, some surveyors, in proportion to its extent, were to be appointed. They were first to measure the land, and were then to acquaint themselves with its quality and produce. (The collectors) were to select a central spot for their residence. They were to carry out their duties everywhere diligently, and to inquire into the state of affairs. In seasons when a sufficient quantity of rain fell, and the lands received adequate irrigation, two and a half *biswas* (in the *bigha*) were to be left unassessed ; in jungles and sandy lands, three *biswas* were to be left. Weekly accounts of sequestrations, and daily accounts of the collections, were to be sent monthly to the Imperial Exchequer. An Imperial order was issued, that when lands suffered under any visitation of Providence, a description of them was to be drawn up, and a copy of it sent to Court, so that the Emperor might give directions appropriate to the case.

If the occupants of hill forts, trusting in the security of their fastnesses, should engage in freebooting, the generals, the *faujdars*, the feudatories and the revenue collectors were directed to unite and effect a remedy. They were first to admonish the offenders, and if that proved unavailing, they were to take measures for inflicting chastisement upon them. Their country was to be laid waste, and the land was to be granted to *jagirdars*, from whom the revenue officers were to make no demands. If the Imperial troops received any injury, a fine was to be imposed upon the offenders.

Whatever was levied from the *raiyats* was to be paid over to the treasurers, and they were to give receipts to the *raiyats*. The collectors were to remit the payments four times a month, and at the end of this time no balance was to be left unrealized from the *raiyats*. The *raiyats* were to be so treated that they should be willing to make their payments to the treasury voluntarily. Satisfactory security was to be taken from the disaffected and contumacious ; and if the bail was not given, watchmen were to be placed over the crops, and the revenue was to be realized.

A descriptive account was to be drawn up of the assessment of each individual, according to his cultivation and labour, and the dates were not to be either postponed or anticipated. The *patwari* (accountant) of each village was to apportion (the village) name by name, among the various subordinate agents, and the collectors were to send the cash under the seal of the *patwari* to the treasurer. They were to be vigilant to prevent oppression, and to treat each individual according to his deserts. The treasurer was to draw up a statement of the *mohurs*, rupees, and *dams* according to the value indicated by their respective names and impressions, and showing the value of the old coinages in the new royal coins, so that the collectors and *sarrafs* might be able to ascertain the respective values of old and new coins. The *Lal-i-Jalali* of full weight and perfect touch was of the value of 400 *dams*. The *Chahar goshah* (four-cornered) rupee was worth forty *dams*. The ordinary (*dasturi*) *ashrafi* and the Akbar-shahi rupee, which had become deteriorated in use, were to be taken at the following rates. If the *ashrafi* was only two *birini* (grains of rice) deficient, it was to be deemed of full value, and to be received as equal to 360 *dams*. If it was deficient from three *birinj* to one *surkh*, it was to be reckoned at 355 *dams* ; if deficient from a *surkh* to a *surkh* and a half, at 350 *dams*. The rupee not more than one *surkh* deficient was to be considered of full value, and worth 39 *dams*. If deficient one and a half to two *surkhs*, it was worth 38 *dams*. The *Lal-i Jalali* of proper touch and just weight ; the *Jalala* rupee not more than from one and a half to two *surkhs* deficient ; old rupees of the Akbar-shahi coinage which might not be deficient more than from three *birinj* to one *surkh* ; were to be received at the treasury. Those of greater deficiency were to be tested separately by the cashier, the particulars of them were to be entered by the accountants in their day-books, and accounts of them were to be sent every day to the

*contd.*

Government record office. The *jagirdars*, treasurers, and *sarrafs* (money-changers) were to act upon the above mentioned rules. The officers of the *khalisa* and the *jagirdars* were to make proper reports about the well-conducted and the ill-conducted, the obedient and the refractory people in their jurisdictions, so that they might get their deserts, and that the tranquillity of the country might be secured. Instead of the former expenses (*kharch*), the amount having been settled at one *dam* for each *bigha* of cultivated land, it was hoped that, upon this principle, 24 *dams* might be the estimated sum to be allowed for each cultivator. (*Akbar-Nama* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI, pp. 61—65).

A brief account of the revenue administration of the Moghals is given below :

Under Muslim rule large areas of the country were left in the possession of Hindu chiefs who had, at any rate, a claim to sovereignty, but had submitted to the Muslim rulers on terms which preserved to them internal jurisdiction ; these terms might include the payment of a fixed tribute, or merely the personal service of the chief with his troops, but in either case the Muslim administration did not ordinarily interfere with assessment or collection of the revenue, so long as the terms were observed. If a chief defaulted, the result was ordinarily a punitive expedition, and either his displacement or revision of the terms previously in force ; but so long as he remained loyal, he enjoyed the revenue of his territories subject to the payment of the stipulated tribute, if any. —*Cambridge History*, Vol. IV, pp. 454-55.

It was a common practice for the revenue assessors to come to terms with the headmen year by year for the revenue to be paid by the village as a whole ; the sum to be paid was fixed on a consideration of the productive resources of the village, but was not assessed directly on the separate portions of cultivated land, or on the individual peasants. When this arrangement was made, the headmen distributed the burden of the revenue according to the custom of the village, collected each peasant's quota, paid the authorities in lump sums, and bore the brunt of official severity in case of default.

The practice of farming the revenue of a village, or larger area, is of old standing in India ; the farmer engaged to pay a lump sum, hoping to collect more from the peasants, and so make a profit for himself. Almost up to the end of the Muslim period the duration of such farms was very short, one year being an ordinary term ; but in the eighteenth century the duration tended to become indefinite, and in practice the position might even become hereditary.

Assignment was, however, the most distinctive institution of the period. Every officer of the State was entitled to receive an income defined precisely in cash, out of which he had ordinarily to maintain a specified force of cavalry, available for the service of the ruler at any time ; but for all the more important officers payment of this income in cash was the exception. Ordinarily an officers' claim was satisfied by assignment of the revenue of an area estimated to yield the income due to him, and the assignee thereupon assumed the administration of that area, assessing and collecting the revenue, and endeavouring to obtain from it at least the amount of his claim, and if possible something more. The assignee thus stood to the peasants in the position of the state, and, subject to any restrictions imposed on him by the authority, he had a free hand in the administration ; he could assess and collect the revenue of each peasant through his servants, or he could deal with the headmen of the villages, or he could hand them over to farmers. Throughout the Muslim period the great bulk of the cultivated land was ordinarily in the hands of assignees, but certain tracts described as *khalisa*, were reserved to provide the treasury with cash, and were managed by the Revenue Ministry on one or other of the systems already described.—*Cambridge History*, Vol. IV, pp. 455-56.

It is known that Shah Jahan reorganised the finances of the empire, and provided that sufficient areas should be reserved for the treasury to yield a recurring surplus after ordinary expenditure had been covered. It is known also that he devoted his personal attention to finance, and that he gave liberal rewards to collectors who had been successful in working up the revenue of their circles. Further, it is recorded that he issued general orders on the revenue system, but the text of these has not been found, and the extant description of them is too vague and eulogistic to be of any value to the historian. The nature of the system favoured by him can, however, be inferred from documents of the early years of Aurangzib, which will be noticed below ; briefly, it may be said that the general rule was to assess the village through the headmen at a sum calculated to yield the equivalent of from one-third to one-half of the produce, and that this rule applied, at least formally, to assigned as well as reserved areas. Assignment continued to be the prevalent practice, and in 1647, the twentieth year of the reign, revenue aggregating 190 millions of rupees was assigned, while thirty millions were reserved for the treasury. No records have survived to show how these figures were calculated, but the most probable view is that the valuation of the empire had been kept up to date in the Ministry, so that general

CHAPTER 10. *contd.*

Mediaeval Administration and Social Organisation.

MOGHALS.

Administration.

re-valuations, such as had been made under Akbar, were no longer required, the figures for each local area being revised from time to time in the light of recent experience.

In only one region of the empire do we know what was actually done in the course of this reign. The Deccan provinces which were organised after the conquest of Ahmadnagar were found to be in a deplorable condition. They had suffered heavily in the terrible famine of 1630—32, and the war of conquest had practically completed their economic ruin, so that twenty years later the revenue accruing from them was still insufficient to meet the expense of their administration. During prince Aurangzib's second viceroyalty of the Deccan, which began in the year 1652, a complete reorganisation of the revenue system of these provinces was undertaken by an officer named Murshid Quli Khan, who was appointed *diwan* of Daulatabad and Telingana, and subsequently placed in charge also of Berar and Khandesh.

As a result of his work, three methods of assessment emerged in this region. For some areas, presumably the tracts where agriculture was in a primitive stage, he retained the plough-rents which were traditional in the locality, the peasant paying a fixed annual sum for each plough and team, and being free to cultivate as much land as he chose in whatever way he found convenient. Elsewhere the *diwan* introduced the two familiar systems—sharing and measurement—side by side, and it is probable that the peasants were allowed the choice between them. The system of sharing adopted was of a type well known in other Islamic countries but hitherto unfamiliar in Muslim India. The share claimed was not uniform, but varied with the nature of the crop and with the source of water ; thus half the produce was claimed for crops depending on the rains, one-third for grain irrigated from wells, and from one-fourth to one-ninth for the various high-grade crops such as sugarcane or poppy. Under measurement, on the other hand, the assessment rates, which were fixed in cash were based on a uniform claim to one-fourth of the produce, a distinctly low figure when judged by the standard of the times. The lenient assessment was accompanied by active measures to re-people and reorganise the ruined villages, and capital was advanced when required, with the result that prosperity was for the time being restored.—*Cambridge History*, Vol. IV, pp. 467-68.

### Revenue Arrangements

In this year (982), an order was promulgated for improving the cultivation of the country, and for bettering the condition of the *raiyats*. All the *parganas* of the country, whether dry or irrigated, whether in towns or hills, in deserts and jungles, by rivers reservoirs, or wells, were all to be measured, and every such piece of land as, upon cultivation, would produce one *kror* of *tankas*, was to be divided off, and placed under the charge of an officer to be called *krori*, who was to be selected for his trustworthiness, and whether known or unknown to the revenue clerks and treasurers. So that in the course of three years all the uncultivated land might be brought into cultivation and the public treasury might be replenished. Security was taken from each one of these officers. The measurement was begun in the vicinity of Fathpur. One *kror* was named Adampur, another Shethpur, another Ayubpur, and so on, according to the names of the various prophets (and patriarchs). Regulations were circulated but eventually these regulations were not observed as they ought to have been. A great portion of the country was laid waste through the rapacity of the *kroris*, the wives and children of the *raiyats* were sold and scattered abroad, and everything was thrown into confusion. But the *kroris* were brought to account by *Raja* Todar Mal, and many good men died from the severe beatings which were administered, and from the tortures of the rack and pincers. So many died from protracted confinement in the prisons of the revenue authorities, that there was no need of the executioner or swordsman, and no one cared to find them graves or grave-clothes. Their condition was like that of the devout Hindus in the country of Kamrup, who, having dedicated themselves to their idol, live for one year in the height of enjoyment, appropriating everything that comes to their hands ; but at the end of the period, one by one they go and assemble at the idol temple, and cast themselves under the wheels of its care, or offer up their heads to the idol.

All the country, with the exception of that which was under the *khalisa* (exchequer), was held in *jagir* by the *amirs*. But from the prevalence of indulgence and debauchery, extravagance in household expenditure, and accumulation of riches, there was no means of maintaining the soldiery or of fostering the peasants. When the services of the *amirs* were required, they came into the field attended only by a few slaves, or some young Mughal soldiers. Able soldiers were nowhere to be found. Shahbaz Khan, the *mir-bakhshi*, revived the regulations of the *dagh* (branding), and the *mahalli*, which were instituted by *Sultan* A'lau-d din Khilji, and were afterwards maintained by Sher Shah. It was also settled that every *amir* should be first appointed commander of a score (bisti).

***When he brought up the horses of those twenty horsemen for the *dagh* according to the regulation, he might be promoted to be *sadi* (commander of a hundred) or higher.

In the administration of justice at the lower level decisions were left to the village institutions while at the higher level the *Qāzī's* used to administer justice. With regard to the defence of the area, appointments of custodians of forts were made directly by the Central Government. These officers were not subordinate to the governors. The system of *jahāgir* prevailed extensively. *Mansabdārs* who formed the administrative cadre, both civil and military, were generally paid through the bestowal of *tankhā jahāgir*. They used to collect revenue through their own agents. There was no reason why there should have been no prosperity in the Moghal territories of the Deccan. But the continuous war from 1600 to 1637 rendered any stability in the region difficult of accomplishment. From 1640 to 1682 with the arrival of Aurańgzeb in the Deccan, the prosperous provinces of Berār and Khāndeś were now and then subjected to Marāṭhā raids but the disturbances caused by them were temporary and fleeting. It was only after 1682 and till the death of Aurańgzeb in 1707 that owing to the Moghal-Marāṭhā war the whole of the Deccan was in constant turmoil.

In what follows is given a detailed description of the Moghal concepts of royalty, nobility and administration, both civil and military.

The basic ideas about the institution of monarchy during the Moghal period did not differ widely from those of the *Sultāns* of

---

*contd.*

They were also to keep elephants, horses, and camels suitable to their rank. When they brought this number of horsemen for inspection, they were to be treated according to their deserts and position, and might attain to a *mansab* of 1,000, 2,000 or of 5,000, than which there is none higher. If they did not do so, they fell from their rank.

But under this regulation also the ill-used soldiers fared worse. For it was found that the *amirs*, having effected their objects, dressed up many of their dependents (*khass-khailan*) and horsemen (*bargir*) in the garb of soldiers, and bringing them to the muster, they made up the complement of their *mansab*, and received *jagirs* in proportion. Then they dismissed the *bargirs* until they required them again, when they would once more enlist, according to their requirements, a number of temporary soldiers, and dismiss them again when no longer wanted.

The treasure, the collections, and the expenditure of the *mansabdars* remained unaltered, but in every way dirt fell into the plate of the poor soldier, so that he was unable to gird up his loins. Tradesmen, such as weavers, cotton-dressers, carpenters, and Hindu and Musulman grocers (*bakkal*) would hire a horse or charger, and bringing it up for the *dagh*, would obtain a *mansab*, and would become a *krori*, *ahadi* (guardsman), or *dakhli*, (substitute) of some one. A few days afterwards no trace would be found of the hired horse or of the missing charger, and they were reduced to the position of footmen.

There were many men who at the time of the royal inspection at the public office were placed in the scales, bound hand and foot with their garments on, and their weight would reach to two and a half *mans* or three *mans* more or less. Afterwards it would be found out that the clothes were hired, and the horse borrowed. His Majesty used to say, "I with my eyes open, and aware of what I am about, give something to these men, so that they may have some means of living." After a while they would present themselves again as *ahadis* of two horses, of one horse, or even of half a horse. For two horsemen would be partners of one horse, and receiving for it the forage allowance, amounting to six rupees, would divide it between them. This sort of trade was carried on to a great extent; but for all this the Emperor's good fortune was so great and flourishing that his enemies were everywhere annihilated, and soldiers were not so much wanted. The *amirs* also were set free from the unseemly blandishments of the uncircumcised.—*Tarikh-i Badauni* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. V, pp. 513—16.

CHAPTER 10. Mediaeval Administration and Social Organisation.

MOGHALS. Administration.

Delhi. The Moghal emperor was an autocrat, the highest authority in the state, the executive head of administration, commander-in-chief of the armed forces, the fountain of justice and the principal legislator of the country. In theory he was bound by the scriptures and Islamic traditions but could defy the sacred law if he so willed. There was a council of ministers headed by a *Vazīr* and a prudent and wise emperor would always consult it. But the authority of the ministers could not bind him and he was not expected to seek their advice.

The emperor was served by a cadre of heterogeneous body of nobility. This nobility like its counterpart in the reign of Delhi *Sultāns* was not hereditary but purely official in character. There was no rule of succession to nobility and the *Jāgir* which was the life interest of a noble escheated to the crown on his death. The nobles, therefore, tended to be extravagent pleasure seekers, squandering their money on unproductive luxuries. This system "prevented India from having one of the strongest safeguards of public liberty and checks on royal autocracy, namely, an independent hereditary peerage, whose position and wealth did not depend on the king's favour in every generation and who could, therefore, afford to be bold in their criticism of the royal caprice and their opposition to the royal tyranny."

The backbone of the Moghal administrative machinery was the public service and bureaucracy. This included both the foreign and Indian element. Every officer in the administration held a *mansab* and was, therefore, conjoined to supply troops for the military service of the state. The *mansab* ranged from 10 to 10,000. The highest rank any officer could hold was that of 5,000 and the more exalted ones belonging to royal family had the privilege of being the commanders of 7,000 or 10,000. In the later period of the Moghal rule, the restriction was relaxed and the officers rose to much higher ranks. The *mansabdār* was directly responsible to the emperor and received a definite rate of pay. Out of this pay he was expected to maintain a quota of horses, elephants, beasts of burden and cart—a condition very rarely fulfilled. The payment to the *mansabdār* was sometimes made out of the collections of revenue from the *Jāgir* allocated but any excess collected not only involved injustice towards the cultivators; it was a fraud against the state as well. The *Jāgirs* were transferred from one *mansabdār* to another. Whether they were paid in cash or in *Jāgirs*, according to *Ain-i-Akbari* the Moghal public servants enjoyed inordinately high salaries. The character of public administration deteriorated during the reign of Aurañgzeb and his successors and it became corrupt. As prince Akbar points out to Aurañgzeb in 1681: "The clerks and officers of state have taken to the practice of traders and are buying posts with gold and selling them for shameful considerations. Everyone who eats salt destroys the salt cellar."

As the *mansabdārs* maintained military levies, the state did not maintain a large standing army. Besides the *mansabdārs*

there were *Dakhilis* or supplementary troopers and *Ahadis* or a body of gentlemen troopers, a special class of horsemen who were generally round the emperor's person and owed allegiance to no one else. To reform the evils of the *mansabdārī* system regulations were introduced for periodical muster and the system of branding the horse was revived but these measures were met with little success.

The overall defence forces of the Moghals were composed of cavalry, infantry, artillery and navy. Cavalry was the most important part of the defence forces and the place of artillery was also not insignificant. Guns were manufactured locally and imported from outside as well. Infantry men were recruited from peasants and townspeople. Though the navy of the Moghals was not comparable to its counterpart of the English, the French or the Portuguese, Abul Fazl speaks of the admiralty department. The navy of the Moghals was more of a carrier navy than a fighting one and did not appear to be formidable at any time. Though the efficiency of the Moghal army was not in doubt in the early period of the Moghal rule, with the passage of time many defects crept in it. It looked like an unwieldy moving city and was encumbered with all the lavish paraphernalia of the imperial court, including a proportion of harem and its attendents, mounted on elephants and camels, a travelling audience hall, musicians gallery, offices, workshops and bazars. Elephants and camels carried the treasure; hundreds of bullock-carts bore the military stores, an army of mules transported the imperial furniture and effects.

There were various departments of the Government which looked after the administration of the state. The principal among them were (1) the imperial household under the *Khān-i-Sāmān*, (2) the exchequer under the *Divāṇ*, (3) the Judiciary under the chief *Qāzī*, (4) the military and the accounts officer under the *Mir Bakhṣī*, (5) Religious endowments and charities under the chief *Sadar* or *Sadar-us-sudar* and (6) the censorship of Public morals under the *Muhtasib*. The *Divāṇ* or the Vazir was the highest officer in the state and controlled the other departments. Every department was entrusted with the execution of a variety of functions. The *Vazīr* was in charge of revenue, finance, the *Bakhṣī* was responsible for the recruiting of the army and for maintaining lists of *mansabdārs* and other high officials, the *Khān-i-Sāmān* had charge of the whole imperial household in reference to both great and small things and the *Muhtasib* looked after the enforcement of the prophets commands and the laws of morality. The other subordinate officers were *Mīr Āṭiṣ* or *Dārogā-i-Topkhānā*, the *Dārogā* of *Dāk Cowkī*, the *Dārogā of* the mint, the *Mīr Mal*, the *Mustaufi*, the *Nazir-i-Buyutāt*, the *Muśriff*, the *Mir Bahrī*, the *Mir Barr*, the *Waqa-i-nawis*, the *Mīr Arz*, the *Manzil* and the *Mīr Tozāk*.

The Moghals had an efficient system of police for the cities and towns for the prevention and detection of crimes. They left

**CHAPTER 10. Mediaeval Administration and Social Organisation.**

MOGHALS.

Administration.

the old system prevailing in the villages untouched and the village headman continued to look after the problems of local security. The head of the police in the towns and cities was the *Kotvāl.* The *Ain-i-Akbari* and later Manucci give an exhaustive list of the duties of the *Kotvāl.* Mainly he was concerned with the preservation of peace and public security in the urban area. Over a larger area *viz.,* the district or the *sarkār* which probably included the cities and towns, the officer in charge was the *Fauzdār.* The *Kotvāl* was essentially a civilian officer while the *Fauzdār* was a military commander. His duties included among others putting down smaller rebellions, rebelling gangs of robbers, taking cognizance of crime, etc.

For the sake of administrative convenience the empire was divided into provinces. The number of these provinces was 17 in the reign of Jahāṅgīr and 21 in the time of Auraṅgzeb. The provincial administration was put in charge of a Governor who was designated *Sipāh sālār* or *sāhib subāh* or *Subāhdār.* Officially he was called *Nazim.* He was the head of the civil and military administration of the *subāh.* The administrative agency in the province of the Moghal Empire was an exact miniature of the Central Government. The *Nazim* had under him the officers such as the *Divāṇ,* the *Bakhṣī,* the *Faujdār,* the *Kotvāl,* the *Qāzī,* the *Sadar,* the *Amil,* the *Bitikcī,* the *Potdār* and the *Waqa-i-navis.*

The administration of justice under the Moghals was simple. There was no written code of law. The judges followed Quranic injuctions, the *Fathvās* and the *qānuns* of the emperors. Customary laws were also respected and the principle of equity was generally followed. The Moghal emperors believed in speedy execution of judicial procedure and their officers did not enjoy any special protection in this respect under what is called administrative law. As Akbar said "If I were guilty of an unjust act, I would rise in judgment against myself". The chief *Qāzī* appointed *Qāzīs* in every provincial capital. Besides the *Qāzīs* the officers of judicial department included *Muftis* and *Mīr Adls.* Over the supreme judge, however, was the emperor himself. The officials of the Moghal judiciary were expected to be just, honest and impartial, to hold trials in the presence of the parties and at the court houses and the seat of the Government, not to accept presents from the people where they served, nor to attend entertainments given by anybody and everybody and they were asked to know poverty to be their glory. Ordinary offences were punishable with fines but for serious offences punishment like amputation, mutilation and whipping could be inflicted. The consent of the emperor was required for the award of capital punishment.

The revenue system of the Moghals was two fold: central or imperial and provincial or local. The central revenues comprised income from land revenue, customs, mint, inheritance, plunder and indemnities, presents, monopolies and the toll tax.

MOGHALS.

Administration.

The provincial revenues comprised income from various minor duties and taxes levied on production and consumption, on trades and occupations, on various incidents of social life and most of all on transport. To the Central Government, the income from land revenue was the most important source for the exchequer. Akbar realised the importance of reorganising the financial administration of the empire and during his reign the famous revenue reforms of Rājā Toḍar Mal were introduced. Todar Mal based his assessment of land revenue on three principles *viz.*, (1) survey and measurement of land, (2) classification of land and (3) fixation of rates. The area actually cultivated was assessed and the demand of the state was fixed at one-third of the actual produce. The demand could be paid either in cash or kind. This system of assessment was extended by the Moghals to their Deccan conquests. It could be described as *rayatvārī* under which the actual cultivators of the soil were the persons responsible for the annual payment of the fixed revenue. The imperial territory was divided into administrative and revenue units known as *Subāhs*. The *subāhs* were further divided into *sarkārs* and the *Sarkārs* into *pargaṇās*. The *amalguzār* was incharge of the revenue collection of a district and was assisted by village *Muquddam* and *Paṭvārī, Kārkūns, Qānuṅgo, Bitikcī* and *Potdār*. These officers were instructed to collect revenue with due care and caution and not to extend the hand of demand out of season. The efficiency of the system of land revenue administration of course depended upon the efficiency of the manning staff. And though the system was based on sound principles, it deteriorated when the administrative machinery became corrupt and inefficient.

Social Organisation.

The social organization witnessed a clear cut division of the peoples into two distinct classes, the rich and the poor. The first was composed of the nobility and aristocrats who enjoyed the special favours and privileges of the monarchy and the second was composed of the commoners. The nonhereditary character of the nobility made it more reckless in their habits and as Franscisco Pelsaert puts it the *mahāls* of the rich were adorned internally with lascivious sensuality, wanton and reckless festivity, superfluous pomp, inflated pride and ornamental daintiness. In the beginning of the Moghal rule, the nobility, was in the prime of its efficiency and rose to heights of prosperity by sheer dint of its merit and courage. These qualities were lost with the passage of time and the nobility became more a liability than an asset to the empire. As a matter of fact in the closing years of the reign of Śāhjāhan and during the reign of Aurañgzeb, the nobility had a vicious influence on the social life of the people, and was mainly responsible for the political insecurity and disorganization of the times.

Among the commoners there was the tiny class of merchants and traders who in the modern parlance could be termed as the middle class. They thrived on their trade and commerce and

CHAPTER 10. Mediaeval Administration and Social Organisation.

MOGHALS. Social Organisation.

imitated in their own way the rich and luxurious nobility of the kingdom. The lot of commoners was far from satisfactory. Though under normal circumstances they had plenty of the necessities of life their standard in no way compared with the magnificent lot of the upper classes. Pelsaert signifies three classes of persons belonging to this group *viz.*, workmen, peons or servants and shopkeepers. He observes, "they are indeed nominally free but their status differs very little from voluntary slavery". He further says "they will be victims of a trumped up charge and whatever they have will be confiscated in legal form because informers swarm like flies round the Governors and make no difference between friends and enemies, perjuring themselves when necessary in order to remain in favour".

Excluding the rich who were given to intemperate habits, the commoners as a class were sober and civil. None of the people there, observes Terry, are at any time seen drunk but the very offal and dregs of that people, and these rarely or very seldom. Both the Hindus and Muslims of the time were orthodox and conservative in their social observances. However the evil of the decadent Moghal society of the north had not penetrated the south and as Dr. Sen observes, the Marāṭhā society of the times evinced a liberal spirit that may be profitably imitated by their modern descendants.

The buzz of the socio-economic life centred round the cities which were prosperous. They were the centres of economic activity and supplied the demand for goods required for internal consumption and external export. A variety of goods were produced such as cotton and silk cloth, carpets, curious boxes, trunks, standishes, ornamental disks, draught boards, writing cases etc. Bernier and Pelsaert, however, inform us that the craftsman received harsh treatment from nobles and officers. They were forced to sell the goods at low prices and made to pay the forbidden *abwabs*. Industry and commerce thrived due to the excellent means of communication which prevailed then, considered from the point of view of the 17th century standards. The main routes of land travel were clearly defined in some cases by avenues of trees and more generally by walled enclosures, known as *sarāis* in which travellers and merchants could pass the night in comparative security. The Government undertook the programme for the construction of roads. Building of bridges across the rivers was also undertaken in a few cases. The roads generally connected the industrial towns with the sea ports and among the principal ports of Mediaeval Mahārāṣṭra which served the purpose of export were Bassein, Caul and Dābhoḷ.

Agriculture was the principal occupation of the majority of the people and the pattern of crop cultivation then did not differ widely from what it is today. Rice, wheat, jowar, bajri, pulses etc., constituted the major non-commercial crops whereas

cotton, tobacco, sugarcane, etc., constituted the major commercial crops. Barring a few cases, irrigation was conspicuous by its absence and agriculture had to be entirely dependent upon rain. There were constant failures of rains and the resulting famines made the lot of the *rayats* worse. The Moghals did not possess a regular machinery for the provision of relief to the famine stricken. This resulted into starvation deaths accompanied by the outbreak of disease and pestilence. About the horrible famine that broke out in the Deccan during 1630—32 Abul Hamid Lahori says that men began to devour each other and a flesh of a son was preferred to his love. A Dutch merchant observes that men dying in a street not yet dead, were cut up by others, and men fed on living men, so that even in the streets and still more on road journey men ran great danger of being murdered or eaten. Though the years of famines witnessed high prices, in general, prices of articles of consumption were very low. Edward Terry says that the plenty of provisions was very great throughout the whole country and everyone there may eat bread with scarceness. Low prices, however, did not represent any extraordinary opulence on the part of commoners because they were accompanied by a very low level of income. There was, however, no machinery to regulate the prices comparable to modern times. Money which consisted mostly of gold, silver, and copper coins was more of a measure of value, and medium of exchange rather than a store of value and standard of deferred payment. The current coins were round gold *Mohors,* rupees and *dams.* These were excellent in respect of purity of metal, fullness of weight and artistic execution.

No system of organised education prevailed in those days but the Moghal rulers encouraged education by building schools and colleges through their Public Works Department. Grants were given to Mosques where pupils could be instructed in three R's. Education to Hindus was confined to private schools conducted by the learned and the *Paṇḍits* in the field. Akbar, Jahāṅgīr and Śāh Jahān were patrons of learning and granted rewards and stipends to scholars. Perhaps the only person of distinguishing merit in the Moghal family in regard to learning and erudition was Dārā Śukoh. He was a scholar of Persian, Arabic and Sanskṛt and is known for his famous translation of the *Upaniṣads,* the *Bhagvat Gītā* and the *Yoga vaśiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa.* As Sir William Sleeman rightly observes, that had he lived to occupy the throne, the nature of education and therewith the destiny of India would have been different. There is every reason to believe that female education existed in mediaeval Mahārāṣṭra. If the pupils in the rich families received education in the households from the scholars employed for the purpose, in other classes, especially among Hindus, the girls were taught along with boys and were well versed with religious literature. There was nothing inherent either in the Hindu or the Muslim religion which militates against the education of

**CHAPTER 10.**
**Mediaeval Administration and Social Organisation.**
MOGHALS.
Social Organisation.

women. In fact there were in India even in early days many examples of women possessing wide knowledge particularly of sacred and classical literature.[1]

It will thus be seen that Moghal presence in the Deccan left a deep mark on the people of Mahārāṣṭra as during the period of Sultanates. The prominent military and civil families among the Marāṭhās followed the Moghal pattern in matters of dress and court behaviour. The Marāṭhās during their long wars with the Moghals became aware of the strength and weaknesses of their invaders. With the raids of the Marāṭhās in the provinces of Gujarāt and Māḷvā, the horizon of their outlook extended beyond the narrow confines of their homeland and began to

---

[1] The following account may be of interest in regard to the socio-economic conditions then prevailing :—

**The Author's Travels**

He was born in the province of the Dakhin, and lived five years there. Though it is mentioned as one province, yet the whole territory of the Dakhin, through which he travelled with his father, consists of five provinces. Ahmadnagar is one province, Bijapur is another, Golkonda is a third; the Karnatik, which is a large territory extending as far as Setband Rameshwar, forms a separate province. Khandesh and Birar, which are in reality two provinces, though rated above only as one, were visited throughout every space of their whole extent by the writer, who has also travelled over the provinces of Gujarat, Malwa, Ajmir, Delhi, and Agra, as well as those of the Panjab or Lahore, and Sind, which includes Thatta, Bhakkar and Multan. By the favour of God, he possessed authority in all these provinces, and visited them as a person of consideration. If he were to note down the wonders and curiosities of all the places he has seen, he would require to blacken paper equal to one thousand volumes. He has therefore avoided enlarging his work.

He may, however, as well mention, that when in the territory of the Karnatik he arrived in company with his father at the city of Southern Mathura (Madura), where, after a few days, the ruler died and went to the lowest hell. This chief had 700 wives, and they all threw themselves at the same time into the fire. This event was related by the compiler of this book at Burhanpur, in the presence of the Nawab Khan-khanan, son of Bairam Khan; but the Nawab did not believe it. The *vakil* of the *Raja* of the Karnatik, whose name was Kaner Rai, was also present at the court of the Nawab; and when inquiries were made of him respecting the truth of my assertion, he related the event exactly as the writer had done. So the Nawab entered it in his note-book.

All the people of this territory are idolators, and eat all the wild animals of the forest. There is not a single Musulman there. Occasionally a Musulman may visit the country, deputed by Nizam Shah, Adil Shah or Kutb Shah, but the natives are all infidels. The *Madari malangs* and *jogis* go by this road to Sarandip and the hill-fort of Ceylon, which is the place where the impression of Adam's footstep is preserved. (*Majalisu-s Salatin* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, pp. 138-39).

**Taxes**

An order was promulgated exempting the commercial goods of Musulmans from tax throughout the dominions of Hindustan. But after a short time, upon the reports of the revenue officers, and by recommendation of good and experienced persons, an order was issued that every article belonging to Musulmans, the price of which was not large, should pass free; but that goods of value should pay duty. Goods belonging to partners were not to be troubled with duties. The revenue officers then reported that Musulmans had adopted the practice of dividing their goods into small parcels in order to avoid the duty, and that they passed the goods of Hindus in their names, and thus the payment of the *zakat* prescribed by the Law was avoided. So an order was given that, according to the Law, two and a half per cent should be taken from Musulmans and five per cent from Hindus. (*Muntakhabu-l-Lubab* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, p. 293).

**Remission of Taxes**

The movements of large armies through the country, especially in the eastern and northern parts, during the two years past, and scarcity of rain in some parts, had combined to make grain dear. To comfort the people and alleviate their distress,

embrace the whole continent. They became self-confident and began to follow an active policy both in fields of war and diplomacy. The presence of notable Moghal and Rajput families in the Deccan and the contacts the Marāṭhās had with them resulted in broadening the cultural outlook of the Marāṭhās in their homeland. Even in administration the Marāṭhās followed the pattern both of the Sultanate and the Moghal period. Śivājī's council of ministers included posts we meet with in the Sultanate period. The *Peśvā*, the *surnīs*, the *muzumdār* and the *ḍabīr* were a continuation of the old pattern although the names were changed. Similar is the case with *subhedār*, the *māmlatdār* and the custodian of the fort. The local revenue pattern and the collecting agency of the *watandār* too did not undergo any change.

---

*contd.*

the Emperor gave orders for the remission of the *rahdari* (toll) which was collected on every highway (*guzar*), frontier and ferry, and brought in a large sum to the revenue. He also remitted the *Pandari*, a ground or house cess, which was paid throughout the Imperial dominions by every tradesman and dealer, from the butcher, the potter, and the greengrocer, to the draper, jeweller and banker. Something was paid to the Government according to rule under this name for every bit of ground in the market, for every stall and shop, and the total revenue thus derived exceeded *lacs*, (of rupees). Other cesses, lawful and unlawful, as the *sar-shumari*, *buz-shumari*, *bar-gadi*, the *charai* (grazing-tax) of the *banjaras*, the *tuwaana* the collections from the fairs held at the festivals of Muhammadan saints, and at the *jatras* or fairs of the infidels, held near Hindu temples, throughout the country far and wide, where *lacs* of people assemble once a year, and where buying and selling of all kinds goes on. The tax on spirits, on gambling-houses, on brothels, the fines, thank-offerings, and the fourth part of debts recovered by the help of magistrates from creditors. These and other imposts, nearly eighty in number, which brought in *krors* of rupees to the public treasury, were all abolished throughout Hindustan. Besides these, the tithe of corn, which lawfully brought in twenty-five *lacs* of rupees, was remitted in order to alleviate the heavy cost of grain. To enforce these remissions, stringent orders were published everywhere throughout the provinces by the hands of mace-bearers and soldiers (*ahadi*).

But although his gracious and beneficent Majesty remitted these taxes, and issued strict orders prohibiting their collection, the avaricious propensities of men prevailed, so that, with the exception of the *pandari*, which, being mostly obtained from the capital and the chief cities, felt the force of the abolition, the royal prohibition had no effect, and *faujdars* and *jagirdars* in remote places did not withhold their hands from these exactions. Firstly, because throughout the Imperial dominions in the reign of Aurangzeb, no fear and dread of punishment remained in the hearts of the *jagirdars*, *faujdars*, and *zamindars*. Secondly, because the revenue officers, through inattention, or want of consideration, or with an eye to profit, contrary to what was intended, made deductions (for these cesses) from the *tankhwah* accounts of the *jagirdars*. So the *jagirdars*, under the pretext that the amount of the cesses was entered in their *tankhwah* papers, continued to collect the *rahdari* and many other of the abolished imposts, and even increased them. When reports reached the Government of infractions of these orders, (the offenders) were punished with a diminution of *mansab*, and the delegation of mace-bearers to their districts. The mace-bearers forbade the collection of the imposts for a few days, and then retired. After a while, the offenders, through their patrons or the management of their agents, got their *mansab* restored to its original amount. So the regulation for the abolition of most of the imposts had no effect.

The *rahdari* in particular is condemned by righteous and just men as a most vexatious impost, and oppressive to travellers, but a large sum is raised by it. In most parts of the Imperial territories the *faujdars* and *jagirdars*, by force and tyranny, now exact more than ever from the traders and poor and necessitous travellers. The *Zamindars* also, seeing that no inquiries are made, extort more on roads within their boundaries than is collected on roads under royal officers. By degrees matters have come to such a pass, that between the time of leaving the factory or port and reaching their destination, goods and merchandize pay double their cost price in tolls. Through the villainy and oppression of the toll-collectors and the *zamindars*, the property, the honour, and the lives of thousands of travellers and peaceful wayfarers are frittered away. The Mahrattas, those turbulent people of the Dakhin

CHAPTER 10. Mediaeval Administration and Social Organisation.

MOGHALS.

Social Organisation.

In the long wars with the Moghals the Marāṭhās ultimately succeeded in throwing the Moghals out of the *Svarājya* territory but the greater part of Mahārāṣṭra continued to be governed first by the Moghals and then by the Nizāms. The expansion of Marāṭhā rule in Mahārāṣṭra was a slow process. In 1740, the territory to the east of Wardhā river passed into the hands of the Bhosles of Nāgpūr. In 1752 Khāndeś came under Marāṭhā rule. By 1760 what is known as present western Mahārāṣṭra was consolidated under the Marāṭhās. But in Berār and Marāṭhvāḍā, the Marāṭhās continued to exact *cauth* and other dues. Yet they were not able to displace the Nizāms from their territory. The result was that while two-third of Mahārāṣṭra was under the Marāṭhās the remaining one-third followed the Moghal pattern of administration.

Literature.

By 1687, the kingdoms of Bijāpūr and Golconḍā had fallen. During the 17th Century Deccani Urdu continued to flourish in the courts of the Deccan. Considerable literature of high merit was produced during this period. Alī Ādil Śāh II, Muhammad Qulī Qutb Śāh, Nusrati and others contributed richly to the development of the Deccani literature. The Moghals who looked upon Urdū as a spoken language were greatly impressed by the development of Deccani language as a vehicle of literature. The beginnings were thus laid for the development of modern Urdū literature which started in the early decades of 18th century. The Moghals themselves were great patrons of scholars and writers. Under the literary patronage extended by them many scholars and writers flourished in India under them. Of particular interest to Mahārāṣṭra are the Persian historians of the times whose writings are profuse with references to the history of Mahārāṣṭra. Among the historical works could be mentioned *Tarikhi-Alfi* of Mullā Dāud, *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Akbarnāmā* of Abdul Fazl, *Muntakhābuttavārikh* of Badauni, *Tabaqat-i- Akbari* of Nizāmuddin Ahmad, *Akbarnāmā* of Faizi Sarhindi and *Masiri-i-Rahimi* of Abdul Baqi of the reign of Akbar; *Masiri-i-Jahāṅgiri, Iqbalnāmā-i-Jahāṅgiri* and *Zubd-ut-Tavārikh* of the reign of Jahāṅgīr; *Pādśāhnāmā* of Abdul Hamid Lāhori, *Pādśāhnāmā* of Amin Qazvini, *Śāhjahānnāmā* of Ināyat Khān and *Amal-i-Salih* of

---

*contd,*

(before the peace and after the peace which I shall have to write about in the reign of Farrukh Siyar), and other *zamindars* upon the frontier, have carried their violence and oppression in the matter of the *rahdari* to such extremes as are beyond description. (*Muntakhabu-l Lubab* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, pp. 246—49).

Description of coinage under the Moghals is given below :—

**Coins**

It was also ordered in these days, that *tankas* of gold and silver, ten and twenty times heavier than the current gold *mohur* and rupee, should be struck. The legend on the face of the golden *tanka* was " Jahangir Shah, A. H. 1027, " and on the reverse, " *Struck* at Khambait, the 12th year of H. M. reign ". For the silver *tanka*, on one side, " Jahangir Shah, A. H. 1027 ", with a verse round it, the meaning of which is, " This coin was struck by Jahangir Shah, the ray of victory." On the other side was impressed. " Struck at Khambait, the 12th year of H. M. reign ", with this verse round it, " After the conquest of the Dakhin, he came from Mandu to Gujarat." In no reign before this had *tankas* been coined except copper. The *tankas* of gold and silver were inventions of my own, and I called them *Jahangiri tankas. (Wakiat-i-Jahangiri* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI, pp. 354-55).

Muhammad Sahib of the reign of Śāhjahān and *Munt Khábul Lubāb* of Khāfīkhān, *Ālamgirnāmā* of Mirzā Muhammad Khān Karim, *Masiri Ālamgiri* of Muhammad Saqi, *Khulāsāt-ud-Tavārikh* of Sujan Rāi Khatri, *Nuṣka-i- Dilkuśā* of Bhimsen Saxenā and *Fatuhat-i-Ālamgiri* of Iśvar Dās of the reign of Aurańgzeb. Sanskṛt and Marāṭhī, however, did not receive any patronage from the Moghals in the Deccan. The period of Moghal attempts to establish supremacy in the Deccan was, it could be noted, the period of the revival of Marāṭhā Nationalism. The domination by the Muslims for well over 300 years first under the Bahamanīs and then under the Sultanates had a depressing effect upon the people of Mahārāṣṭra. The conflict that raged in the Deccan during the period under review metamorphosed the people to a new outlook on life and the people tasted the first fruits of independence under the unflagging inspiration of Śivājī. The change in the environment was destined to have its effect upon the development of Marāṭhī literature during the time. Two great luminaries of this age, *viz.*, Tukārāma ( B. 1598) and Rāmdāsa (B. 1608) deserve a mention. Of these Tukārāma was a devotional lyricist *par excellence* exhibiting in his poetry the anxieties and uncertainties of life and thus reflecting in his poetry the environments in which the common man lived. To him the only way out of this mire of deceptive existence was *Bhaktī*, which represented the victory of soul over body. Rāmdāsa's philosophy though oriented in religious background is of a different texture, more defiant in its outlook on life and attempting to raise the mundane existence to the heights of national greatness. His greatness lies in the trenchant way in which he advocates his doctrine of activism which did much to rouse the depressed Marāṭhā mind. If the *abhaṅgas* of Tukārāma reverberated the souls of the masses, the *ovīs* in the *Dāsbodh* of Rāmdāsa equally cast a hypnotic spell upon their mind. Among others who did a yeomen's service to the cause of Marāṭhī literature could be mentioned Wāman Paṇḍīt, Raghunāth Paṇḍīt and Mukteśvar.

Architecture.

In the field of architecture we do not have any monuments of great merit belonging to the Moghal period. The Moghals engaged in fighting continuously with the Deccan Kingdoms had neither the time nor the leisure to embark in architectural activities. The city of Aurańgābād which was a creation of Moghals consists of a number of monuments. *Bibikā Maqbarā* in Aurańgābād where the wife of Aurańgzib lies buried, the *Pavancakkī*, the *Jāme Masjid*, the Mosque in Śāhgañj, Aurańgābād, the fort walls surrounding the city show that Moghals paid considerable attention to the beautification of the capital of the Deccan. In what follows is a brief description of the architectural remains of the Moghal period of mediaeval Mahārāṣṭra.

"With this emperor's accession to power the course of the building art under the Mughuls came to an end. Aurańgzīb added a few structures, some of them large and pretentious, to the

CHAPTER 10. Mediaeval Administration and Social Organisation.

MOGHALS. Architecture.

long series of monuments erected by this dynasty, but compared with those of his predecessors they are decidedly inferior. The sudden decline of the art towards the middle of the seventeenth century may be traced to several causes. There is the obvious reason that at this time the Mughul empire itself had begun to totter, and with it the cultural activities patronised by the dynasty suffered neglect. Associated with this political and artistic decadence was the personality of Aurangzib himself, whose philistinism and narrowness of outlook were largely responsible for the disintegration. On the other hand the decline of the style may have been due to the natural progress of events. Under Śāh Jahān the country had experienced a period of unrestrained production, during which its exponents had reached the summit of achievement. The usual sequence to such a condition is a marked reaction, of which art history provides several notable instances, including among others that of the great schools of painting in Europe of the seventeenth century, whose finest efforts were followed by an interval of profound exhaustion. And so it was with the architecture of the Mughuls. It had endured its golden age, run its course, and even before the reign of Aurangzib had begun to show signs of decadene."[1]

"One of the few large buildings of Aurangzib's reign, but one which fully illustrates the change that was then taking place, is far removed, however, from the majority of the Mughul monuments, as it is in the Deccan. Near the town of Aurangābād, now in the Nizām's dominions, this emperor caused to be erected in 1679 by "Ata-ullah, Chief Architect", the mausoleum of his wife Rabia-ud-Daurani. A frank copy of the Tāj Mahāl, although approximately only half its size, it shows in the thirty years that intervened the extent to which taste had deteriorated and the style become impoverished. With inadequate knowledge the architect had evidently endeavoured to improve on the proportions of the Tāj, and also to enrich it with considerable superfluous ornament. The result, as would be expected, is a very mediocre production, the relation of height to width being unpleasing, leading to a loss of dignity and a congestion of the structures around the base of the dome. Almost every arch is demeaned with miniature cusps, the cornices garnished by insipid mouldings, and the surfaces are aggravated by spiritless arabesques. Those outstanding qualities of simplicity and breadth which make the Tāj so profound and satisfying have been disregarded, and meaningless efforts at embellishment have been applied all over the building. But although the structure as a whole shows such marked evidences of debasement, the same cannot be said of some of the applied art with which it is decorated. The fine quality of some of the accessories proves that good craftsmen were still available. The octagonal screen of white marbel enclosing the sarcophagus is carved in a perforated pattern equal in workmanship to that of the previous reign, while some of

[1] *Cambridge History*, Vol. IV, pp. 566-67.

the designs in bas relief are exquisitely modelled. But the finest ornament is in metal, some of the doors being of beaten brass with bold floral panels and borders hammered and chiselled in masterly fashion. The hand of the craftsman was still effective, it was the spirit of the art that had declined."[1]

The mediaeval period of Mahārāṣṭra comes to an end with the extinction of the Kingdom of Bijāpūr in 1686. During the centuries following the downfall of the Kingdom of Yādavās, in 1317 A. D. the Khiljīs, the Tughluks, the Bahamanīs, the Sultanates and the Moghals ruled in Mahārāṣṭra. They have left a deep impression on the people and language of Mahārāṣṭra, although the religion and social structure was by and large unaffected during their rule.

सत्यमेव जयते

[1] *Cambridge History*, Vol. IV, p. 567.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY


A Forgotten Empire by Sewell, London, 1900.

Ahkam-i-Alamgiri of Hamiduddin Khan Bahadur, translated by Sir J. N. Sarkar (1925).

Ahmadnagarchi Nizamshahi, a Marathi Translation by Dr. B. G. Kunte of Burhan-i-Masir's English translation by Lieut. Col. Woolesley Haig, 1962.

Aitihasik Patravyavahar, Edited by Sardesai and others, 1933.

Aitihasik Sankirna Sahitya.

Aitihasik Patre Yadi Waghaira Lekh, Edited by Sardesai and others, 1930.

Akbar-nama of Abul Fazl, in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI.

Akbar-nama of Faizi Sirhindi, in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI.

Akbar the Great Moghal by Vincent Smith, 1917 and 1919.

Amal-i-Salih of Muhammad Salih Kambu, in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII.

A New Account of East India and Persia by J. Fryer, Edited by W. Crooke (Hakluyt Society) 3 Volumes, 1912, 1915 and 1919.

Antiquities of Bidar, by Yazdani, 1914.

Architecture of Bijapur by Meadows Taylor and Fergusson.

Archaeological Survey of India Reports, Southern Circle 1881-82 to 1920-21, Madras and Western Circle, 1890-91 to 1920-21, Bombay.

Aspects of Muslim Administration, by R. S. Tripathi.

Aurangabad District Gazetteer.

Badshah Nama of Abdul Hamid Lahori, in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII.

Bahamanis of the Deccan, by Sherwani, Hyderabad, 1953.

Bahamani Rajyacha Itihas, a Marathi translation by Dr. B. G. Kunte of Burhan-i-Masir's English translation by Major King, 1966.

Barbosa—The book of Durate Barbosa, translated and Edited by M. L. Dames (Hakluyt Society), 1918.

Basatin-us-Salatin, by Mirza Ibrahim, Hyderabad Lithographed Edition.

Bijapur and its Architectural remains, by Cousens, Bombay, 1916.

Bijapur District Gazetteer.

Burhan-i-Masir, by Sayyad Ali Tabatabai, translated by Major King (I) and Lieut. Col. Woolesley Haig (II).

Caesar Frederick (Hakluyt Voyages).

Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, Cambridge, 1928.

Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, Cambridge, 1937.

Chhatrapati Sambhaji Maharaj, by Shri Bendre.

Chitragupta Bakhar.

Churchills' Voyages.

Clune's Itinerary.

Da Cunhas' History of Chaul and Bassein, 1876.

Early Muslim Expansion in South India, by N. Venkataramanayya (1942).

Early travels in India, W. Hawkins, (1608—13), W. Finch (1608—11), E. Terry (1616—19), N. Withington (1612—16), T. Corgal (1612—17), Edited by W. Foster, 1921.

Elphinstones' History of India.

English Records on Shivaji.

Faria-e-Souza in Kerr's Voyages.

Fitch in Harris.

Foreign Biographies, by Sen.

From Akbar to Aurangzeb, by Moreland.

Futuhat-i-Alamgiri, by Ishvardas Nagar, translated in Marathi by P. Setu Madhav Rao as Moghal-Maratha Sangharsha.

Gladwin's Ayeen Akbery.

Gulshane Ibrahimi or History of the Rise of Mahommedan Power in India, by Ferishta, translated in English by Major Briggs in 4 parts, 1829.

Hakluyt Society, 1857.

"India in the 15th Century — The travels of Athanasious Nikitin of Tuer".

House of Shivaji, by Sir J. N. Sarkar.

Hamilton's New Account of the East Indies, Edinburgh, 1727.

Harriss' Voyages and Travels.

Hindvi Swarajya Ani Moghal, by P. Setu Madhav Rao, 1966.

Historic Landmarks of the Deccan — Major T. W. Haig, Allahabad, 1907.

Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, by Sewell and Aiyangar, Madras, 1932.

History and Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein.

History of Aurangzib, by Sir J. N. Sarkar, (Vols. I and II 1925), Vol. III (1928), Vol. IV (1930), Vol. V (1925).

History of Gujarath, by Commissariat, Vol. I, 1938 and Vol. II, 1957.

History of Shah Jahan of Dilhi, by B. P. Saxena, Allahabad, 1932.

History of the Marathas, by Grant Duff.

History of Vijayanagar, by B. S. Rao.

Ibn Batuta, M. A. R. Gibbs.

Ikbalnama-i-Jahangiri, by Mutamad Khan, in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI.

Indian Architecture, Islamic Period, by Brown, Bombay, 1942.

Islamic Architecture of the Deccan, by M. S. Mate.

Itihas Sangraha, by Parasnis.

Jahangir's India (The Remonstrantie of F. Pelsaert), Translated from the Dutch by W. H. Moreland and P. Geyl, Cambridge, 1925.

Jangigny's Inde.

Jean de Thevenots' Travels into the Indies, translated by A. Lovell, London, 1787.

Jedhe Yanchi Shakawali.

Jervis's Konkan.

Kavyetihas Sangraha Patre Yadi.

Masiri Alamgiri of Saki Mustaidd Khan, translated by Sir J. N. Sarkar.

Masir-i-Alamgiri, of Mustaidd Khan, translated in Marathi, by P. Setu Madhav Rao as Marathe va Aurangzeb, 1963.

Maharashtra Ani Marathi, by P. Setu Madhav Rao, (1963).

Mahomud Gawan, the Great Bahamani Wazir, by Sherwani, Allahabad, 1942.

Majalisus Salatin of Muhammad Sharif Hanafi, in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII.

Major's India in the 15th Century.

Maloji Raje ani Shahaji Raje Bhosle, by Shri Bendre.

Mandelslo, J. Albert de-Voyages and Travels of into the East Indies, English translation, by J. Davies, London, 1662.

Matlaus Sadain of Abdur Razzak, in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV.

Manucci, Niccolas, Storia do Mogor or Mogul India, translated and Edited, by William Irvine, 1907-08.

Mediaeval India, by Ishwari Prasad.

Mediaeval India under Muhammadan Rule, by Lane Poole, S. 1902.

Memoirs of Foulke Grevil.

Military History of the Marathas, by Sen.

Mirat-i-Ahmadi, by Ali Muhammad Khan, First part ending with 1605 translated as Birds' History of Goozerat.

Moray Bakhar.

Mughal Administration, by Sir J. N. Sarkar, (1952).

Muntakhabullubab, of Khafi Khan, in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII.

Muntakhabullubab of Khafi Khan, translated in parts in Marathi, by P. Setu Madhav Rao as Marathyanche Swatantrya Yuddha, 1962.

Nairnes' Konkan.

Kuskha-i-Dilkusha, by Bhimsen Saxena, translated in Marathi, by P. Setu Madhav Rao as Moghal ani Marathe, 1963.

Ogilby, John, Asia, The First Part, London, 1663.

Ormes' Historical Fragments of the Mugal Empire etc., 1805.

Patra Sar Sangraha.

The Portuguese in India, by Danvers (1894).

Provincial Government of the Mughals, by Saran.

Rajwade Khand.

The relation of the Portuguese with the Sultans of Bijapur, by A. J. L. Sequeira, 1962.

Rise and Fulfilment, by Thompson.

Sanads and Letters.

Scott's Deccan.

Shah Jahan Nama, of Inayat Khan, in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII.

Shiv Bharat, by Paramanand.

Shiv Charitra Pradip.

Shiv Charitra Sahitya.

Shiva Chhatrapatichen Charitra, by Sabhasad, Edited by K. N. Sane (1912).

Shivdigvijaya.

Shivaji and his Times, by Sir J. N. Sarkar.

Shivaji the Great, by Dr. Balkrishna.

Sholapur District Gazetteer.

Silcock's Bijapur.

Source book of Maratha History.

Sources of Vijayanagar History, Madras, 1909.

South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders, by S. K. Aiyangar, Oxford University Press, 1921.

Studies in Mughal India, by Sir J. N. Sarkar (1925).

Studies in Muslim Political Thought and Administration, by Sherwani, Lahore, 1945.

Tabakati-Akbari of Nizamuddin Ahmad, in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. V. Also Bibliotheca Indica Series, A. S. of B. text and translation.

Taverniers' Travels in India, translated by, V. Ball, London, 1889.

Tarikhi-i-Alai, by Amir Khusrav, in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III.

Tarikhi Badauni, of Abdul Kadir Badauni, in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. V.

Tarikhi-Firoz Shahi, by Ziauddin Barni, in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III. Also Bibliotheca Indica Series of the A. S. of B. Calcutta, 1862.

Tatimma-i-Wakiat-i-Jahangiri, of Muhammad Hadi, in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI.

Taziyatul Amsar wa Tajriyatul Asar, by Wassaf, in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III.

The Imperial Gazetteers of India, 26 Volumes, Oxford 1907-08.

Todds' Annals.

The Judicial System of the Marathas, by V. T. Gune.

Traimasik-Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal.

Travels in Mogul Empire, by Bernier, translation by A. Constable, London, 1891.

Travels of Careri, in Churchill's Voyages.

Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, translated in English, by A. Rogers, Edited by, H. Beveridge, Vols. I (1909) and II (1914).

Varthema Ludovico de.

Travels, translated from the Indian, by Jones and Winter, Edited by Dr. Badger (Hakluyt Society), 1863.

Vasco Da-Gamas' Three voyages.

Vincents' Commerce of the Ancients.

Voyage de Francois Pyrard.

Voyages and Travels of Albert de Mandelslo into the East Indies-English translation, by J. Davies London, 1662.

Wakiat-i-Jahangiri of Emperor Jahangir, in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI.

Warings' Marathas.

Watson's Gujrat.

सत्यमेव जयते

# CHRONOLOGY

1296 Ala-ud-din invades the kingdom of Devagiri, in the Deccan (p. 1).

1303 Failure of an expedition to Warangal (p. 2).

1306-1307 Expedition of Kafur (Malik Naib) to Devagiri (p. 3).

1310 Expedition to Warangal. Prataparudraveda II submits and pays tribute (p. 3).

1311 Expedition, under Malik Naib, into the Peninsula. Capture of Dvaravatipura and Madura. Mosque built at Rameswaram. Submission of the Pandya and Kerala kingdoms (pp. 4 and 5).

1311 Death of Ramchandra and accession of Shankardev (p. 6).

1316 Death of 'Ala-ud-din and accession of Shihab-ud-din 'Umar. Death of Malik Naib, Deposition of Umar and accession of Qutb-ud-din Mubarak (p. 7).

1318 Mubarak's expedition to Devagiri. Capture and death of Harpal (p. 7).

1321 Expedition to Warangal under Muhammad Jauna (Ulugh Khan) (pp. 8, 9).

1323 Second expedition to Warangal under Muhammad. Capture of Prataparudradeva II. (p. 9).

1327 Rebellion of Gurshasp (p. 11).

1327 Capital transferred from Delhi to Daulatabad (p. 11).

1337 Rebellion of Nusrat Khan at Bidar (pp. 11, 12).

1340 Rebellion of Ali Shah Natthu in the Deccan (p. 12).

1346 Rebellion of the Centurions in Gujarat. Muhammad leaves Delhi for Gujarat, and suppresses the rebellion (p. 12).

1346 Rebellion in Daulatabad: Ismail Mukh proclaimed king of the Deccan. Muhammad besieges Daulatabad (p. 13).

1347 Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah proclaimed king of the Deccan. (p. 13).

1353 Rebellion of Muhammad Alam, Ali Lachin and Fakhruddin Muhurdar at Sagar (p. 15).

1358 Death of Bahman Shah and accession of Muhammad I Bahamani in the Deccan. (p. 16).

1362 Muhammad I, Bahamani, again invades Telangana. Rebellion of Bahram Khan Mazindarani in Daulatabad (p. 17).

1366 Muhammad I, Bahamani, invades Vijayanagar and defeats Bukka I. It is stipulated in the treaty of peace that in future wars non-combatants shall not be molested (p. 19).

1366 Suppression of the rebellion of Bahram Khan Mazindarani (pp. 19, 20).

1367 Completion of the great mosque at Gulbarga (p. 20).

1370 Independence of Raja Ahmad, or Malik Raja, in Khandesh (p. 238).

1375 Death of Muhammad I and accession of Mujahid Bahamani (p. 20).

1378 Assassination of Mujahid and accession of Daud Bahamani (p. 21).

1378 Assassination of Daud and accession of Mahmud Shah Bahamani (p. 21).

1380 Defeat of the Bahamanis at Adoni by Chenappa, the nephew of Harihara II ( p. 22).

1396 Rebellion of Baha-ud-din of Sagar in the Deccan (p. 22).

1397 Death of Mahmud Shah and accession of Ghiyas-ud-din Bahamani (p. 23).

1397 Deposition of Ghiyas-ud-din and accession of Shams-ud-din (p. 23).

1397 Deposition of Shams-ud-din and accession of Firoz Shah Bahamani (p. 24).

1399 Invasion of the Deccan by Harihara II of Vijayanagar and Narsingh of Kherla (pp. 24, 25).

1399 Death of Raja Ahmad and accession of Nasir Khan in Khandesh (p. 240).

1407 Firoz Bahamani invades Vijayanagar and compels the Raja of Vijayanagar to give him a daughter in marriage (p. 26).

1418 Firoz Bahamani invades Vijayanagar, but is defeated and expelled (p. 27).

1422 Rebellion of Ahmad Khan Bahamani. He defeats the royal troops. Deposition of Firoz and accession of Ahmad Shah Bahamani. Death of Firoz (pp. 27, 28).

1424 Ahmad Shah shifts his capital from Gulbarga to Bidar (p. 29).

1426 Ahmad Bahamani recovers Mahur and Kalam in Berar, and halts at Ellichpur (p. 32).

1429 Ahmad Bahamani marches to recover tribute from Kherla, but refrains from attacking Hoshang of Malwa who is besieging the fortress. He retreats: Hoshang follows, and is attacked and defeated by Ahmad (p. 33).

1430 War between the Deccan and Gujarat, Zafar Khan of Gujarat defeats the army of the Deccan (pp. 33, 34).

1434 War between Malwa and the Bahamanis (p. 35).

1436 Death of Ahmad Bahamani and accession of Ala-ud-din, Ahmad (p. 36).

1436 Muhammad's (Alauddin Shah's brother) rebellion (p. 37).

1436 Ala-ud-din Ahmad Bahamani establishes his authority in the Konkan (p. 38).

1438 Nasir Khan of Khandesh invades Berar, but is defeated by the army of the Deccan (pp. 38, 39, 242, 243).

1441 Death of Adil Khan I and accession of Mubarak Khan in Khandesh (p. 244).

1443-44 Devaraya II of Vijayanagar invades the Deccan, but is expelled (pp. 41, 42).

1447 Defeat of the Foreigners of the army of the Deccan in the Konkan. Massacre of the Foreigners by the Deccanis at Chakan (pp. 42, 45).

1455 Rebellion of Jalal Khan and Sikandar Khan in Telangana (p. 46).

1456 Mahmud I of Malwa invades the Deccan but retires (p. 47).

1457 Death of Miran Mubarak Khan Faruqi and accession of Adil Khan II in Khandesh (p. 244).

1458 Death of Ala-ud-din Ahmad and accession of Humayun Bahamani. Suppression of the rebellion of Jalal Khan and Sikandar Khan (pp. 48, 49).

1461 Death of Humayun Bahamani and accession of Nizam Shah Bahamani (p. 51).

1462 Mahmud I of Malwa invades the Deccan, and Mahmud Begada of Gujarat marches to the assistance of Nizam Shah of the Deccan (pp. 54, 56).

1463 Mahmud I of Malwa again invades the Deccan, but is compelled by Mahmud Begada of Gujarat to retire (pp. 56, 57).

1463 Death of Nizam Shah Bahamani and accession of Muhammad III in the Deccan (p. 57).

1466 Assassination of Khvaja-i-Jahan Turk (p. 57).

1466 Mahmud Gawan appointed Prime Minister (p. 58).

1467-71 Mahmud Gawan marches into the Konkan to re-establish the authority of Muhammad III Bahamani (pp. 60, 62).

1470 Malik Hasan invades Orissa, re-establishes the Raja and captures Rajamahendri for Muhammad III Bahamani (p. 60).

1471 Goa annexed to Bahamani Kingdom (p. 62).

1472 Mahmud Gawan returns to Bidar after having re-established the authority of Muhammad III Bahamani in the Konkan (p. 62).

1473 Belgaum is taken and the Raja, Parketa is deposed Famine in the Deccan (pp. 63, 64).

1481 Murder of Mahmud Gawan in the Deccan (p. 67).

1482 Death of Muhammad III and accession of Mahmud Bahamani (pp. 68, 69).

1490 Ahmad Nizam-ul-Mulk of Ahmadnagar, Yusuf Adil Khan of Bijapur and Fathullah Imad-ul-Mulk of Berar declare their independence (p. 74).

1491 Rebellion of Bahadur Gilani in the Konkan (pp. 75, 76).

1494 Foundation of the city of Ahmadnagar (p. 76).

1495 Dastur Dinar defeated by Yusuf Adil, Qutb-ul-Mulk, Qadam Khan and Jahangir Khan (p. 165).

1499 Malik Ahmad captures the fort of Antur and reduces the Chiefs of Baglan and Galna (p. 78).

1503 Death of Adil Khan II and accession of Daud Khan in Khandesh (p. 245).

1504 Yusuf Adil Shah attempts to establish the Shiah religion in Bijapur but is expelled from his kingdom by a confederacy (p. 78).

1507 War between Gujarat and Ahmadnagar on the question of succession to the Khandesh throne (p. 79).

1508 Death of Daud and accession of Ghazni Khan in Khandesh. Death of Ghazni Khan and disputed succession until Alam Khan (Adil Khan III) is installed by Mahmud Begada of Gujarat (p. 247).

1509 Death of Ahmad Nizam Shah and accession of his son, Burhan Nizam Shah I in Ahmadnagar (p. 79).

1510 Death of Fathullah Imad-ul-Mulk (p. 203).

1510 Death of Yusuf Adil Shah and accession of his son, Ismail Adil Shah in Bijapur (pp. 83, 169).

1513 Ismail Adil Shah restores Shiah faith (p. 170).

1512 Sultan Quli Qutb-ul-Mulk declares his independence in Telangana (p. 217).

1518 Death of Mahmud Shah and accession of Ahmad Shah Bahamani in Bidar (p. 84).

1518 Burhan Nizam Shah I invades Berar and captures Pathri (p. 81).

1520 Arrival of Shah Tahir in India (p. 84).

1520 Death of Adil Khan of Khandesh and accession of Miran Muhammad (p. 249).

1521 Death of Ahmad and accession of Ala-ud-din Shah Bahamani (p. 84).

1525 Amir Ali Barid, Mahmud Shah Bahamani, Burhan Nizam Shah I and Sultan Quli Qutb Shah invade Bijapur, but are defeated by Ismail Adil Shah (p. 84).

1525 Deposition of Wali-Ullah and accession of Kalimullah Shah Bahamani (p. 218).

1527 Alauddin Imad Shah captures Pathri (p. 85).

1527 Burhan Nizam Shah I and Ali Barid Shah invade Berar and expel Ala-ud-din Imad Shah, who appeals for help to Bahadur of Gujarat (p. 219).

1528 Bahadur of Gujarat invades the Deccan (p. 173).

1529 Death of Alauddin Imad Shah and accession of Darya Imad Shah (p. 206).

1531 Bahadur of Gujarat, assisted by Muhammad of Khandesh captures Mandu and annexes the kingdom of Malwa (p. 87).

1532 Burhan Nizam Shah and Ismail Adil Shah plot to divide the Deccan (p. 89).

1534 Death of Ismail and accession of Mallu Adil Shah (p. 89).

1535 Death of Miran Muhammad of Khandesh and accession of Miran Mubarak (p. 251).

1540 Burhan Nizam Shah and Amir Ali Barid invade Bijapur (p. 220).

1542 Death of Amir Ali Barid and accession of Ali Barid Shah in Bidar (p. 222).

1543 Assassination of Sultan Quli and accession of Jamshid Qutb Shah in Golconda (pp. 92, 223).

1543 Jamshid, Burhan Nizam Shah, Ali Barid Shah and Vijayanagar King invade Bijapur, but are expelled (p. 92).

1546 Burhan Nizam Shah I invades Bijapur but is defeated and expelled (p. 176).

1546 Death of Asad Khan (p. 177).

1546-47 Death of Shah Tahir (p. 95).

1552 Alliance between Burhan Nizam Shah I and Sadashivaraya of Vijayanagar. War between Ahmadnagar and Bijapur (pp. 95, 178).

1553 Sadashivaraya of Vijayanagar with the help of Burhan Nizam Shah I recovers the Raichur Doab. Death of Burhan Nizam Shah I and accession of Husain Nizam Shah in Ahmadnagar (pp. 95, 96).

1558 Death of Ibrahim Adil Shah I and accession of Ali Adil Shah I (p. 225).

Re-establishment of the Shiah religion in Bijapur. Ali allies himself with Vijayanagar and is attacked by Husain Nizam Shah I and Ibrahim Qutb Shah, of whom he rids his state. Husain Nizam Shah I attacks Chaul, but makes peace with the Portuguese (p. 100).

1561 Death of Darya Imad Shah and accession of Burhan Imad Shah. Adil Shah I and Aliyarama Raya defeat Husain Nizam Shah I and Ibrahim Qutb Shah (p. 208).

1563 Ali Adil Shah I and Ibrahim Qutb Shah invade Ahmadnagar (p. 227).

1564 Husain Nizam Shah I, Ali Adil Shah I, Ibrahim Qutb Shah, and Ali Barid Shah form a confederacy against Vijayanagar. The four kings assemble at Sholapur and march to Talikota. Battle of Talikota. Overthrow of the kingdom of Vijayanagar (p. 104).

1565 Death of Husain Nizam Shah I and accession of Murtaza Nizam Shah (p. 105).

1566 Death of Miran Mubarak of Khandesh and accession of Miran Muhammad (p. 252).

1567 War between Bijapur and Ahmadnagar (p. 106).

1569 League between Ali Adil Shah I, Murtaza Nizam Shah I and the Zamorin of Calicut against the Portuguese (p. 109).

1570-71 Ali Adil Shah I besieges Goa and Murtaza Nizam Shah I besieges Chaul. Both are defeated (pp. 156, 157).

1571-72 Ali Adil Shah I and Murtaza Nizam Shah I make treaties with Portugal (pp. 157, 186).

1573 Defeat of the Golconda army by Ahmadnagar at Kaulas (p. 112).

1574 Murtaza Nizam Shah I annexes Berar (p. 112, p. 187 and p. 210).

1576 Death of Miran Muhammad of Khandesh and accession of Raja Ali Khan (p. 254).

1579 Death of Ali Barid Shah and accession of Ibrahim Barid Shah in Bidar (p. 231).

1580 Rebellion of Prince Burhan-ud-din in Ahmadnagar. He flees and takes refuge at the court of Akbar (p. 118).

1580 Death of Ibrahim Qutb Shah and accession of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah in Golconda (p. 232).

1587 Appointment of Kasim Beg as Vakil and Peshwa by Murtaza Nizam Shah (p. 126).

1588 Murder of Murtaza Nizam Shah I and accession of Miran Husain Nizam Shah II in Ahmadnagar (p. 128).

1591 Envoys sent in the courts of Deccan Sultans by Akbar (p. 256).

1591 Burhan-ud-din defeats his son, Ismail Nizam Shah and ascends the throne in Ahmadnagar as Burhan Nizam Shah II (p. 131).

1593 Burhan Nizam Shah II attacks the Portuguese in Chaul, and is defeated (p. 136).

1595 Death of Burhan Nizam Shah II and accession of Ibrahim Nizam Shah (p. 137).

1595 War between Ahmadnagar and Bijapur and death of Ibrahim Nizam Shah. Accession of Bahadur Nizam Shah (pp. 137, 139).

1596 Berar ceded to the Moghals (p. 231).

1597 Death of Raja Ali Khan of Khandesh and accession of Bahadur Shah (p. 258).

1599 Death of Prince Murad (p. 258).

1599 Akbar sets out for the Deccan (p. 258).

1600 Murder of Chand Bibi. The imperial troops take Ahmadnagar. Bahadur Nizam Shah is imprisoned (p. 148).

1601 Asirgad surrendered and Khandesh annexed (p. 259).

1601 Prince Danial appointed viceroy of the Deccan (p. 259).

1605 Death of prince Danial (p. 266).

1605 Death of Akbar and succession of Salim as Jahangir (p. 266).

1610 Khan Khanan the Moghal commander in Deccan recalled, and Khan A'zam sent to the Deccan (p. 267).

1611 Abdullah Khan, sent to the Deccan (p. 267).

1616 Khurram appointed to the Deccan (p. 268).

1620 Khurram *alias* Shah Jahan and Khusrav march to the Deccan (p. 269).

1622 Death of Khusrav (p. 271).

1624 Malik Ambar attacks the combined army of Bijapuris and Moghals (p. 277).

1626 Death of Malik Ambar (p. 280).

1626 Parviz dies at Burhanpur (p. 281).

1627 Death of Jahangir (p. 282).

1629 Rebellion of Khan Jahan Lodi (p. 282).

1629 Murder of Jadhav Rao by Murtaza Nizam Shah (p. 283).

1630 Shah Jahan leaves Agra for the Deccan (p. 282).

1630 Shah Jahan invades Ahmadnagar territory (p. 284).

1630 Shahaji becomes a Moghal Mansabdar (p. 286).

1631 Khan Jahan finally defeated and slain (p. 286).

1631 Moghals invade Bijapur (p. 288).

1631 Dharur and Kandhar captured by the Moghals (p. 286).

1631 Murder of Murtaza Nizam Shah (p. 291).

1633 Daulatabad stormed and end of Ahmadnagar dynasty (p. 294).

1633 Unsuccessful siege of Paranda (p. 301).

1634 Death of Mahabat Khan (p. 301).

1636 Peace made with Bijapur (p. 302).

1636 Ausa and Udgir captured by the Moghals (p. 306).

1636 Deccan provinces reorganised by Shah Jahan (p. 308).

1636 Aurangzeb appointed viceroy of the Deccan (p. 307).

1638 Annexation of Baglan (p. 309).

1644 Aurangzeb resigns viceroyalty of the Deccan (p. 310).

1644 Khan-i-Dauran appointed viceroy of the Deccan (p. 310).

1646 Shivaji captures Torna (p. 311).

1648 Shivaji captures Kondana (Sinhgad) and other forts (p. 311).

1649 Shahaji imprisoned and released in Bijapur (p. 311).
1653 Aurangzeb re-appointed to the Deccan (p. 310).
1655 Aurangzeb attacks Hyderabad and Golconda (p. 315).
1656 Golconda princess married to Aurangzeb's son (p. 317).
1656 Aurangzeb interferes in succession to Bijapur (p. 317).
1657 Shivaji annexes Javli (p. 312).
1657 Aurangzeb takes Bidar, Kalyani and Gulbarga (p. 318).
1658 Aurangzeb crowned at Delhi (p. 323).
1659 Shivaji overcomes Afzal Khan (p. 323).
1659 Shayasta Khan appointed viceroy of the Deccan (p. 323).
1660 Moghals occupy Pune and Chakan (p. 323).
1663 Shivaji raids Pune (p. 323).
1664 Shivaji assumes royal title and sacks Surat (p. 324).
1665 Jay Singh defeats Shivaji (p. 324).
1665 Jay Singh's campaign against Bijapur (p. 327).
1666 Shivaji visits Agra, and escapes (p. 329).
1666 Retreat of Jay Singh from Bijapur territory (p. 328).
1667 Muazzam appointed viceroy of the Deccan (p. 329).
1669 Death of Jay Singh (p. 329).
1670 Moghals worsted at Dindori (p. 338).
1670 Shivaji again sacks Surat (p. 338).
1672 Ali Adil Shah II dies (p. 330).
1672 Abdulla Qutb Shah dies (p. 348).
1674 Shivaji assumes title of Chhatrapati (p. 339).
1676 Unsuccessful Moghal invasion of Bijapur (p. 334).
1677 Bahadur Khan appointed viceroy of the Deccan (p. 338).
1677-78 Shivaji conquers Karnatak and Mysore (p. 340).
1678 Sambhaji deserts to the Moghals (pp. 336, 340).
1679 Moghals again invade Bijapur unsuccessfully (p. 336).
1680 Death of Shivaji and succession of Sambhaji (p. 341).
1681 Prince Akbar rebels (p. 342).
1681 Aurangzeb sets out for the Deccan (p. 343).
1682 Aurangzeb attacks the Marathas (p. 343).
1682 Fort of Ramsej besieged (p. 343).
1683 Aurangzeb arrives at Ahmadnagar (p. 345).
1685 Siege of Bijapur (p. 346).
1685 King of Golconda submits to Aurangzeb (p. 347).
1686 Fall of Bijapur (p. 347).
1687 Shah Alam imprisoned (p 350).
1687 Golconda captured and the surrender of Abul Hasan Tana Shah of Golconda (p. 351).

# DYNASTIC LISTS AND GENEALOGICAL TABLES

(1) The Bahamani Dynasty of the Deccan.

(2) The Nizam Shahi Dynasty of Ahmadnagar.

(3) The Adil Shahi Dynasty of Bijapur.

(4) The Imad Shahi Dynasty of Berar.

(5) The Qutb Shahi Dynasty of Golconda.

(6) The Barid Shahi Dynasty of Bidar.

(7) The Faruqi Dynasty of Khandesh.

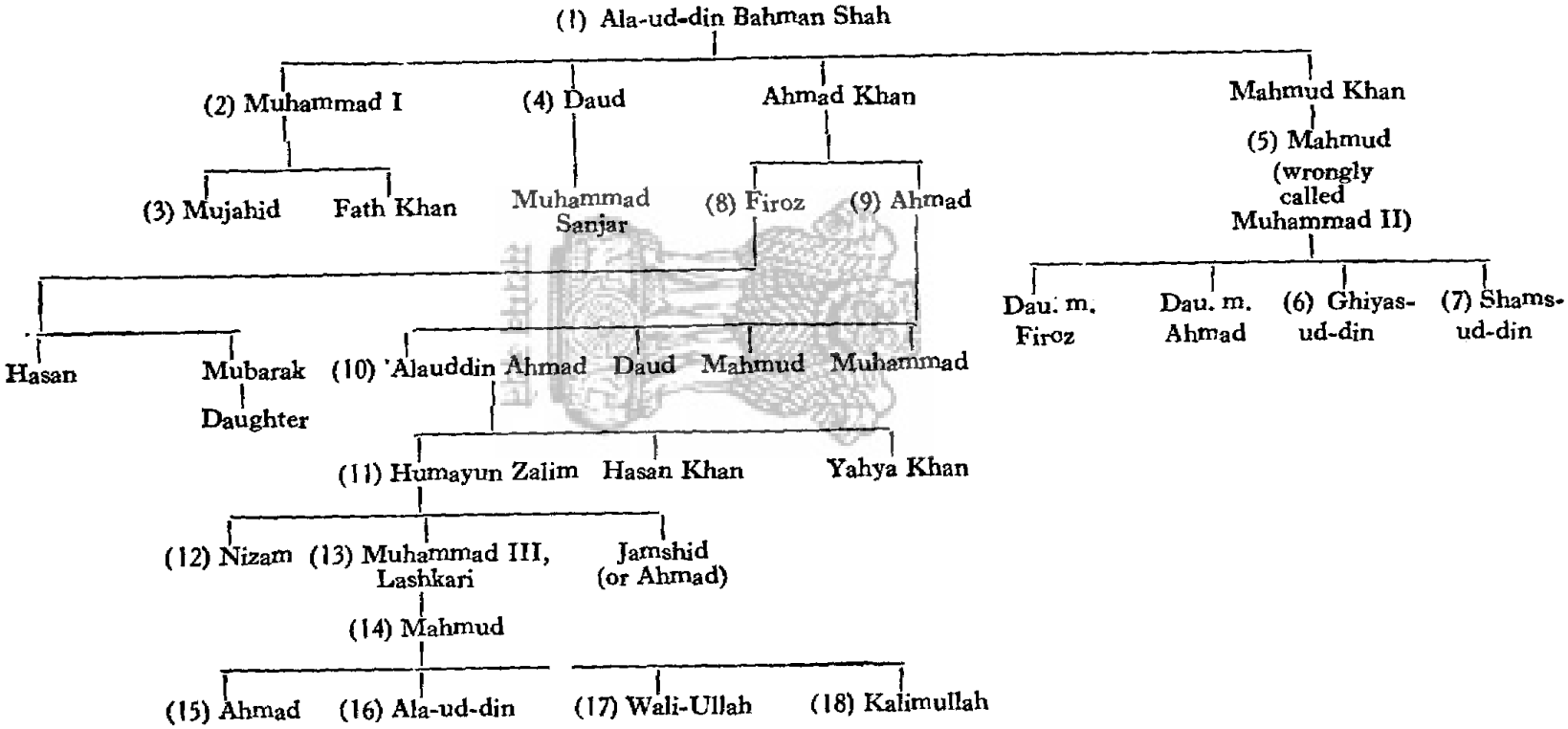
## THE BAHAMANI DYNASTY OF THE DECCAN

| Year of Accession A. H. | | Year of Accession A. D. |
|---|---|---|
| 748 | Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah .. .. .. | 1347 |
| 759 | Muhammad I .. .. .. .. | 1358 |
| 776 | Mujahid .. .. .. .. .. | 1375 |
| 779 | Daud .. .. .. .. .. .. | 1378 |
| 780 | Mahmud (wrongly called Muhammad II) .. | 1378 |
| 799 | Ghiyas-ud-din .. .. .. .. | 1397 |
| 799 | Shams-ud-din .. .. .. .. | 1397 |
| 800 | Taj-ud-din-Firoz .. .. .. .. | 1397 |
| 825 | Ahmad, Vali .. .. .. .. .. | 1422 |
| 839 | Ala-ud-din Ahmad .. .. .. .. | 1436 |
| 862 | Humayun Zalim .. .. .. .. | 1458 |
| 865 | Nizam .. .. .. .. .. .. | 1461 |
| 867 | Muhammad III, *Lashkari* .. .. .. | 1463 |
| 887 | Mahmud .. .. .. .. .. | 1482 |
| 924 | Ahmad .. .. .. .. .. | 1518 |
| 927 | Ala-ud-din .. .. .. .. .. | 1521 |
| 928 | Wali-Ullah .. .. .. .. .. | 1522 |
| 931 | Kalimullah .. .. .. .. .. | 1525 |
| 944 | End of the dynasty .. .. .. .. | 1538 |

## THE BAHAMANI DYNASTY OF THE DECCAN

### GENEALOGY

(Figures in brackets denote the order of succession)



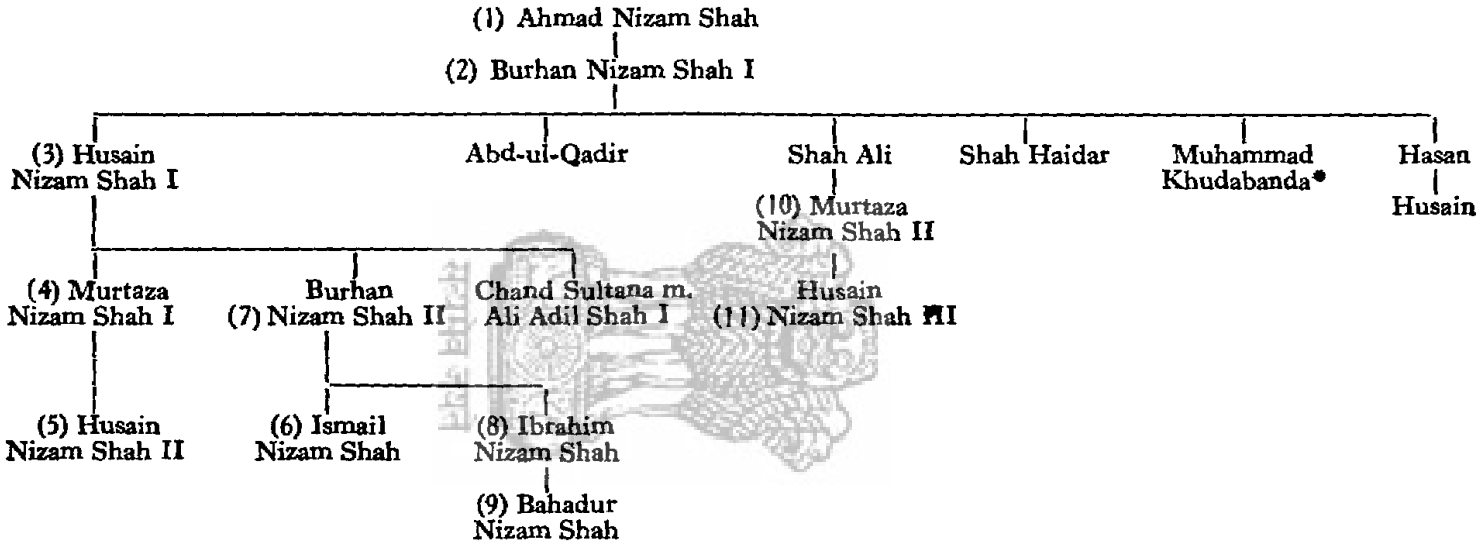
## THE NIZAM SHAHI DYNASTY OF AHMADNAGAR

| Year of Accession A. H. | | Year of Accession A. D. |
|---|---|---|
| 895 | Ahmad Nizam Shah .. .. .. | 1490 |
| 915 | Burhan Nizam Shah I .. .. .. | 1509 |
| 960 | Husain Nizam Shah I .. .. .. | 1553 |
| 973 | Murtaza Nizam Shah I .. .. .. | 1565 |
| 996 | Husain Nizam Shah II .. .. .. | 1588 |
| 997 | Ismail Nizam Shah .. .. .. .. | 1589 |
| 999 | Burhan Nizam Shah II .. .. .. | 1591 |
| 1001 | Ibrahim Nizam Shah .. .. .. | 1594 |
| 1002 | (Ahmad-usurper) .. .. .. .. | 1595 |
| 1003 | Bahadur Nizam Shah .. .. .. | 1595 |
| 1007 | Murtaza Nizam Shah II .. .. .. | 1599 |
| 1041 | Husain Nizam Shah III .. .. .. | 1631 |
| 1043 | End of the Dynasty .. .. .. | 1633 |

सत्यमेव जयते

## THE NIZAM SHAHI DYNASTY OF AHMADNAGAR, GENEALOGY

(Figures in brackets denote the order of succession.)



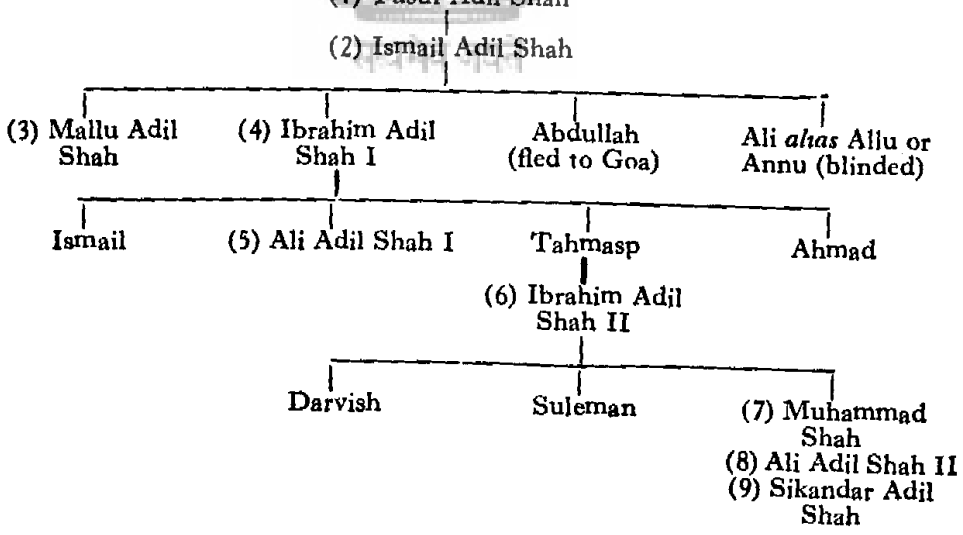

*After the death of Ibrahim Nizam Shah (No. 8) a faction in Ahmadnagar set up Ahmad, the son of Tahir who was represented as being a son of Khudabanda, as king, but the fraud was discovered and Ahmad was deposed after a reign of a few months.

# THE ADIL SHAHI DYNASTY OF BIJAPUR

| Year of Accession A. H. | | Year of Accession A. D. |
|---|---|---|
| 895 | Yusuf Adil Shah .. .. .. .. | 1490 |
| 916 | Ismail Adil Shah .. .. .. .. | 1510 |
| 941 | Mallu Adil Shah .. .. .. .. | 1534 |
| 941 | Ibrahim Adil Shah I .. .. .. | 1534 |
| 965 | 'Ali' Adil Shah I .. .. .. .. | 1558 |
| 988 | Ibrahim Adil Shah II .. .. .. | 1580 |
| 1037 | Muhammad Adil Shah .. .. .. | 1627 |
| 1067 | 'Ali' Adil Shah II .. .. .. .. | 1656 |
| 1083 | Sikandar Adil Shah .. .. .. .. | 1672 |
| 1097 | End of the dynasty .. .. .. .. | 1686 |

## GENEALOGY

(Figures in brackets denote the order of succession)



## THE IMAD SHAHI DYNASTY OF BERAR

| Year of Accession A. H. | | | Year of Accession A. D. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 895 | Fathullah 'Imad Shah' | .. | 1490 |
| 916 | 'Ala-ud-din' Imad Shah | .. | 1510 |
| 937 | Darya 'Imad Shah' | .. | 1529 |
| 969 | Burhan 'Imad Shah' Tufal Khan (usurper). | .. | 1561 |
| 982 | End of the dynasty | .. | 1574 |

### GENEALOGY

(Figures in brackets denote the order of succession)

(1) Fathullah 'Imad Shah

(A Brahman of Vijayanagar brought up as a Muslim)

(2) 'Ala-ud-din' Imad Shah

(3) Darya Imad Shah

(4) Burhan 'Imad Shah' — Daulat Shah Husain Nizam Shah I of Ahmadnagar

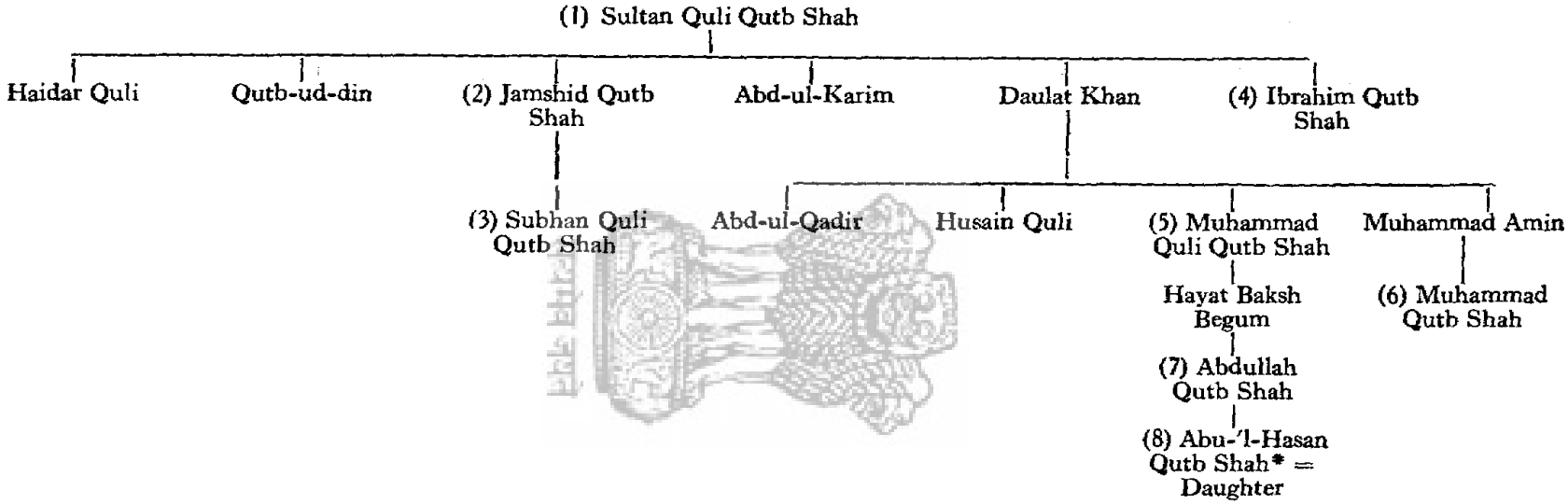
## THE QUTB SHAHI DYNASTY OF GOLCONDA

| Year of Accession A. H. | | Year of Accession A. D. |
|---|---|---|
| 918 | Sultan Quli Qutb Shah .. .. .. | 1512 |
| 950 | Jamshid Qutb Shah .. .. .. .. | 1543 |
| 957 | Subhan Quli Qutb Shah .. .. .. | 1550 |
| 957 | Ibrahim Qutb Shah .. .. .. .. | 1550 |
| 988 | Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah .. .. | 1580 |
| 1020 | Muhammad Qutb Shah .. .. .. | 1612 |
| 1035 | Abdullah Qutb Shah .. .. .. | 1626 |
| 1083 | Abu-I-Hasan Qutb Shah .. .. .. | 1672 |
| 1098 | End of the dynasty .. .. .. .. | 1687 |

## THE QUTB SHAHI DYNASTY OF GOLCONDA

### GENEALOGY

(Figures in brackets denote the order of succession)




* Abu-'l-Hasan is said to have been descended of the royal family, but his descent is nowhere given.

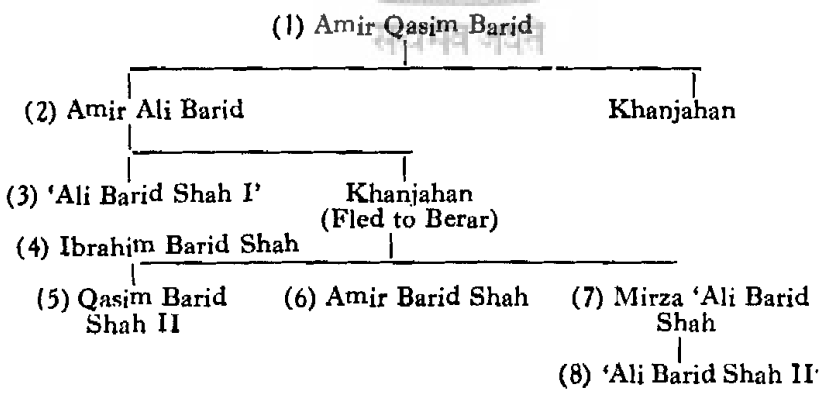
# THE BARID SHAHI DYNASTY OF BIDAR

| Year of Accession A. H. | | Year of Accession A. D. |
|---|---|---|
| 894 | Amir Qasim Barid .. .. .. .. | 1487 |
| 911 | Amir Ali Barid .. .. .. .. | 1505 |
| 949 | Ali Barid Shah I .. .. .. .. | 1542 |
| 987 | Ibrahim Barid Shah .. .. .. | 1579 |
| 994 | Qasim Barid Shah II .. .. .. | 1586 |
| 999 | Amir Barid Shah .. .. .. .. | 1589 |
| 1010 | Mirza Ali Barid Shah .. .. .. | 1601 |
| 1018 | Ali Barid Shah II .. .. .. .. | 1609 |
| 1028 | End of the dynasty .. .. .. .. | 1619 |

(Adil Shahi Kings of Bijapur)

## GENEALOGY

Figures in brackets denote the order of succession)



## THE FARUQI DYNASTY OF KHANDESH

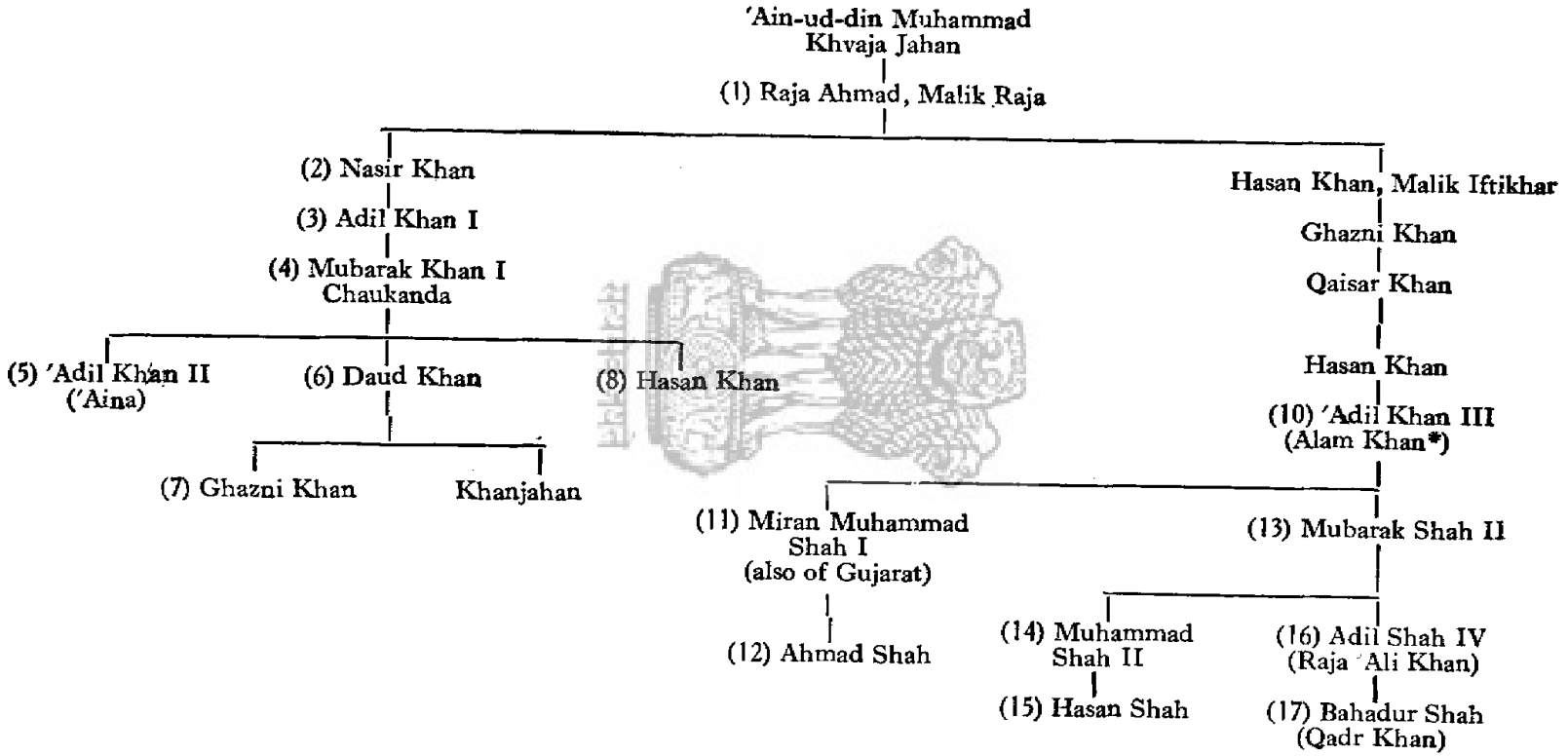
| Year of Accession A. H. | | Year of Accession A. D. |
|---|---|---|
| 784 | Raja Ahmad, Malik Raja .. .. .. | 1382 |
| 801 | Nasir Khan .. .. .. .. .. | 1399 |
| 840 | Adil Khan I .. .. .. .. .. | 1437 |
| 844 | Mubarak Khan I, Chaukanda .. .. | 1441 |
| 861 | Adil Khan II, Aina .. .. .. .. | 1457 |
| 909 | Daud Khan .. .. .. .. .. | 1503 |
| 914 | Ghaznikhan .. .. .. .. .. | 1508 |
| 914 | Hasan Khan .. .. .. .. .. | 1508 |
| 914 | Alam Khan (usurper) .. .. .. | 1508 |
| 914 | Adil Khan III (Alam Khan) .. .. | 1509 |
| 926 | Miran Muhammad Shah I* .. .. | 1520 |
| 941 | Ahmad Shah .. .. .. .. .. | 1535 |
| 941 | Mubarak Shah II .. .. .. .. | 1535 |
| 974 | Muhammad Shah II .. .. .. | 1566 |
| 984 | Hasan Shah .. .. .. .. .. | 1576-77 |
| 985 | Adil Shah IV (Raja Ali Khan) .. .. | 1577-78 |
| 1006 | Bahadur Shah (Qadr Khan) .. .. | 1597 |
| 1009 | End of the dynasty .. .. .. .. | 1601 |

*Also of Gujarat.

## THE FARUQI DYNASTY OF KHANDESH

### GENEALOGY

(Figures in brackets denote the order of succession)




*Not to be confounded with the usurper of the same name, who was a member of the family, but whose descent is not given and was supported by Ahmad Shah of Ahmadnagar.

The ninth in the Genealogy is Alam Khan, the usurper.

# INDEX


PAGES

## A

Abdulla—

the brother of Ibrahim Adil Shah, placed on the throne after deposing Ibrahim by his courtiers, 177; imprisoned by Ibrahim Adil Shah, 179. ..

Abdulla, sent by Yusuf Adil Shah against Anjadiv in 1506 and defeated by Portuguese. 168

Abdullah, appointment of, in-charge of left wing of the Bahamani army by Ahmad Shah in the Malwa campaign. 33

Abdullah Khan—

the general of Jahangir, defeated in two-pronged drive against Ahmadnagar, 267; served as Second-in-command of Shah Jahan, 279; commanded the Moghal army in the attack on Darya Khan, 286. ..

Abdullah Yaghrach Khan, the lieutenant of Malik Yusuf Turk, honoured as Adil Khan, by Muhammad III. 59

Abdullah Qutb Shah— 315, 316

succeeded his father (*Sultan* of Golconda) in 1626, 303. ..

Abdul Latif, created *Khan-i-Azam* and *Sarlashkar* of Telangana by Ahmad Shah Bahamani, 31. ..

Abul Fazl—

march of Akbar to the Deccan at the behest of 146; appointed as governor of Khandesh by Akbar 258; honoured by Akbar, 264; his remarks about admiralty department, 413; author of *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Akbarnama* 420.

Abdul Karim, the provincial governor of Chaul in 1605. .. .. 159

Abdul Munim, posting of, at Gadh Namuna by Aurangzeb. .. .. 319

Abdul Qadir— 178

son of Burhan Nizam Shah, 99, 206; the son-in-law of Darya Imad Shah, 207; fled to Berar, 207; ordered to leave the kingdom by Darya Imad Shah, 207.

Abdul Hamid Lahori—

description of the Deccan famine during the 1630—32 by, 417; author of *Padshahnama*, 420.

Abdul Baqi, author of *Masiri-i-Rahimi*. .. .. .. .. .. 420

Abul Hasan—

son-in-law of Abdulla Qutb Shah, 348; succeeds as the *Sultan* of Golconda, 348; agrees to peace with Aurangzeb, 349; flees to Golconda, 350; made captive and sent to Daulatabad, 351.

Abul Hasan—

son of Shah Tahir, minister of Ali Adil Shah, 109; suspected of complicity by Adil Shah in the Ahmadnagar invasion, 185. (also *see* Shah Abul Hasan).

Abdul Muhammad, commander of Bijapur army, pursues the Moghals with Sharza Khan. 327

Abbas Khan, the Nizam Shahi general of Chaul in 1612-13. .. .. 159

PAGES.

A—*contd.*

Abhang Khan also called Nehang Khan—
an officer of Ahmadnagar, 197; appointed as minister in place of Muhammad Khan, 198. ..

Account of foreign travellers .. .. .. .. .. 386-94

Achalagad a fort, capitulation of, to Allavardi Khan .. .. .. 305

Achin in Sumatra, king of, formed an alliance against Portuguese with Bijapur, Ahmadnagar and Zamorin in 1570. 186

Adham Khan Habshi, an Ahmadnagar officer under Husain Nizam Shah. 103

Adham Shah, the son of Mahmood Shah, one of the Faruqi dynasty .. 237

Adil Shah, Ali—
marched to open the siege of Goa, in 1570, 155.

Adil Shah, Ibrahim—
made treaty with the Portuguese and Burhan Nizam Shah III, in 1615, 159.

Adilshahi *Sultans* of Bijapur—
Yusuf Adil Shah, 164—169; Ismail Adil Shah, 169—174; Ibrahim Adil Shah, 174—180; Ali Adil Shah, 181—188; Ibrahim Adil Shah II, 188—199.

Adil Shah, Muhammad— 288, 290
surrender by, of Bahadur Khan and Yusuf Khan, 289. accepted Moghal terms for peace in 1636, 302; assistance to Shahaji by sending troops under Randullah Khan, 304; Randullah Khan handed over Nizam Shah to Khan Zaman on order of, 307; Aurangzeb's conciliatory letter to, 318-319.

Adil Shah, Ali II-sent army to help Jaisingh in his campaign against Shivaji, 326; military preparations of, 327; Siddi Masud resigned from the decadent court of, 346.

Adilshahi dynasty of Bijapur .. .. .. .. .. .. 74, 161 to 199

Adil Khan, *see* Abdullah Yaghrach Khan. 59

Adil Khan Dakhani
appointed as incharge of Bijapur by Nizam-ul-mulk 163; carries out a general massacre of Turkish population, 163; dispatched to Fathullah Imad-ul-mulk by Nizam-ul-mulk, 202.

Adil Khan II—
successor of Miran Mubarak Khan Faruqi, 244, visits Muhammad Shah Bahamani III, 245; dies in 1503 A. D. 245.

Adil Khan *alias* Miran Adil—
successor of Malik Nasir of Khandesh, 243; suffers martyrdom at Burhanpur, 244.

Adil Khan III—
put on the throne of Khandesh under the title of Azim Humayun by Mahmud Shah of Gujarat, 247; appeal for help to Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat by, 248; died at Burhanpur in 1520, 249.

Adil Khan Begi, Ahmadnagar nobleman under Murtaza Nizam Shah .. 117

Adanya Kavi, the author of *Varadanagesh* .. .. .. .. 405

PAGES

A—*contd.*

Adoni—
defeat of Bahamani forces at, by Chenappa the nephew of Harihara II, 22; captured by Bijapuris, 186; captured by Ali Adil Shah, 228.

Adoni fort—
besieged by Asad Khan, commander of Ibrahim Adil Shah, 175; captured by Moghal forces under Firuz Jang, 352, destroyed in 1530 by Portuguese, 153, attacked by Malik Ambar, 159.

Afzal Khan— 190, 233
Appointed as head of administration by Chand Bibi after her release from confinement and assassinated by Siddis.

Afzal Khan—
Bijapur general, advance of, to recover Kalyani and Bidar districts, 318; death of, in 1659, 323.

Agashi, a port in Thana district under Gujarat kings .. .. .. 151

Aga Khusrav, *Wazir*, death of, in 1684 .. .. .. .. .. 346

Agha Zainab, the elder wife of Alauddin Ahmad Shah Bahamani II .. 38

Ahivant-a fort, capitulation of, to Allavardi Khan .. .. .. 305

Ahmadnagar—
Administration, 381—84.
City—
Malik Ahmad moved into hilly areas surrounding the present city of, 74; Burhan Nizam Shah breathed his last at, in 1553, 178; Ali Adil Shah and Sadashivraya invested Nizamshahi capital of, 183; capture of, by Moghals in 1599, 198; Kallimullah died at, 219; Murtaza returned to, 231; on the border of Bahamani Kingdom 237; Salabat Khan defeated Sayyad Murtaza, governor of Berar, at, 257; Jahangir Khan attacked allied troops which besieged the city of 207; capture of, by Akbar, 266.

Kingdom—
Bahamani kingdom, remnant of, 69; invasion of, by Bahadur Shah of Gujarat in 1528, 173; laid waste the territory of, by Bijapur armies, 182; faced serious threat from invasion from Burhan (later Burhan Nizam Shah II), 193; divided into two factions, one headed by Chand Bibi and the other by Ikhlas Khan, 196; succession State of Bahamani Kingdom, 213; annexation of Berar to, in 1574, 206, 208, 211, 220, 253; invasion of, by Ali Adil Shah with the help of Sadashivaraya and Ibrahim Qutb Shah, 225; Ibrahim sent force to invade in 1573, 230; affected from turmoil, 233; occupation of, by Moghals in 1600, 234; invasion of, by Alauddin Imad Shah, 203; portion of, joined to the reorganised Khandesh and Berar by Akbar, 259; capitulation of, to the Moghals, 265; two pronged drive against, by Jahangir, 267; willingness to the surrender of, by Ibrahim Adil, 268.

Fort—
meeting together of Khan Khanan, Jamshid Khan and Sayyad Murtaza in, 129; Nehang Khan's attack on, 141; invested by Moghals, 148; siege to, by Malik Ambar, 277; dynasty, extinction of at, 304; capture of, by Moghals, in 1600, 405.

Ahmad Nizam Shah—
decided to divide Deccan with Yusuf Adil and Imad-ul-mulk, 76; appeal of Adil Khan to, for help against *Sultan* of Gujarat 77; accepted friendship of Portuguese, 152, 153.

Ahmad Nizam Shah, crowned in 1594 (also *see* Ahmad) .. .. .. 138-39

PAGES

A—*contd.*

Ahmad, the prince, celebration of the betrothal to Bibi Sitti in 1497 at Gulburga. 165, 170

Ahmad—
the son of Khudabanda, supported by Ikhlas Khan, 196; went to Bijapur alongwith Miyan Manju, 198.

Ahmad, the son of Humayun, succession of, to the throne under the title of Nizamuddin Ahmad III in 1461. 52

Ahmad— .. 247
son and successor of Mahmud Shah Bahamani, 218.

Ahmad I—
the *Sultan* of Gujarat, attack of, on Malwa, engaged in hostilities with the *Sultan* of Malwa, in 1435, 242.

Ahmad Shah—
retreat of from Malwa, 32-33; strategy of, regarding the Malwa army, 33; war of, with Gujarat, 34-35; agreement of, with Hoshang Shah, 36; death of (1436), 36.

Ahmad Khan and Firoz Khan—
march of, to Gulburga, 23; escape of, to Sagar, 23, kills Taghalchin's sons, 23 (also *see* Ahmad Shah Bahamani and Firoz Shah Bahamani).

Ahmad Khan, commandant of the fort of Daulatabad, appointment of, by Murtaza Nizam Shah. 126

Ahsanabad, Gulburga renamed as .. .. .. .. .. .. 15

Ahmadabad— 242
Miran Muhammad's march towards, with the intention to stake his claim to the throne of Gujarat, 253.

Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Khandesh
Architecture, 395—403; Forts, 403-04.

Ahmadnagar and Bijapur— 404-05
Literature of.

Ahmadnagar annexed Berar in 1574 .. .. .. .. .. .. 206

Ahmad Beg Qazvini, appointment of, as *Peshwa*, by Ghiyasuddin Bahamani. 23

Ainuddin Bijapuri, a learned man during the reign of Muhammad Shah Bahamani I. 20

Ain-ul-mulk— .. 233
former nobleman of Burhan, killed in battle near Arjan, 92; one of Yusuf Adil's partisans, death of, 216.

Ain-ul-Mulk, ambassador of Bahadur Shah .. .. .. .. 249

Ain-ul-mulk, brother of Khwaja Jahan, took refuge with Qutb Shah .. 107

Ain-ul-mulk—
Bijapuri general, broke the rear of Jamal Khan, 132; general of Ali Adil Shah, defeated by Changiz Khan, the general of Murtaza Nizam Shah, 185; defeated Bahizad-ul-mulk near Dharashiv, 186; arrested all Siddi nobles at Bijapur, 190; stayed in Nizamshahi camp for 8 days with Sayyad Murtaza, 122.

Ain-ul-mulk, *jagir* of late Bahadur Gilani granted to, by the Sultan .. 215

PAGES

A—*contd.*

Akbar—

busy with suppressing rebellion of Mirzas in Gujarat, 111; contemplated invasion of Khandesh, 115; retired to Fattehpur Sikri, 116; sent Mirza Aziz Koka on Deccan expedition, 124; encouraged Burhan to invade Ahmadnagar Kingdom, 131; deputed Murad to invade Deccan, 139; sent Danial Mirza to help Sher Khwaja, Governor of Bhir, 145; besieged fort of Asir, 146; failed to conquer Bassein and Daman in 1583, 157; alliance with Ibrahim Adil Shah, 198; annexed Gujarat Kingdom, 210; captured Ahmadnagar, 266; death of, in 1605, 266; invasion of Malwa after ascending the throne, 252; planned an invasion of Berar in 1586, 255; stationed permanent force under Murad in Malwa, 256; sent Sayyad Murtaza and other chiefs to Malwa to invade Deccan, 257; left Agra to supervise operations in Deccan, 258; named Khandesh as Dandesh, 259.

Akbar— .. 414, 415, 420.

the son of Aurangzeb, rebellion of against his father, 342; letter of, to Aurangzeb, 412.

Akkanna, brother of Madanna, commánder-in-chief appointed by Abul Hasan, son-in-law of Abdullah Qutb Shah. 348, 349

Akkalkot, Bahadur Khan moved to, after escape .. .. .. .. 334

Akola, the district in Berar .. .. .. .. .. .. 201

Ali Adil Shah— .. 181—88

Kalyani fort handed over to, under treaty with Husain Nizam Shah, 101; marched with Sadashivraya to the relief of Kalyani fort, 103, agreed to an alliance with Husain Nizam Shah and married his daughter, Chand Bibi, 104; backed Timma Raja (Eltamraj) in dispute with Venkatadri of Vijayanagar, 105; invaded Ahmadnagar and captured several places including Kondana fort, 106; dispatched a force of 10 to 12 thousand men to invade the Ahmadnagar territory, 108; formed an alliance with Murtaza Nizam Shah and Zamorin of Sumatra to expel Portuguese from India, 109; formed an alliance with Ibrahim Qutb Shah for the invasion of Ahmadnagar, 110; took refuge in the fort of Bijapur when Murtaza Nizam Shah dispatched an army to devastate the Bijapur territory 117; agreed to help Malik Barid in the succour of Bidar, 119; sent his general Mirza Nuruddin Muhammad to attack Qutb Shahi forces, 121; refused to cede the fort of Sholapur as dowry in marriage of his sister with prince Miran Husain, 125; helped Mirza Khan for his conspiracy against Murtaza Nizam Shah, 127; confined by his father in the fort of Miraj, 180; alongwith Sadashivraya besieged Ahmadnagar, 183; succeeded his father Ibrahim Adil Shah, (1558) 207, 225; formed an alliance with Murtaza Nizam Shah to punish Tufal Khan, 208; abandoned combined operations against Tufal Khan, 209.

Ali Adil Shah II—

the Bijapur *Sultan*, 192; death of in 1672, 330; contribution of, to Deccan Literature, 420.

Ali Barid, succeeded his father Amir Ali Barid under the title Ali Barid Shah in 1542 (also *see* Ali Barid Shah). 222

Ali Barid Shah—

besieged Sholapur, 176, 223; alliance with Ibrahim Adil Shah, 177; appeal for help by, to Ali Adil, 187; threatened by treaty between Bijapur and Ahmadnagar and refused help to Tufal Khan against Murtaza, 209; succeeded his father, Amir Ali Barid, 222; refused to join Burhan and insulted his envoy, 224; attacked by Burhan in 1547, 255; death of, in 1579, 229, 231.

Ali Shah Natthu *alias* Alauddin Malik Shah, enthronement of, as king at Dharur, 12, defeat of, 12.

PAGES

A—*contd.*

Alim-ul-Mulk, appointment of, as the viceroy of the Deccan by Muhammad Tughluk. 12

Ali Riza, adopted son of Mustafa Khan .. .. .. .. .. 289

Ali Lachin, headed Sagar rebellion in the reign of Hasan Shah Bahamani 15

Ali Shah, appointment of as the *Sarpardadar* or master of ceremonies by Hasan Shah. 14

Ali Shah, action fought with Gujarat fleet under .. .. .. .. 153

Ali, the brother of Husain Nizam Shah, nephew of Ibrahim Adil, 178 .. 207

Ally Khan, the son of Oothman Khan .. .. .. .. .. 237

Ali Majindarani, appointment of, as prime minister by Husain Nizam .. 100

Ali Talish, Governor of Chakan 73; surprised and killed by Malik Ahmad, 74.

Aland, Qasim Barid, Dastur Dinar and Khwaja Jahan fled to, after defeated by Yusuf Adil. 165, 215

Alam Khan, claimant to the Faruqi throne, support to, by Malik Ahmad 77

Alam Khan, general of Ahmad Shah Bahamani, defeat by, of Vijayanagar forces. 30

Alam Khan, a scion of the Faruqi family residing at Ahmadnagar .. 247, 248

Alang Karang, the fort in the dominion of Burhan Nizam Shah .. .. 96

Alexandre de Sousa, commander of Portuguese, attacked Nizamshahi encampment and destroyed a part of earth works at Chaul. 156

Alp Khan, the Governor of Gujarat, murder of, by Malik Naib .. 6

Allawardi Khan, ordered to bring surrender of 8 forts in Chandor and Dhodap range, by Shayasta Khan. 304

Alauddin Hasan Bahaman Shah, the Sultan of the Deccan .. .. 13—16

Alauddin Mujahid—

the son of Muhammad I, enthronement of, 20; march of against Vijayanagar Kingdom 20; murder of, by Masud Khan and Daud Khan, 21.

Alauddin Shah, ruler of Bahamani kingdom (1520—1523) .. .. 69

Alauddin—

The son of Ahmad Shah Bahamani 218, 242; put on throne by Amir Ali, 241.

Alauddin, succeeded his father Fathullah Imad-ul-mulk under the title of Alauddin Imad Shah, also known as Alauddin Darya Khan. 203

Alauddin Humayun—

the Bahamani *Sultan*, the eldest son of Alauddin Ahmad, 48—52; enthronement of, 48; march of, against Sikandar Khan, 49; called the tyrant, infliction of cruelties by, upon the opponents, 51, murder of, by a maid servant (1461), 51.

Alauddin—

the nephew of Jalaluddin Khilji, the *Sultan* of Delhi, 1, treaty of peace with Ramchandra, 1; ascends the throne of Delhi, 2; pardons Ramchandra, 3; death of (1316), 7, 236.

PAGES

A—*contd.*

Alauddin—

the prince, entrusted with the command of the centre of the Bahamani army, by Ahmad Shah, 33 ; marriage of, with Agha Zainab, daughter of Nasir Khan, 33 ; dispatch of, to the assistance of Malik-ut-Tujjar, 34 ; nomination of as heir apparent of Ahmad Shah, 36 ; son of Ahmad Shah, enthronement of, under the title of Alauddin Ahmad II, 36 ; the marriage of, with the daughter of the *Raja* of Sangameshwar, 38 ; appointment of newcomers to the command of Khandesh campaign, 37, 39 ; circulation of rumour of the death of, by Jalal Khan, 46 ; death of (1458), 48.

Alauddin Imad Shah—

the Sultan of Berar, 80 ; defeat of, by Ahmadnagar, 81, 82 ; march of, against Bidar, 84 ; capture by, of Pathri, 85 ; accompanied Yusuf Adil and defeated Mahmud Shah and Amir Ali Barid, at Kalam, 167 ; invitation by Burhan to capture the fort of Sholapur, 171 ; married to Ismail Adil's younger sister in 1526, 173 ; attacked Amir Ali Barid and took possession of Mahur, 204 ; alliance with his father-in-law Ismail Adil, 205 ; died in 1529, 206.

Alauddin Khilji *see* Alauddin. 1, 2, 3, 7, 236

Alauddin Suhrab, the commander of the fortress of Nandurbar .. 244

Alauddin Ziya, a Muslim Sufi saint .. .. .. .. .. .. 375

Allapur (Alandpur)— .. 170

about a mile and half from the eastern gate of the Bijapur city, the armies of Ahmadnagar, Golconda and Bidar invaded Bijapur territory and reached at.

Alvaro Peres, Portuguese commander sent to blockade the port of Chaul 155

*Amir-ul-Umara*, the designation of the post of commander-in-chief created by Muhammad Shah Bahamani I. 17

Amir Ali Barid—

fled to Berar after defeated by Yusuf Adil at Kalam, 167 ; forced Bijapur cavalry to retire with the help of Burhan Nizam Shah, 170 ; invited by Burhan to capture Sholapur fort, 171 ; defeated by Asad Khan Lari alongwith Burhan Nizam at Naldurg, 173 ; invaded the Bijapur territory and captured Parenda with the help of Burhan, 175 ; defeated by Yusuf Adil and Alauddin Imad Shah at Kalam, 203 ; attacked Sharza Khan with the help of *Sultan* Muhammad Shah and invested Mahur, 204 ; alliance with Burhan Nizam and capture by, of Mahur fort, 205 ; Sacked Bijapur with Burhan, 206, 213 ; succeeded as prime minister after the death of his father Qasim Barid, 216 ; slew Sharza Khan, besieged Ausa fort, 217 ; placed on throne Kalimullah, the brother of the dead *Sultan*, 218 ; declared independence and assumed royal insignia, 219 ; retired to Bhir after defeated by Ibrahim Adil, 221 ; marched to Parenda and annexed Sholapur with the help of Burhan Nizam Shah, 220 ; death of, 176.

Amir Barid .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 370

Amravati, the district in Berar .. .. .. .. .. .. 201

Amir Timur .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 239

Amin-ul-mulk, appointment of, to the high post by Miran Husain Nizam Shah. 129

Amina, queen of Burhan Nizam Shah .. .. .. .. .. 84

Amnercharvi, a fort, refuge taken in, by Firoz Shah, the Imad Shahi pretender. 115

PAGES

A—*contd.*

Amin Qazvini, author of *Padsahnama* .. .. .. .. .. 420

Ambar Khan, friend of Miran Husain Nizam Shah .. .. .. 129

Anand Rav, the Maratha commander, attacked the besieging Moghal army at Salher. 338

Anapota II of Warangal, death of, in the battle with Khan-i-Azam, the general of Ahmad Shah. 31

Annadeva Velama, a Hindu Chief, help of, to quell the Sagar rebellion. 24

Anapota Velama of Telangana, sent Linga, the general to Bukka III to help against the Bahamanis. 30

Annerav—

an officer of Ahmadnagar Kingdom and in the force sent to Chaul under Farhad Khan, attack upon, by the Portuguese at Korla, 136. 382

Anjarahi (Anjaneri), a fort in Nasik district handed over to the Moghals 304

Anjadiv, Yusuf Adil's attacks with a fleet of 60 vessels upon .. .. 168

Anjir, the fort in the dominion of Burhan Nizam Shah .. .. .. 97

Ankus Khan—

A Bijapuri officer, counter-attacked by Nizamshahis, 122; defeats Jamal Khan, the Ahmadnagar minister, 132.

Ankus Khan, foreign nobleman, joined Sayyad Murtaza to attack Bijapur city. 191

Ankus Khan, a friend of Miran Husain Nizam Shah .. .. .. 129

Ansar Khan, lieutenant of Miyan Manju .. .. .. .. .. 140

Antur-a fort in Ahmadnagar district in possession of Burhan Nizam Shah, 98. 237, 240

Arjan—

battle of, between Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, 92, 94; a place on the left bank of Bhima river, 176.

Anki, a fort in the dominion of Burhan Nizam Shah I .. .. .. 98

Anand Rav .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 338

Armian Shah, the son of Ibrahim Shah of Bulkh .. .. .. .. 237

Asad Khan, Bahamani officer, advance of, in Konkan with Mahmud Gawan. 61

Asad Khan—

Nizam Shahi officer, attack on, by Portuguese 136; bombardment by, of Narnala fort, 112; appointment of, as *Wakil* and *Peshwa*, 117; moves to Ahmadnagar, 118; reappointment of, as *Wakil* and *Peshwa*, 119; invites Sayyad Murtaza from Berar, 123.

Asad Khan Lari *alias* Asad Khan—

the prime minister of Bijapur, 84; defeated the Bijapur army at Naldurg, 89; flees to Belgaum, 91; promise of, to handover Belgaum to Burhan Nizam Shah 93; death of, 93, 117; the Bijapur general defeated Amir Ali and Burhan Nizam at Naldurg, 173; Mallu Khan, the son of Ismail Adil Shah, raised to throne by, 174; concluded peace treaty with Vijayanagar after defeat, 175; defeated Jamshid at the gates of Golconda, 176; misunderstanding with his master Adil Shah 206; sent to attack the camp of Amir Ali, 219; Ibrahim Adil Shah, successor of Ismail Adil, fled to Bijapur on getting suspicious of, 220.

PAGES

A—*contd.*

Asad Khan—

the principal general of prince Parviz, 266; expedition of, against Bijapur in 1631, 303.

Asheri, a hill fort, captured by Portuguese in 1556 .. .. .. 154

Asghur, the son of Mahmood Ahmud .. .. .. .. .. 237

Ashab Shah, the son of Armian Shah .. .. .. .. .. 237

Asir, a fort taken away from Shah Jahan by his father Jahangir .. .. 279

Ashirgad also called Asir—

Raja of Khandesh, the Chohan ruler of, 235; capture of, by Malik Nasir, 240; Malik Iftikar, kept in confinement, in, 241; *Raja* Kanha took refuge at, 242; Khandesh army took shelter in after defeated by Gujarat army, 245; Daud Khan retired into, due to the superior strength of Ahmad Shah, 246; Mahmud Shah's march towards, 247; Adil Khan's visit to, 248; Miran Muhammad fled to, 251; Miran Muhammad retreated to, 253; invested by Changiz Khan, the *Wazir* of Murtaza Nizam Shah, 254; besieged by Khan Azam, 258; siege of, by Murtaza Nizam Shah, 114; siege of, by Akbar, 146.

Ashti—

retreat to, of Bijapur and Vijayanagar forces, 101; march of Bijapur, Golconda and Vijayanagar army to, 182; the allied army raised siege of Ahmadnagar and marched to, 207.

Ashta, halt at, of Jamal Khan and Dilawar Khan .. .. .. .. 130

Athanasius Nikitin, the Russian traveller, visit of, to the Deccan under the assumed name of Khwaja Yusuf Khurasani. 378-79

Athni, sacked and burnt by Diler Khan .. .. .. .. .. 336

Aurangabad—

a part of this district included, in Berar 201; Jaisingh's arrival at, in 1666, on way to northward march, 328; Aurangzeb left in 1657, 318; a civil station founded by Malik Ambar developed into a city during the viceroyalty of Aurangzeb, 308, 422.

Aurangzeb— .. 323—60, 406, 414, 421

viceroyalty of, in the Deccan (from July 1636 to May 1644), 308; appointed as *Subhedar* of the Deccan, 306; appointed viceroy of the Deccan in 1636, 307; viceroy of Deccan, (17-6-1652 to 5-2-1658), 309; assumed his second viceroyalty in 1653, 310; demanded alienation of certain parts of Golconda in lieu of arrears of tributes from Qutbshah, 312; directed the *Sultan* of Golconda to release Muhammad Amin, 314; sent his son Muhammad Sultan with large force towards frontiers of Golconda, 315; pressed siege of Golconda, 316; declared war against Bijapur, 317; visited Bidar city and fort, 318; message to, by Shivaji, 319; appointed Prince Muazzam in place of Shayasta Khan, 323; outlook of, towards architecture, 422; deterioration of administration in the reign of, 412; death of in 1707, 411.

Ausa, the *jagir* of, held by Qasim Barid-ul-Mamalik. .. .. .. 164

Ausa fort— .. 215, 302, 308

in possession of Burhan Nizam Shah, 98; meeting at, of Murtaza Nizam and Ali Adil Shah, 106; captured by Burhan Nizam Shah after defeating Ibrahim Adil, 176; besieged by Ibrahim Adil Shah, 192; Amir Ali fled to, 217; reduced by Burhan Nizam Shah, 224; captured by, Khan Dauran in 1636, 306; constructed by Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, 373.

Aundhatya, a fort in the dominion of Burhan Nizam Shah .. .. 96-97

PAGES

A—*contd.*

Azam Khan—
anticipated the arrival of Khan Jahan, 285; advance of, in pursuit of Khan Jahan, 286.

Azam Khan, *sarlashkar* of Warangal .. .. .. .. .. 65, 66

Azam Khan, the son of Khwaja-i-Jahan .. .. .. .. .. 74

Azam—the prince—
Aurangzeb demanded Seher Banu in marriage with, under treaty of Gulburga, 336; sent by Aurangzeb to Ahmadnagar with Diler Khan, 343; force sent under, against Bijapur, 346; supreme commander of Moghal troops, 347.

Azam Khan, the governor of Telangana, retreat of, against the Velamas 36

Azam-i-Humayun *alias* Khan Muhammad—
chief of a division of the Bahamani Kingdom and a commander of the Bahamani army, 17; the governor of Bidar province, 17; appointed as *Tarafadar* of Daulatabad, by Alauddin Mujahid, 20; appointment of, as a *Sarnaubat*, by Ghiyasuddin Bahamani, 23.

Azam Khan, Moghal Commander at Deulgaon .. .. .. .. 284

Azari, author of *Bahaman-nama* .. .. .. .. .. .. 377

Azmat-ul-mulk, dispatch of, against Malik Ahmad and replacement of.. 74

Aziz-ul-mulk—
appointment of, as *Wakil* and *Peshwa* of Burhan Nizam Shah, 83, blinded by Burhan Nizam Shah, 83.

Azim Khan, an ambassador of Ahmad Shah Bahamani .. .. .. 241

Azim Shah, the son of Asghur .. .. .. .. .. .. 237

Azizuddin Khammar—
appointment of as *subhedar* of Malwa, 12, execution of *Amirs* by, 12.

Aynuddin Ganjul-ulum, a saint author .. .. .. .. .. 377

B

Babar—
the Moghal emperor, letter to, by Kalimullah Bahamani, 84; letter to, by Burhan Nizam Shah on his accession to the throne of Delhi, 85.

Babi Khan—
a noble of Murtaza Nizam Shah and recipient of *jagir* in Berar, 113; one of the officers sent against Adil Shah of Bijapur, 117.

Babuji Khanam—
the mother of Ismail Adil Shah, conspires to put down Kamal Khan, 170; the grandmother of Mallu Khan, agrees to depose him, 174.

Badami—
defeat of the Bahamani army by Linga, the Velama general at, 30; under the occupation of Vijayanagar, 174.

Badauni, author of *Muntakhabuttawarikh* .. .. .. .. 420

Bagalkot, restitution demanded of, by Ali Adil Shah from Vijayanagar.. 184

Baglana (in Nasik district)—
*Rajas* of, 237; *Raja* Baharji reduced by Malik Raja Faruqi, 238; rising of the chiefs of, 240; campaigns against, by Miran Mubarak, 244; tribute levied by Adil Khan II, 248; *Raja* of, meets Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, 249.

PAGES

B—*contd.*

Bahadurgad, on the banks of Bhima, *Chhatrapati* Sambhaji brought to. 360

Bahadur Gilani, officer of Burhan Nizam Shah II, appointed as governor of Korla. 135, 157

Bahadur Gilani—
*Kotwal* of Goa, 75, 202; rebellion of, 76, 164, 203, 214; died at Panhala in the battle with Qutb-ul-mulk, 215.

Bahadur Khan, general of Firoz Shah Bahamani, killed in action with Narsingh Deo. 25

Bahadur Khan, general of Burhan Nizam Shah II, sent on expedition to Chaul. 157

Bahadur Khan, general of Murtaza Nizam Shah, sent to invest the fort of Gawil. 210

Bahadur Khan, general of Shah Jahan, capture of, by Adil Shah. 289

Bahadur Khan—
Moghal viceroy of Deccan, June 1672 to September 1677 and May 1680 to 1682, 339; captured Naldurg in 1677, 335.

Bahadur Nizam Shah .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 139—49

Bahadur Shah of Gujarat—
invaded Malwa in 1531, met by Shah Tahir, the minister of Burhan Nizam Shah, 87; meeting with Burhan Nizam Shah, 88; confers Deccan on Burhan Nizam Shah, 89; occupied Ahmadnagar, 205.

Bahamanis of the Deccan—
confrontation with Gujarat kingdom, causes of, 33; defeat of, at Mahim, 34; confrontation with the Gajapatis of Orissa, 49; alliance with Vijayanagar rulers, against Kapileshwar of Orissa, 60; division of the kingdom of, into 4 administrative divisions, *viz.*, Berar, Daulatabad, Gulbarga and Telangana, 18; division of, into eight administrative divisions by Mahmud Gawan, 64; Administration of, 368—372; Art and Architecture of, 372—76; Literature, of, 376—381.

Bahamani Sultans—
Alauddin Hasan Bahaman Shah, 14—16; Muhammad I, 16—20; Alauddin Mujahid Shah, 20-21; Daud Shah, 21; Mahmud Shah, 21-22; Ghiyasuddin, 22-23; Shamsuddin Daud, 23-24; Firoz Shah, 24—29. Ahmad Shah, 29—36; Alauddin Ahmad Shah II, 36—48; Alauddin Humayun Shah, 48—52; Nizamuddin Ahmad III, 52—57; Shamsuddin Muhammad III, 57—59.

Baharji, the *Raja* of Baglana, enters Moghal service in 1638 .. .. 309

Bahirji, *Raja* of Baglana, reduced by Malik Raja in 1370 .. .. .. 238

Bahauddin, *alias* Sikandar Khan, appointment of, as the private secretary, by Alauddin Bahaman Shah. 14

Bahauddin, *Thanedar* of Sagar under Mahmud Shah Bahamani, rebellion and death of. 22

Bahauddin Gurshasp, *Jagirdar* of Sagar, rebellion of, arrest and execution of, at Delhi. 11

Bahirapisa, wrote a commentary on the 10th Chapter of *Bhagvatgita* .. 405

Bahirdarana, commandant of Mulher fort, a feudatory of *Sultan* of Gujarat. 90

PAGES

B—*contd.*

Bahizad-ul-Mulk—
commander of Murtaza Nizam Shah, moves towards Sholapur, defeat of, by Bijapuris, 120; appointed to the post of *Peshwa* and *Wakil-i-Mutalaq*, 126; imprisoned at Parenda, 126; sent by Salabat Khan to besiege Naldurg, defeated near Dharashiv by Ain-ul-mulk, 188.

Bahlol Khan—
Bijapur general; 327; assumes the office of *Wazir*, 332; defeats Moghals 333-34; death of, in 1677, 335.

Bahram Khan, officer of Murtaza Nizam Shah, sent to invest the fort of Gawil. 210

Bahramand Khan, Aurangzeb's general, sent to watch Hyderabad frontier, 1685. 348

Bahram Khan Gilani, officer of Murtaza Nizam Shah, put incharge of the fort of Gawil. 112, 113

Bahram Khan Mazendarani—
governor of Daulatabad under Muhammad Shah Bahamani I, rebellion of, 19, 237; conspiracy with Kumbha Deo (Govind Deo), 19; siege of, by *Sultan* Muhammad in Daulatabad fort, flees to Gujarat, 20.

Bahri Khan, commandant of Ranjani under Murtaza Nizam Shah .. 118

Baichappa, a Vijayanagar general captured Ranjani from the Bahamani forces in 1395. 22

Bakah, a slave, stabbed Daud Shah Bahamani in Gulburga mosque .. 21

Bakhtiyar Khan, an officer of Burhan Nizam Shah II, sent to besiege the fort of Chaul. 158

Balaconda, one of the eastern Bahamani forts .. .. .. .. 404

Balaghat— 73, 214
Shah Jahan appointed in charge of, 279; invasion of, by the Moghals in 1630, 282.

Ballal III—
the Hoyasala king, invaded the Yadava kingdom (1305), 2; expedition to the Tamil country by, 4. ..

Ballal Dev, the Hindu chief— 236
dominant role in upsurge against Muslim domination at Dvarasamundra, 11.

Balsar, destroyed by Nuno, the Portuguese commander .. .. .. 153

Balthsar de Almeida, the Portuguese commander of Chaul, assassinated by *Thanedar* of Chaul .. .. 159

Bandra creek, entered by Dom Joao de Monoy, defeat of the commandant of Mahim fort at. 152

Bankapur—
a fortress, siege of, by Deva Raya's son 41; capture of, by Ali Adil Shah, 186; capture of, decided by Venkatadri with the connivance of Burhan Nizam Shah II, 137. ..

Bankot—
in Ratnagiri district, in Bijapur Kingdom 75; devastated by the Portuguese, 177. ..

PAGES

B—*contd.*

Baratgi, 6 miles north-east of
Bijapur, withdrawal to, by Diler Khan .. .. .. .. 336

Barbara, the Hindu *Raja*—
handed Malik Hoshang, a rebellious Delhi nobleman to Qutlugh Khan, governor of Daulatabad. 11

*Barbardaran*, designation of the recruiting officers, appointed by Muhammad Shah Bahamani, I 17

Barbosa, the Portuguese traveller .. .. .. .. .. .. 388-89

Barcealor, place in south Kanara under Bijapur *Sultans* .. .. .. 187

Bareb Khan, the *Sarnaubat* under Burhan Nizam Shah .. .. .. 83

*Bargirs*, paid cavalrymen recruited by Ibrahim Adil Shah .. .. 174

Baridshahi Dynasty of Bidar .. .. .. .. .. .. 213-34

Baridshahi Sultans of Bidar—
Amir Qasim Barid, 213—216; Amir Ali Barid, 216—222; Ali Barid Shah I, 222—231; Ibrahim Barid Shah, 231; Qasim Barid Shah II. Amir Barid Shah. Mirza Ali Barid Shah. Ali Barid Shah II.

Bassein— 159, 416
a sea port, pilgrim ship sunk near, 134; Portuguese received help from, 135; a port which yielded revenue to Gujarat kings, 151; disturbances at, 152; attacked by Portuguese in 1532, 153; establishment of a factory at, by the Portuguese in 1526, 153; attacked by Mahmud Shah III of Gujarat, 154; attacked by Ahmadnagar troops, 156; trading station and stronghold of Portuguese, 157.

Baz Bahadur of Malwa, son of Sujat Khan, reinstated on the throne by Tufal Khan and Miran Mubarak Faruqi. 252

Bedar— 169
a slave of Firoz Shah Bahamani entitled Nizam-ul-mulk, reins handed over to, by Firoz Shah, 27; appointed as *Sarlashkar* of Daulatabad, by Ahmad Shah, 29.

Begam Hauz, Diler Khan's camp, broken at .. .. .. .. 337

Belgaum—
siege of, by Muhammad Bahamani III, 63; captured by Amir Barid and Burhan Nizam Shah, 91; fort, promised to Burhan Nizam Shah by Asad Khan, 93; march by Burhan Nizam and Qutb Shah against, 95; march by Burhan Nizam against, 137; Parketa, the chief of campaign against, 162; capture of, by Kamal Khan Dakhani, 164; given to Khusrau Turk *alias* Asad Khan Lari by Ismail Adil Shah, 170; Asad Khan retires to 175, 177; Tahmasp, son of Ibrahim Adil confined at, 180. ..

Berar—
Imad-ul-mulk, the governor of, under Delhi *Sultanates*, 236; a new division of the Bahamani kingdom, reorganised by Muhammad I, 16-17; invasion of, by Nasir Khan, the *Sultan* of Khandesh, 38, 242; retained by the Bahamanis, under terms of treaty with Malwa, 60; Muhmad Shah Bahamani seeks asylum in, 217; promised cession of, by Kalimullah to Babar, 219; under the jurisdiction of Fathullah Imad-ul-mulk, 201; attacked by Murtaza Nizam Shah and Ali Adil Shah, 185; occupied by Faruqi minister Zainuddin, 254; conquered by Murtaza Nizam Shah, 187, 211; Akbar plans an invasion of, 255; occupied by Moghals, 198, 380; invasion of, by Fath Khan, 281.

B—*contd.*


| | Pages |
|---|---|
| Berwadi, the fort in the kingdom of Ahmadnagar .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 98 |
| Besol or Beul – Ahmad Shah Bahamani's encampment at, in his confrontation with Gujarat, 35; treaty of, between the Bahamani *Sultan* and the Gujarat *Sultan*, 35. | .. |
| Bet or Kalyan river, a border line between Gujarat kingdom and Deccan as stated by the Portuguese. | 151-52 |
| Bezvada (Bejvada), ceded to Qutb-ul-mulk by the *Raja* of Orissa .. .. .. .. .. .. | 216 |
| Bhairav Singh, son of Siddhu (Ghorpade), granted the *jagir* of Mudhol by Firoz Shah .. .. .. | 24 |
| Bhaisagir, the fort in the Ahmadnagar kingdom .. .. .. .. | 98 |
| Bhaktiraja, defeats Hasan Shah Bahamani at Peda Konda .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 16 |
| Bhalki, supposed march of Aurangzeb towards .. .. .. .. | 318 |
| Bhatvadi, battle of, between Malik Ambar and the combined forces of Moghals and Bijapur. | 277 |
| Bhivandi— a port which yielded revenue to Gujarat kings, 151; the district of, annexed by Shivaji, 312. | .. |
| Bhima river— Firoz Shah's declaration as king at, 23; armies of Burhan Nizam Shah and Ibrahim Adil Shah encamped on the banks of, 92; Burhan Nizam Shah drove the forces of Bijapur across, 134; Burhan's march upto Arjan, on the banks of, against Ibrahim, 176; Shahaji encamped at Lohagaon after crossing the river, 306; Bahadur Khan's advance towards, 331; crossed by, Bahadur Khan in May 1666, 333; crossed by Diler Khan at Dhulkhed, 40 miles north of Bijapur in August, 1679, 341; Sambhaji brought to Bahadurgad on the bank of, in February, 1689, by Shaikh Nizam, 360. | 76, 133, 194, 328, 335. |
| Bhimsen Saxena, historian of Aurangzeb and author of *Nushka-i-Dilkusha*. | 421 |
| Bhongir, a fort in the Bahamani Kingdom, eviction of the Bahamani forces from, and capture of, by Sanjar Khan, 47 | 404 |
| Bhoj Nirmal, usurper of the throne of Vijayanagar, commits suicide .. | 175 |
| Bhorap— the fort captured by Malik Ahmad, 73; one of the forts under Burhan Nizam Shah, 97. | .. |
| Bhoom— retreat of Jaisingh towards, 327; Jaisingh leaves the city of, in November, 1666, 328. | .. |
| Bhopalrai— appointed as *Peshwa* by Burhan Nizam Shah, 95; appointed as minister by Husain Nizam Shah, 100; commandant of the fort of Kalyan, hands over the fort to Adilshahi officers, 101. | .. |
| Bicholim, march of, Shah Alam to.. .. .. .. .. .. | 344 |
| Bhir— Hasan crowned as king at, 51; territory about, laid waste by Yusuf Adil, 78; defeat of the Gujarat army near about, 85; Ibrahim Adil Shah flees towards, 95; detachment sent by Ibrahim Adil Shah to retake the town from Moghals, 145; Burhan Nizam Shah and Amir Ali Barid pursued upto, 206; Moghals reach the city of, 290; Jaisingh leaves the city of, in November, 1666, 328. | .. |

B—*contd.* PAGES

Bidar— 162, 165, 166, 213, 215, 217, 223, 224, 230, 266.
a new division of the Bahamani kingdom, reorganised by Muhammad I, 16-17; a centre of learning, 22; the capital of Ahmad Shah, renamed Muhammadabad after prince Muhammad, 29; entry of Mahmud Khilji into, 54; defence of, by Mallu Khan, 56; Yusuf Adil defeated Kasim Barid and Khwaja Jahan in the battle fought five *kos* from, 164; surrender of, by Amir Ali Barid to Ismail Adil Shah, 173; march against, by Burhan Nizam Shah, 177; Murtaza raises siege of, 187; kingdom of, annexed to Bijapur in 1619, 206, 229; one of the succession states of Bahamani Kingdom, 213, 234; assembly of provincial governors at, to celebrate betrothal of prince Ahmad, 215; Alauddin Imad Shah marched with Mahmud Shah Bahamani to, 217; alliance between Ibrahim Qutb Shah and Murtaza Nizam Shah to invade the kingdom of, 231; Adil Khan II of Khandesh given a royal reception at, 245.

Bidar Fort—
Murtaza Nizam Shah's march for the siege of, 113; promise by Murtaza to Sahib Khan for the surrender of, 118. ..

Bibi Jamil, daughter of Husain Nizam Shah, married to Ibrahim Qutb Shah. 102

*Bibika Maqbara*, a monument to Aurangzeb's wife.. .. .. .. 421

Bibi Mariam—
sister of Ismail Adil, married to Burhan Nizam Shah at Sholapur, 84, 171; complains to Ismail Adil about her treatment, by Burhan Nizam Shah, 171. ..

Bibi Sitti—
the daughter of Yusuf Adil, betrothed to prince Ahmad Bahamani, in 1497, 165; delivered to prince Ahmad by Ismail Adil Shah, 170. ..

Bijli Khan, an officer of Burhan Nizam Shah II, sent against Chaul .. 157

Bijapur— 199, 213, 265, 288, 302-303 335.
famine of, 65; Yusuf Adil returned to, after putting down rebellion of Bahadur Gilani, 165; alliance of Ahmadnagar and Golconda against, 170; Shah Ismail Safavi of Iran sent ambassador to, 171; Burhan and Amir Ali invaded the Kingdom of, 175; Burhan allied with Jamshid Qutb Shah against, 176; Murtaza formed alliance with Golconda and marched against, 197; Ain-ul-mulk arrested Siddi nobles and hurled indignities upon them by parading through streets of, 190; Ain-ul-Mulk fled from, 191; Burhan sent army under Dilawar Khan to invade the kingdom of, 193; Yusuf Adil obtains grants from *Sultan* and returned to, 215; Kalimullah fled to, 219, Ismail Adil Shah getting suspicious of Asad Khan fled towards, 220; Burhan's march to, with Amir Ali Barid, 221; ; Burhan allied with Sadashivraya and Ali Barid, invaded the Kingdom of, 223; Murtaza allied with Ibrahim Qutb Shah and invaded Kingdom of, 228; factions developed in the court of, 232; Khan Khanan defeated army of, 234; treaty with, by Jahangir, 269; Malik Ambar's attack on, 272, 275; conclusion of treaty with by Moghals, 274; Imperialists opened siege of, 289; administrative set-up of, 384-86; capitulation of the Kingdom of, 265; settlement by the Moghals with, 274.

Binathora, the river crossed by Afzal Khan, the Bijapur General .. .. 318

Birdhul, capital of Vira Pandya, fall of, to the Muslims .. .. .. 5

Bola, the fort in the kingdom of Ahmadnagar .. .. .. .. 97

B—*contd.* PAGES

Bombay—
a port which yielded revenue to Gujarat Kings, 151; designs of Mahmud Begada of Gujarat against, 152; action fought between Portuguese fleet and Gujarat fleet at, 153; passed from Portuguese to English in 1664; 159. ..

Borgaon, battle fought at, between Berar and Ahmadnagar on the question of Pathri. 82

Brahmartpuri or modern Chidambaram, massacre of inhabitants of, by Malik Naib. 5

Bukka, ruler of Vijayanagar kingdom .. .. .. .. .. 17

Bukka II—defeated Bahamani army in Telangana with the help of Katya Vema of Rajmahendri, 24; death of, 25. ..

Bukka III—
*Raja* of Vijayanagar, appeal by, to Anapota Velama of Telangana for help, 30; death of, in 1423, 31. ..

Bulwara, capture of, by Mahmud Gawan in his Konkan campaign .. 62

Burhanabad—
a township near Ahmadnagar, force sent to protect the inhabitants of by Murad, 140; sacked by Shahbaz Khan, 141. ..

Burhanpur— 77, 87, 88,
capital of Nasir Khan, 39; Nasir-ul-Mulk Gujarati accompanied Ahmad Shah to, 77; Shah Tahir and Narsu Pandit met Bahadur Shah at, 87; Mirza Husain Chugtai Khan fled to, after defeat at the hands of commandant of Gawil fort, 124; Bahadur Shah and his family taken prisoner and sent at 148, Malik Nasir pursued by Malik-ut-Tujjar at the gates of, 243; Adil Khan built citadel of, 244; Adil Khan buried near the palace of Daulat Maidan in, 245; Adil Khan removed his family and property to, from Thalner 248; Pir Muhammad Khan sacked the city of, 252; Sayyad Murtaza sought help of Raja Ali Khan at, 257; Raja Ali Khan buried at, 258; Moghal troops fell back on, 269; Moghal garrison of, 279. 124, 241, 243, 245, 246, 248, 250, 270,

Burhan Imad Shah—
power usurped from, by Tufal Khan, 106, 253; the son of Darya Imad Shah, succeeds his father, 208; restoration of, demanded by Murtaza Nizam Shah, 229. ..

Burhan Nizam Shah I— 80-99
Succeeded his father Malik Ahmad Nizam Shah, 80, 153, 203; attacked the fort of Pathri, 81; Bibi Mariam, sister of Ismail Adil, married to, 84, 171, 205; alliance with Amir Ali Barid, 85; Ismail Adil Shah shared Deccan with, in 1532, 89; attacked and reduced the fort of Parenda, 90; 175; allied with Amir Ali Barid to invade Bijapur Kingdom, 91, 173; raised siege of Bijapur, 93; invaded the Kingdom of Berar, 94; alliance with Sadashivraya to invade Bijapur territory, 95, 176; death in 1553, at Ahmadnagar, 96, 178, 206; sons of, 99; treaty with Portuguese, 154; assisted Amir Ali Barid to force Bijapur army to return, 170; defeated by Ismail at Naldurg, 220; defeated by Ibrahim Adil and returned to Bhir, 221, forced to purchase peace with Ibrahim Adil, 222; alliance with Vijayanagar, attacked Ali Barid and besieged Kalyani fort, 177, 225.

PAGES

B—*contd.*

Burhan Nizam Shah II— 133-37

succeeded his son Ismail Nizam Shah under the title of, 133, 233 ; marched against the Portuguese possessions of Revdanda, 134 ; alliance with Vijayanagar ruler Venkatadri to invade Bijapur territory, 137 ; died at Ahmadnagar, 137 ; appointed Fahim Khan, governor of district to assist Farhad Khan to besiege the fort of Chaul, 158; concluded treaty with Portuguese and Adil Shah, 159 ;

*Burhan-i-Masir*—

a book by Sayyad Ali, 56, 88, 203, 204, 383 ; letter of Ahmad Shah Bahamani III to Mahmud Shah Begada of Gujarat quoted in, 56. ..

Burhanuddin Garibshah, a Muslim Sufi and saint-author.. .. .. 375, 377.

C

Caesar Frederick, the Venetian traveller (1586) .. .. .. .. 387-88

Calicut, Zamorin, Chief of .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 186

Cambay ports, plunder of, by the Portuguese .. .. .. .. 153, 236

Canara, ambassador from, to the Portuguese (1548) .. .. .. 154

Chakan——a fort .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 48, 72

fortification of, by Khalaf Hasan, 43 ; siege of, by Mushir-ul-mulk, 45 ; massacre of new-comers at, 45 ; Malik Ahmad surprises Ali Talish at, 74 ; Yusuf Adil, appointment as *Sarlashkar* of, 161.

Chambhargonda—

Shahaji's encampment at, 305 ; capture of, by Shah Beg Khan, 306

Champaner, return of Bahadur Shah of Gujarat to .. .. .. 250

Chanda Khan—

a noble of Ahmadnagar detailed in Kandhar, 111 ; receives *jahagir* in the Kingdom of Berar, 113.

Chand Bibi— 139, 184, 232.

daughter of Husain Nizam Shah, married to Ali Adil Shah, 104 ; aunt of Ibrahim Nizam Shah, regency constituted under, 138, 188 ; takes over siege operations of Ahmadnagar and procures the assassination of Ansar Khan, 140 ; admiration by Moghals of heroic defence put up by, 142 ; message of, to allied armies at Bhir for help, 142 ; signs peace treaty in the name of Bahadur Shah with Moghals, 143 ; appoints Nehang Khan to the post of prime minister, 144 ; secures possession of *Sultan*, 145 ; refuses compromise with Nehang Khan, 147 ; put to death by Hamid Khan in Ahmadnagar, 148, 198 ; forces Kamal Khan to flee the capital, with the help of Kishwar Khan, 189 ; imprisonment of, by Kishwar Khan and confinement of, in the Satara fort, 189, 233 ; appoints Afzal Khan as regent, 190, 191 ; one faction of Kingdom of Ahmadnagar headed by, 196 ; appeal of, to Ibrahim Adil against Moghal invasion 197; support to Haji Kishwar Khan 232.

*Chand Minar* (Daulatabad) of Bahamani times .. .. .. .. 373

Chander, a fort in Ahmadnagar Kingdom .. .. .. .. .. 97

Chandor (Satmala hills) .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 237, 308

Chandor—a fort, captured by Allawardi Khan in 1636 .. .. .. 304

Chandraraj, noble of Murtaza Nizam Shah, march of against Bidar .. 119

Chandrarao More of Javli, the principal Hindu officer in the Bijapur Government. 385

Changdev, arrival at of prince Muazzam .. .. .. .. .. 338

PAGES

C—*contd.*

Changiz Khan, one of the leading Gujarat noble, who ceded to the Portuguese, belt of coast from Vajtarana to Daman in return for help in taking Surat. 155

Changiz Khan— 187, 228
Commander of Ahmadnagar forces, 108 ; advises Murtaza to enter into compact with Portuguese, 110 ; sent a force under Ahmadbeg Qijal-bash Khan to attack Tufal Khan, 111 ; brought meeting between Murtaza and Mir Jainal, the envoy of Qutb Shah, 113 ; came into disfavour of Murtaza Nizam Shah, 114 ; poisoned by Muhammad Misri, the physician of Murtaza, 115 ; killed Kishwar Khan with a chance shot of an arrow, 185 ; Shah Tahir succeeded in creating suspicion in the mind of Murtaza Nizam Shah which led to the murder of, 231 ; invaded and occupied the district of Nandurbar which was held by the *Sultan* of Khandesh, 253 ; *Wazir* of Murtaza Nizam Shah, 254. 252

Chaul—
centre of learning during the reign of Mahmud Shah Bahamani, 22 ; part of Bahamani kingdom, 64 ; Ahmadnagar court refused permission to Portuguese to built a fortress at, 100 ; Burhan Nizam Shah ordered to prepare precise map of, 135 ; Mahmud Begada of Gujarat sent force to, 151 ; Portuguese established a factory at, in 1516, 152 ; Portuguese Governor Francisco Barreto fortified Korlai as an outwork for defence of the city of, 154 ; Burhan Nizam Shan showed concern for tragedy occurring at, 157 ; Nizam Shahi army opened siege of, in 1592, 158 ; trouble at, in 1612-13, 159 ; immigrants from Persia, Turkey and Arab countries entered Deccan through the port of, 370 ; one of the principal ports of Mediaeval Maharashtra for export, 416.

Chaul Revdanda *see* Chaul

Chavand fort, Bahadur Shah's imprisonment at .. .. .. .. 143

Chenappa Odeyar, .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 20-21
a commander of Vijayanagar army, attack of, on the Bahamanis, captures Malik Saifuddin Ghori and Prince Fath Khan.

Chenappa, .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 22
the nephew of Harihara II, defeats the Bahamani forces at Adoni.

Chikhali, halt at, of Mahmud Begada .. .. .. .. .. 247

Chincholi, a fort, reduced by the Moghals .. .. .. .. .. 318

Chitapur, .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 123
collection of the army of Ahmadnagar at, under Sayyad Murtaza.

Chitod, march of Miran Muhammad and Bahadur Shah, towards .. 250

Chohan ruler of Asirgad, .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 235
styled as *Raja* of Khandesh.

Chokhamela, the Maratha poet saint .. .. .. .. .. 378

Cholas, a principal dynasty in south in the 13th century. 1
Chugtai Khan, an officer of Murtaza Nizam Shah .. .. .. 123

Chugtai Khan—
a Moghal officer, death of, in battle with Jahangir Khan, a Berari officer 131

Cotamaluco, dispatch of ambassador from, to Dom Joao de Castro the Portuguese viceroy. 154

PAGES

## D

Dabhol—
Port in Ratnagiri district, capture of, by *Sultan* Hasan Shah Bahamani, 16 ; centre of learning developed in the reign of Mahmud Shah Bahamani, 22 ; Bahadur Gilani, *Kotwal* of Goa took possession of, 76 ; trading station of Portuguese, 157 ; traders and peasants fled to, due to high-handed behaviour of Portuguese, 158; annexation of, by Ahmadnagar Kingdom, 159 ; visit to, by Mahmud Bahamani and Qasim Barid, 165, 215 ; foreigners entered Deccan through the port of, 370 ; one of the principal port for export in Mediaeval Maharashtra, 416.

Dafle of Jath, Maratha chief in Bijapur Government .. .. .. 381, 385

Dalpatrav, *Wazir* of Malik Ahmad Nizam Shah .. .. .. .. 79

Daman (in the Gujarat Kingdom)— 151
destruction of, by Portuguese, 153 ; Portuguese possession, 155 ; trading station of Portuguese, 157 ; besieged by Moghals, 159.

Danayya *Chashanji*—
commandant of Antur fort, visit of Burhan Nizam Shah to, 83 ; defeats .. Bijapur troops, 84.

Danda, a port which yielded revenue to Gujarat Kings .. .. .. 151

Dand Rajapuri—
besieged and captured by Malik Ahmad after his declaration of independence, 75 ; Murtaza Nizam Shah confined Salabat Khan at, 125. ..

Dandesh, Khandesh renamed by Akbar as .. .. .. .. .. 259

*Dang*, personal servants of Murtaza Nizam Shah, execution of .. .. 116-117

Dangeri, the battle scene of, between Darya Khan and Mahmud Shah of Gujarat and Imad-ul-Mulk and Mubarak Shah Faruqi. 251

Danial—
youngest son of Akbar sent for relief of Sher Khwaja, Governor of Bhir, with Khan Khanan, 145, 146 ; succeeded prince Murad in command of the imperialist troops in the Deccan, 258 ; appointed as governor of the new province (Khandesh), 259 ; Deccan, Berar, Khandesh, Malva and Gujarat placed under rule of, 264 ; died in Deccan, in April 1605, .. due to excess of drink, 266.

Danur, battle of, between Berar and Ahmadnagar .. .. .. .. 82

Danvar, a town given as fief to Hisamuddin by Adil Khan Faruqi III .. 248

Dara Shukoh— 417
translation of *Upnishads*, *Bhagvat Gita* and *Yogavashistha Ramayana* by 206-207.

Darya Imad Shah— 225
alliance with Asad Khan against aggression of Burhan Nizam Shah and Amir Ali Barid, 91 ; alliance with Husain Nizam Shah against Bijapur, 99 ; gave his daughter Daulat Shah Begam to Husain Nizam Shah in marriage, 101 ; ; defeated Ahmadnagar and Bidar forces, 176, 221 ; defeated by Ain-ul-Mulk, 178 ; treaty with Husain Nizam Shah, 181 ; extended help to Husain Nizam Shah, 182 ; ascended throne after death of his father Alauddin Imad Shah, 206 ; death of, in 1561, 208.

Darya Khan *alias* Alauddin
Imad Shah *see* Alauddin Imad Shah ..

Darya Khan— 163
Turkish noble, appointed as subordinate to Mahmud Gawan, 161 ; lieutenant of Yusuf Adil, 164.

PAGES

D—*contd.*

Darya Khan—
plundered and laid waste country of Khandesh, 251 ; retired to Gujarat, 252. ..

Darya Khan—
sent by Khan Jahan to raid the territory of Khandesh, 286, escape of, to Central India, 286. ..

Daryapur, flight of Husain Mirza from .. .. .. .. .. 116

Dasopant, a prolific Marathi writer, wrote commentary on *Bhagvatgita* .. 405

Dastur Dinar— 72,166
defeated by Yusuf Adil, 76, 165 ; defeated and slain in battle by Yusuf Adil, 167 ; conspired with Qasim Barid against Nizam-ul-Mulk, 214 ; alliance with Qasim Barid against Yusuf Adil and Qutb-ul-Mulk, 215.

Dastur Khan, officer of Jamal Khan, flight of, from the battle against Burhan Nizam Shah II. 133

Dastur-ul-Mamalik, march of, against Qasim Barid.. .. .. .. 166,216

Dastur-ul-Mamalik, *alias* Jahangir Khan, the son of Dastur Dinar, appointment of, as Governor of Gulburga. 217

Da Sylveira, commander of Portuguese, attack by, on Nagothana and raids by, on the coastal possessions of Ahmadnagar. 153

Datto Nagnath, a commander of the Bijapur garrison at Daulatabad .. 293

Daud Khan—
younger brother of Adil Khan, succeeded to the throne of Khandesh, 246 ; rule of, ended in August 1508, 247. ..

Daud Khan—
the Moghal general, recapture by, of the fort of Ahiwant, 338, defeat of, by the Marathas in the battle at Dindori, 338. ..

Daud Khan Qureshi, a Moghal officer of Ahmadnagar region, defeats Marathas (1670). 337

Daud Shah, ascended throne in April 1378, and stabbed by a slave, at Gulburga, in May 1378. 21

Daud, the Prince, son of *Sultan* Ahmad Shah Bahamani I, appointed as Governor of Telangana. 36

Daulatabad— 73, 76, 81
Muhammad Tughluk shifted his capital to, 11; assembly of *Amirs* at, 12; Deccan army routed in battle near, 13 ; one of the divisions of Bahamani kingdom, 16 ; centre of learning during the reign of Mahmud Shah, 22 ; appointment of two deputies at, by Malik Naib, for extracting promises of loyalties to his son Ahmad, 77; Burhan's visit to, to pay respects to shrines of holy men buried at, 89 ; some of the servants, of Murtaza executed at, 117; march of Mirza Khan to 127; Qasim Barid forced *Sultan* to grant him the *jagir* of, 214 ; Shahajis' march against, 293 ; fall of, to the Moghals, 300 ; original capital of Bahamanis, 365. 119, 141, 143, 161, 176, 206, 219, 222, 242.

Daulatabad fort— 86, 250, 308, 404.
invested by Malik Ahmad, 75 ; Ahmad Shah raised siege of, 77 ; Murtaza sent Ahmad Khan as commandant of, in place of Muhib Khan, 126; Ahmad's confinement at, 139.

Daulat Khan, an officer of Burhan Nizam defeat by, of Khwaja Jahan .. 90

Daulat Khan Lodi, Moghal officer defeats Ikhlas Khan .. .. .. 141

*Daulat Maidan* (Royal Ground) in Burhanpur, burial place of Adil Khan II. 245

D—*contd.*

PAGES

Daulat Shah Begam, daughter of Darya Imad Shah, married to Husain Nizam Shah. 101, 207

Deccan—
Moghal intrusion in, 158; superiority of Ismail Adil Shah established in, 173; conflict in, 177; plan of the conquest of, 188; causes for Moghal intervention in, 196; Akbar ordered his son Murad to proceed to, 197, 258; entry of new power in the politics of, 198; four *Sultanates* of, 199; came under the rule of Prince Danial, 264. ..

Delhi—
old capital of Tughluk Empire, 11; capture of, by Babar, 218; return march to, by Alauddin Khilji, 235. 7, 239, 251.

Devagiri—
capital of Yadavas, 235; renamed as Daulatabad by Muhammad Tughluk, 236. ..

Devagiri fort—
expedition against, by Malik Naib, 6; siege of, by Alauddin, 1; Ulugh Khan, marches by way of, 8-9; ..

Deva Raya I—
brother of Bukka II, enthronement of, at Vijayanagar, 25; defeat of, by Faulad Khan, 25.

Deva Raya II—
enthronement of, 31; refusal of, to pay tribute to Ahmad II, 37; preparation for war against the Bahamanis by, 40; war with Bahamanis, 41; son of, killed in the battle of Raichur and Bankapur, 41; treaty by, with Alauddin, 41; death of, 42. ..

Devaraya Krishna of Vijayanagar, death of .. .. .. .. 206

Devarkonda fort, the stronghold of the Velamas, siege of, by Khwaja-i-Jahan Turk. 50

Devnali river, second battle fought for capture of Pathri on the banks of.. 82

Dharangaon, sack of, by Shivaji .. .. .. .. .. .. 339

Dharashiv (Osmanabad)—
Ain-ul-Mulk defeated Bahizad-ul-Mulk near, 188; Bijapur army suffered a reverse at the hands of Jamal Khan at, 193. ..

Dharkhera, siege of, by Malik Jauhar and Bilagrami.. .. .. .. 13

Dharur—
the fort built by Kishwar Khan, 106; capture of, by Murtaza Nizam Shah and renamed as Fatehbad, 108, Murtaza Nizam Shah attacked fortress of, 185; attack and capture of, by Azam Khan, march of Jaisingh towards, 328. ..

Dharwar fort, capture of, by Azam, .. .. .. .. .. 346

Dhoki a fort, capture of, by Jaisingh .. .. .. .. .. 328

Dholpur, assignment of, to Shah Jahan, dispute regarding, with Jahangir 271

Dhodap-a fort (in Nasik district), capture of, by Allawardi Khan (1636) .. 305

Dhorapwanki-a fort, in the dominion of Burhan Nizam Shah I .. .. 97

PAGES

D—*contd.*

Dhulkhed—
march of Dilerkhan towards (1678), 336; Diler Khan crosses Bhima near, (1679), 341. ..

Dilavar (Dilawar) Khan Afghan—
the Bahamani general, defeated Vijayanagar forces, 30; appointed as prime minister by Ahmad II, 37; removed from prime ministership by the *Sultan*, 38. ..

Dilavar (Dilawar) Khan, the African—
appointed as assistant minister of finance after the death of Muhammad Shah Bahamani, 71; defeated by Qasim Barid, 73. ..

Dilavar (Dilawar) Khan Ghori, .. .. .. .. .. .. 239
the Governor of Malwa declared independence after the invasion of Amir Timur and helped Malik Raja in his attack on Gujarat.

Dilavar (Dilawar) Khan Habshi, .. .. .. .. .. .. 202, 214.
helps Mahmud Shah in a plot to overthrow Nizam-ul-mulk and Imad-ul-mulk.

Dilavar (Dilawar) Khan—
a Siddi noble, formed a group against Kishwar Khan, 189; restoration of *Sunni* faith in the kingdom by, 192; dispatch of, against Ahmadnagar, 130; attacks Jamal Khan, 132; sent as prisoner by Ibrahim Adil to Satara, died at Satara, 133, 193. ..

Dilavar (Dilawar) Khan—
a Bijapur general employment of, by Ahmadnagar, 233; disgrace of, by Ibrahim Adil Shah II, 256. ..

Dilavar (Dilawar) Khan, commander of Muzaffar Shah, sent to help Adil Khan Faruqi III. 248

Dilavar (Dilawar) Khan—
defeated a Bijapuri contingent with the help of Danayya.. .. .. 94

Dilavar (Dilawar) Khan—
commander of Ali Adil, sent to help Murtaza Nizam Shah in his conquest in Berar, 110; defeated Nizam Shahi troops at Gulbarga, 122. ..

Diler Khan— 337
war with Bijapur, 327, 336; capture of Pune by, 338; the viceroy of Deccan (Sept. 1677 to Oct. 1678), second-in-command of Bahadur Khan, 335; officiated as viceroy of Deccan, 335; capture by, of Bhopalgad in 1679, 341.

Dilpasand Khan—
a noble at the Bidar court, 72; kills Malik Naib, Nizam-ul-mulk at Bidar, 72, 214. ..

Dilshad Agha, the foster sister of Yusuf Adil encourages palace guards against rebels. 170

Dindori (in Nasik district), Daud Khan's defeat at, in 1670 .. .. 338
*Divate*-personal servants of Murtaza Nizam Shah known as, 116; execution of, 117. ..

Div—
Portuguese possession, 151; preparation of the Portuguese for the capture of the Gujarat possession of, 153; besieged by Moghals, 159. ..

PAGES

D—*contd.*

Dom Alvaro Da Abranches, Portuguese received reinforcement of 200 men from Surat under the command of. 135

Dom Estavao, the Portuguese governor surrendered the fort of Sankshi to Burhan Nizam Shah. 154

Dom Francisco, the Portuguese captain of Bassein. 154, 155 156.

Dom Francisco Rolim, the Portuguese captain, set fire to the residence of Abdul Karim, the provincial governor of Chaul .. .. .. .. 159

Dom Joao de Castro, the Portuguese viceroy received envoys from Zamorin, Canara, Nizamaluco and Cotamaluco. 154

Dom Joao de Monoy, commander of Portuguese, defeated the commandant of Mahim fort, in 1576. 152

Dom Luisde Ataide, the viceroy of Portuguese .. .. .. .. 186

Dom Menezes, the Portuguese commander, attacked Nizam Shahi encampment and destroyed part of the earth works at Chaul. 156

Don valley, Diler Khan's raid on .. .. .. .. .. .. 336

Durate Barbosa (1500-1514), description of Bijapur, by .. .. .. 386-87

Dutch—
appearance of, on Konkan coast, a serious setback to Portuguese, 157, English and Portuguese decided to fight the growing menace of, 160; ..

Dwarasamudra—
the capital of Hoyasalas, siege of, by Malik Kafur, 4; expedition to, by Malik Naib, 6. ..

E

Edward Terry, a traveller, observations of .. .. .. .. .. 416, 417

Eknath, a Maratha poet saint, author of *Bhagvata Purana* and other works 405

Elagandol, a fort in the eastern part of Bahamani Kingdom .. .. 404

Elias Khan, commander of Ibrahim Adil Shah, sent to oppose Burhan Nizam Shah II. 133

Ellichpur—
the northern most part of Yadava Kingdom, 1; Tughluk officer stationed at, 236; a centre of learning under Mahmud Shah Bahamani, 22; Ahmad Shah Bahamani's march to, 32; Khan Jahan dispatched by Alauddin Ahmad Shah Bahamani to, 243; capital of Imadsha his, 82; march of Burhan Nizam Shah towards, 85; advance of Ali Adil and Murtaza Nizam Shah towards, 106, 185, 208; death of Fathullah Imad Shah at, 203; capital of Berar under Moghals, 308.

Elore, ceded to Qutb-ul-Mulk by the *Raja* of Orissa .. .. .. 216
Erka, the fort, captured by Burhan Nizam Shah I .. .. .. .. 98

Estevam, the Portuguese commander .. .. .. .. .. .. 156

Etgir, defeat of the Bahamani army, by Linga, the Velama general, at .. 30

Etimad Khan *Sarnobat*, second-in-command to Farhad Khan Habshi, commander-in-chief of Ahmadnagar in the campaign against Portuguese. 135

PAGES

F

Fahim Khan—
the Nizamshahi governor of Chaul, 134, 157; appointment of, to assist Farhad Khan in the siege of Chaul, 158. ..

Faizi, accredited by Akbar to Raja Ali Khan of Khandesh and Burhan Nizam Shah II of Ahmadnagar. 256

Faizi Sarhindi, author of *Akbarnama* .. .. .. .. .. .. 420

Fakhruddin *Muhurdar*, headed Sagar rebellion .. .. .. .. 15

Fakhr-ul-Mulk Dehlavi, the Bahamani officer, imprisonment of, by the Vijayanagar army. 41

Fakhr-ul-Mulk Gilani, appointed as *Sarlashkar* of Junnar, by Mahmud Gawan. 65

Fakhr-ul-Mulk Turk, lieutenant of Yusuf Adil .. .. .. .. 163, 164

Falahbibi Hadia, sister of Ali Adil Shah, married to Murtaza Nizam Shah 104

*Farah Bag*, a well-known garden in Ahmadnagar .. .. .. .. 395

Farhad Khan—
a noble of Ahmadnagar, seduced by Portuguese, 110; friend of Mirza Khan, 129. ..

Farhad Khan— 136, 158
Nizamshahi officer, attacked by Portuguese, sent to build a fortress at Chaul, 155 ; made secret overtures of peace to Portuguese without the knowledge of Murtaza Nizam shah, 156.

Farhad Khan Habshi, commander of Burhan Nizam Shah, sent to obstruct Portuguese ships going to Revdanda. 135

Farhat-ul-Mulk, the governor of Gujarat, revolt of, suppressed by Zafar Khan (Muzaffar Khan). 239

Faruqi *Sultans* of Khandesh—
Malik Raja, 237-240 ; Malik Nasir, 240-243 ; Miran Adil, 243 ; Miran Mubarak, 244 ; Adil Khan II, 244-245 ; Daud Khan, 246-247 ; Ghazni Khan, 247 ; Adil Khan III, 248-249 ; Miran Muhammad, 249-251; Miran Mubarak 251-252; Miran Muhammad Khan, 252-254; Raja Ali Khan, 254-258 ; Bahadur Shah 258-264. ..

Fath Khan— 292
son of Malik Ambar, submission of, to Moghal governor Khan Jahan, 251 ; appointed as minister by Nizam Shah, 286 ; confinement of, by Muqarrab Khan, 290 ; Murtaza Nizam Shah made prisoner by, 291 ; restoration of *jagirs* to, by Moghals, 293; treachery of, against Mahabat Khan, 294.

Fathullah Imad-ul-Mulk— 246
appointment of, as *sarlashkar* of Mahur, 65, 201 ; provincial governor, accompanies *Sultan* on expedition to Vijayanagar, 68 ; disgusted with intrigues, leaves for Berar, 71 ; Malik Ahmad's invitation to join him in assuming title and asserting independence of Bidar, 74 ; participates in the plan for division of Deccan, with Ahmad Nizam Shah and Yusuf Adil Shah, 76 ; as the *Sultan* of Berar, refuses to help Yusuf Adil in religious war, 78; overthrow of, plotted by Ahmad Nizam Shah, 202 ; death of, in 1510 at Ellichpur, 203 ; defeated Ali Barid at Kalam, 247 ; defeated a contingent of Burhan Nizam Shah, 249.

Fathullah Wafa Khan, the lieutenant of Malik Yusuf, honoured as Darya Khan, by Muhammad III. 59

Fattehpur Sikri, Akbar's return to .. .. .. .. .. .. 116

PAGES

F—*contd.*

Fatteh Shah, a dancer for whom Murtaza Nizam Shah developed obsession 125

Faulad Khan, the Governor of the Raichur *Doab*, defeats Devaraya .. 25

Ferishta—

a noted Persian historian, 79, 81, 82, 127, 128, 152, 235, 237, 238, 244; enters the services of Adil Shah, 130, 404.

Fernando, a Portuguese Officer, repulses attack of Ahmadnagar troops .. 156

Firozabad—

a town founded by Firoz Shah Bahamani on the banks of Bhima, 24; Nizamuddin Ahmad's stay at, 55.

Firuz Jung, the commander in chief of Aurangzeb, failed to take the fort of Golconda by surprise attack. 350, 351

Firoz Khan, second-in-command of Burhan Nizam Shah, sent against Bijapuris. 93

Firoz Shah—

declaration of, as king on the banks of Bhima, 23; ascends the throne under the title of Tajuddin Firoz in November 1397, 24; founded the town of Firozabad on the banks of Bhima, 24; appointed his son Hasan Khan as heir apparent, 27; death of, in September, 1422, 28.

Firoz Tughluk .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 237, 238

Fitch, the English traveller, visit of, to Bijapur in 1583 .. .. .. 192

Forts—

Achalagad, 305; Adoni, 20, 97, 175, 228, 352; Ahmadnagar, 129, 141, 148, 395; Ahiwant, 305; Alahwant, 47, 97; Alang Karang, 96; Amnecharvi, 115; Anjarahi (Anjaneri), 304; Anjir, 97; Anki, 96; Antur, 97; Anus, 98; Asheri, 154; Asir, 24, 114, 146, 279; Aundhatya, 96; Ausa, 97, 302, 304; Belgaum, 95; Berwadi, 98; Bhaisagir, 98; Bola, 97; Bhongir, 47; 404; Bhorap, 73, 97; Bidar, 55; Bijapur, 289; Chakan, 43, 45, 48, 72; Chander, 97; Chandor, 237, 304, 308; Chaul, 156, 158, 159; Chavand, 139, 141, 143; Chincholi, 318; Daulatabad, 20, 106, 161, 176, 293, 308, 404; Devagiri, 1, 6, 8; Devarkonda, 50; Dharwar, 346; Dhoki, 328; Dhodap, 305; Dhorapwanki, 97; Elagandol, 404; Ellichpur, 404; Erka, 98; Galna, 97; Gawil, 209-11; Golconda, 18; Gwalior, 6, 296; Haloli, 97; Haris, 97; Harsara, 307; Jivdhana, 97, 307; Hatka, 98; Honvad, 336; Jagtil, 404; Jond, 73; Judhan, 73; 97, 109, 137; Junnar (Shivner *see* Shivneri), 305, 308; Kalam, 32; Kaltur, 121; Kalyani, 15, 89, 94, 95, 98, 101, 102, 103, 165, 173, 177, 181, 182, 208, 220, 225, 226, 227, 318; Kandhar, 98, 173, 176, 220, 224, 230, 303, 373; Kanchan Manchan, 304; Kanchtan, 96; Karkara, 97; Karnala, 98, 152, 153; Katra, 96; Kaulas, 17, 53, 111, 112; Kawani, 98; Ketra, 97; Khairdurga, 304; Khaj, 73. 106; Khedla, 130; Khelna or Vishalgad, 61, 62; Kherla, 25, 59; Kodeval, 98; Kohij, 97; Kohir, 15, Kol, 305; Koldevhir, 98; Kondana, 73, 96; Kondavidu, 42, 60, 65, 66, 67; Kotdanda Rajapuri, 73; Laling, 239-40, 242, 243, 244; Lohogad, 73, 98, 107, 113, 129, 211; Korla (Korlai), 135, 136, 157; Machal, 6; Mahim, 152; Maholi, 73; Mahuli, 305, 307, 337; Mahur, 111, 112, 205, 210, 404; Malaigad, 244; Manikpunj, 98; Marabdev, 73; Markoda, 97; Morkel, 98; Mudgal, 16, 164, 173, 214, 220, 404; Mulher, 90, 309; Muranjan, 73, 98, 307; Murhir, 90; Naldurg, 110, 120, 122, 334, 373, 404; Nalgonda, 47, 49; Narnala, 38, 112, 113, 114, 145, 210, 211, 243, 404; Nilanga, 318, 328; Pali, 73, 97; Pangal, 26, 27; Panhala, 74, 94, 96, 215, 323, 327, 338, 404; Parenda, 98, 300; Pathri, 205; Pawangad, 323; Payin, 94; Posra, 305; Prachandgad, 311; Purandar, 73, 97, 312, 326, 337, 404; Rajbir, 305; Rajder, 97; Rajdevhir, 98; Rajgad, 311, 324, 329, 341; Rajmahendri, 25; Rajuri, 126, 127; Raichur, 22, 164, 166, 171, 173, 176, 177, 184, 404; Ramsej, 96, 304, 343; Rangana, 61; Ratnagir, 97; Ravala Javala, 305; Revdanda, 136; Rohida, 96; Rohtas, 279; Rola Chola,

PAGES

F—*contd.*

96 ; Salher, 109, 338 ; Satonda, 97 ; Sanksi, 152, 153, 154; Satara, 133, 338; Sholapur, 97 ; Shivneri, 73, 107, 109 ; Shirpur, 3 ; Talmal, 98 ; Talamwat, 98 ; Tanker, 98 ; Tawakya, 98 ; Telsang, 336 ; Thalner, 237-40, 245, 246, 248, 252 ; Tisgaon, 74 ; Trimbak, 97, 307 ; Trimbak Vanesa, 98 ; Torna, 311 ; Tungi and Tawni, 73 ; Tringalwadi, 307 ; Tung and Tikona, 73 ; Udgir, 302, 304 ; Vairatgad, 237 ; Vanjarai, 97 ; Vasantgad, 323 ; Vetala, 98 ; Visapur, 308 ; Wodhera, 97 ; Warangal, 404.

Francisco Barreto—
Portuguese Governor, 100, 154 ; concludes peace with Ahmadnagar, 155.

Franscisco Pelsaert, the European traveller .. .. .. .. .. 415

Francisco Pyrard, the French traveller .. .. .. .. .. 388

*Futuh-us-Salatin*, the historical poem written by Isami under the patronage of Hasan Shah. 16

G

Gairat Khan, appointment of, as *sarnobat* in command of the rear of the armed forces, by Burhan Nizam Shah. 83

Galna, claimed by Malik Ahmad Nizam Shah, when Ahmad Shah, Yusuf Adil Shah and Imad-ul-Mulk decided to divide the Deccan among themselves. 76

Galna fort—
captured by Burhan Nizam Shah, 89; in the dominion of Burhan Nizam Shah at the time of his death, 97.

Gambhirav, the Commandant of Anjarahi fort .. .. .. .. 304

Gawilgad—
a fort in Amaravati district, .. .. .. .. .. .. 84, 114, besieged by the armies of Murtaza and Ali Adil Shah, 106; Khan Khanan sent an army for the reduction of, 145 ; invested by officers of Murtaza Nizam Shah, 210; imprisonment of Tufal Khan in, 211 ; Imad Shah fled towards, 249 ; Murtaza Nizam Shah appointed Bahram Khan Gilani in charge of, 113. 185, 209, 247, 308, 404.

Garigeya Sahani, the general of Ballala III.. .. .. .. .. 2

Gesu Daraj, *see* Sayyad Gesu Daraz.

Ghalib Khan, son of Khudavand Khan, appointed in charge of Mahur, by Alauddin Imad Shah. 204, 217

Ghatge, a Maratha chief in the Bijapur Kingdom .. .. .. .. 381

Ghats—
Jeur, 124 ; Kumbhaghat, 306 ; Manikpunj, 242; Nurghat, 306 ; Muri, 74; Devulgaon, 74 ; Jaipur Kotli, 143, 146 ; Rohan Kheda, 243, 257. 8

Ghazi Malik, *alias* Ghiyasuddin Tughluk Shah—
governor of Dipalpur, and an opponent of Khushrav Khan, 8, ascended the throne in 1320, 8 ; conquests in Bengal and Bihar, 10 ; died in 1325, 10, 236.

Ghaziuddin Khan Bahadur Firuz Jang, commander of Moghal army under Aurangzeb 347

Ghazni Khan—
son of Daud Khan, placed on the throne by Malik Hisamuddin, poisoned by Hisamuddin after a reign of only 10 days. 247

Ghiyasuddin, the Prince of Malwa, an opponent of Nizam-ul-Mulk in Kandhar battle. 54

PAGES

G—*contd.*

Ghiyasuddin Tahamatan—
the title of Ghiyasuddin Bahamani, 22, enthronement of, 22 ; blinded by Taghalachin, 23.

Ghizny Khan, son of *Sultan* Hoshang of Malwa, sent to the assistance of Malik Nasir. 241

Ghod, a river in Pune district.. .. .. .. .. .. .. 308

Ghogi, Diler Khan reached at, in Feb. 1680.. .. .. .. .. 337

Ghorpades of Mudhol.. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 372

Ghorpade of Kapshi, one of the principal Hindu Officer in the Bijapur Kingdom. 381, 385.

Goa— 177, 179
subjugation of, by the Portuguese, 16 ; annexation of, to the Bahamani Kingdom in 1472, 62 ; Portuguese authority over, 151 ; capture of, by Portuguese in 1510, 152, 169 ; attack on, by Virupaksha of Vijayanagar, 163 ; captured by Yusuf Adil, 166 ; campaign against, by Yusuf Adil, 202 ; rebellion of Bahadur Gilani in 1493-94, 214. 186, 187

Goa fort, unrest in the territory surrounding.. .. .. .. .. 63

Goa port, foreigners entered Deccan through .. .. .. .. 370

Godavari river— 1, 145,
Purushottam's camp on the banks of, 65 ; Daulat Khan defeated Ikhlas Khan on the banks of, 141 ; Khan Khanan encamped on the banks of, 144 ; meeting of Darya Imad Shah and Husain Nizam Shah at Sonpet, on the banks of, 207. 216

Golconda— 167, 169,
Asad Khan defeated Jamshid Qutb Shah at the gates of, 176, 223 ; Ibrahim left the alliance and marched to, 182, 226 ; Vijayanagar annexed the territory of, 183 ; one of the succession states of Bahamani Kingdom, 213 ; conspiracy to depose Jamshid Qutb Shah at, 225 ; settlement with, by the Moghals, 303-04 ; Moghals captured the Kingdom of, in 1687, 206, 265. 174, 185, 186, 187, 191, 198, 203, 207, 208, 230, 233, 234, 404.

Golconda fort— 316
surrender of, by the *Raja* of Telangana to *Sultan* Muhammad Shah Bahamani I, 18.

Gondvana— 236, 238
Mahmud Khilji's march to, 56.

Goroba, a Bhagvat saint who flourished during the Bahamani times .. 378

Gujarat— 48, 151,
conquest of, by Alauddin, 2 ; insurrection in, 13 ; Portuguese's preparation to capture Gujarat possession of Div, 153 ; war with Ahmadnagar, 205 ; Ubegh Khan's campaign against, 235 ; Malik Nasir led combined forces of Malwa and Khandesh and entered into the territory of, 241 ; Mirzas carried out depredatory activities in, 253 ; rebellion in, 255 ; viceroyalty of Prince Danial in, 264. 152, 210, 244, 251, 252.

Gulburga (Gulbarga)— 165, 174,
Zafar Khan besieged the town of, 13 ; one division of the Bahamani Kingdom, 16, 17 ; centre of learning developed during the prime ministership of Mahmud Gawan, 22 ; Ibrahim Adil fled to, 91 ; Dilawar Khan, defeated Qutb Shahi forces at, 122 ; Yusuf Adil's march towards, 107 ; ; marriage between Bibi Sitti and Prince Ahmad celebrated at, 170 ; occupied by Jamshid Qutb Shah, 176, 223 ; besieged by Husain with the help of Ibrahim Qutb Shah, 181 ; occupied by Golconda forces, 192 ; capital of Bahamani Kingdom, 365. 206, 214, 215, 221, 233, 318.

PAGES

G—*contd.*

Gunjoti (Ganjauti)— 165
recapture of, by Yusuf Adil, 78 ; capture of, by Jaisingh, 328 .. ..

Gwalior fort—
imprisonment of Khizr Khan in, by Malik Naib, 6; imprisonment of Husain Nizam Shah in, 296.

H

Habibullah—
imprisonment of, by Humayun, 50 ; appointed as *Wakil-i-Saltanat*, by Hasan, the *Sultan*'s rebel brother, 51; murder of, by Siraj Khan, 51.

Habib Khan, a former finance minister, now appointed as prime minister, by Murtaza Nizam Shah. 126

Hadiyya Sultana, sister of Ali Adil Shah married to Murtaza Nizam Shah. 184

Haholi fort, in the dominion of Burhan Nizam Shah .. .. .. 97

Haider, unsuccessful attempt by, to ascend the throne of Burhan Nizam Shah. 178

Haider, brother of Jamshid Qutb Shah, fled to Bidar when conspiracy to depose Jamshid was discovered. 225

Haider Sultan Ali Quli *Sarkhel*, created *Sarlashkar*, by Murtaza Nizam Shah. 111

Haider-ul-mulk Kazvini, commander of Ismail Adil Shah.. .. .. 86

Haji Kishwar Khan, a Bijapur noble, son of Kamal Khan, sent troops to eliminate Mustafa Khan. 121

Haji Kishwar Khan—
a Bijapur noble, 188 ; assassinated his rival Sayyad Mustafa, 189 ; group headed by, in the Bijapur Court, 232 ; imprisoned Chand Bibi, 233.

Hakim Zahiruddin Tahiri, a learned man during the reign of Muhammad Shah Bahamani I. 20

Halsang, Diler Khan's march to, 336.. .. .. .. .. .. 335

Hamid Khan—
general of Ibrahim Adil Shah sent to counterattack Ibrahim Nizam Shah, 138; puts to death Chand Bibi, 148 ; one of the members in the group formed against Haji Kishwar Khan, 189.

Hamid Khan, appointment of, as prime minister by Murtaza Nizam Shah. 281

Hamvira, challenges the protege of Alauddin, Maldeva at Chitod .. 6—7

Hamvira—
the general of Kapileshwar, attack of, on Telangana, 50; triumph over the Bahamanis, 50 ; the legal heir to the throne of Kapileshwar, deposition of, 60 ; enthronement of, in Orissa Kingdom, 60.

Handia—
Moghal army reached at, 124; *jagir* at, given by Akbar to Burhan, 131; Imperial forces arrived at, 257.

Hamir Rai of Orissa, formed alliance with Purushottam to oust Bahamani power from Telangana. 65

PAGES

H—*contd.*

Harihar, the Hindu chief, dominant role in upsurge against Muslim domination at Vijayanagar. 11

Harihara II—

the *Raja* of Vijayanagar, expelled the Bahamanis from Goa, 22 ; agreement with Firoz Shah, 24.

Haris, a fort—

in possession of Burhan Nizam, 97 ; surrender of, by Shahaji, 307

Harpaldev—

son-in-law of Ramchandra, declared his independence, 7 ; killed by Khusrav, 7 ; Devgiri revolted in the reign of, 236.

Harsara fort, surrender of, by Shahaji .. .. .. .. .. 307

Hasan—

younger brother of Humayun, put on the throne by Shah Habibullah, 48; imprisonment of, by Alauddin Humayun, 48; crowned as king at Bhir, 51; defeat of, by the Bahamani forces, 51; dispatch of, to Bidar, 51.

Hasan Ali, commander of Moghal forces, captured Kalyan .. .. 343

Hasan Gangu Bahaman Shah— .. .. .. .. 363

establishment of independent dynasty under, 11, 236 ; the founder of the Bahamani dynasty, 12, entitled as Zafar Khan, appointed as the Amir-ul-Umra, 12-13 ; appoints as Accountant-General, Gangu Brahman, 14 ; death of, 16.

Hasan Khan—

the son of Firoz Shah, appointed as the heir apparent, 27; the nephew of Ahmad Shah, receives *mansab* and *Jagir* from Ahmad Shah, 29.

Hasan Khan, an officer of Burhan Nizam Shah .. .. .. .. 90

*Hashta-i-Behishta*, a well-known garden in Ahmadnagar.. .. .. 140, 395

Hatka, a fort in possession of Burhan Nizam Shah.. .. .. .. 98

Hazrat Shamsuddin, tomb of, at Osmanabad, built during the reign of Muhammad Shah Bahamani I. 20

Henrique, Portuguese officer, defended Chaul against attack by Zamiri Khan. 156

Hippergi— 223

siege of, by Jamshid Qutb Shah, 176.

Honvad, sacked and burnt by Diler Khan .. .. .. .. .. 336

Hoshang Shah—

*Sultan* of Malwa, fled to Malwa, after defeated by Bahamani army, 33 ; march into Bahamani territory, 35 ; claimed Kherla, from Ahmad Shah, 36 ; sent a force to assist Malik Nasir in his siege of Thalner fort, 241.

Hoshiyar—

a slave, Firoz Shah handed over the reins of Government to, under the title of Ain-ul-mulk, 27 ; appointed as the Amir-ul-Umra, by Ahmad Shah, 29.

Hoyasalas, principal dynasty in south, whose kingdom roughly covered area between Krishna and Pennao rivers.

PAGES

H—*contd.*

Hoyasala Ballala, the *Raja* vanquished by Mahmud Shah Bahamani .. 236

Humayun—
negotiations with, by Portuguese, 153 ; forced Bahadur to agree to Portuguese plan to build a fort at Div, 154 ; march of, towards south, 87.

Humayunpur—
Murtaza Nizam Shah secretly left for, 119 ; Burhan Nizam Shah defeated Prince Ismail at, 137.

Humayun Shah Bahamani— 48, 52, 201
the *Sultan*, dissolution of the council of regency created by, 57 ..

Hundia Tamma Naik, the chief of the Maratha cavalry of Adil Shah, seduced by Venkatadri when Penuconda, the capital, was falling to Adil Shahi forces. 187

Husain II .. .. .. .. .. .. 233

Husain, son of Murtaza Nizam Shah, murder of, in 1589 .. .. .. 255

Husain Ali, entitled Hisamuddin— 247, 248
appointed as *Wazir*, by Daud Khan Faruqi, 246.

Husain Khan, minor son and successor of Miran Muhammad Shah .. 254

Husain Nizam Shah— .. .. .. .. .. .. 99—105
son and successor of Burhan Nizam Shah, 178, 206 ; murdered Ain-ul-mulk, 179; entered into a treaty with Darya Imad Shah, 181 ; besieged fortress of Kalyani, 182 ; fled to Junnar, 183 ; married the daughter of Darya Imad Shah, 207 ; attacked Bijapur territory, 225 ; surrender of, to Sadashivraya, 226 ; took lead in bringing Deccan States together, 227 ; death of, in 1565, 208.

Husain Nizam Shah—
put on the throne of Ahmadnagar by Fath Khan, 291 ; imprisoned for life in the Gwalior fort, 296.

Husain Rustam Khan Dakhani, an Ahmadnagar officer, killed in action against Bijapur. 103

Husain Sultan *alias* Mirza Khan, a member of the council of ministers of Murtaza Nizam Shah. 127

Husdar Khan, posting of, at Chambhargonda and Raisin by Aurangzeb 319

Hyderabad—
in Golconda Kingdom, 315 ; occupied by Moghals, 350.

I

Ibn Batutah, a Muslim traveller who visited India in the early 14th century 276
Ibrahim Adil Shah I— 174—80
fled to Gulburga, 91 ; defeated in and escaped from the battle with Burhan Nizam Shah, 94 ; besieged Sholapur fort, 93, 99 ; rejected peace offer, 122 ; strained relations with Portuguese, 154 ; strained relations with Burhan Nizam Shah, 157 ; brother of Mallu Khan, ascended the throne as, 174 ; defeated Burhan Nizam Shah, 176 ; formed alliance with Ali Barid Shah, 177 ; died at Bijapur in 1558, 180, 225 ; succeeded Ismail Adil Shah, fled to Bijapur after getting suspicious of his general Asad Khan, 220 ; defeated Burhan and Amir Ali Barid with the help of Darya Imad Shah of Berar, 221 ; defeated Jamshid, 223.

PAGES

I—*contd.*

Ibrahim Adil Shah II— 132, 188—99

marriage between Miran Husain and sister of, at Patori, 126; sent his general Dilawar Khan to invade Ahmadnagar, 130; sent his general Hamid Khan to counter-attack Ibrahim Nizam Shah, 138; sent his general Suhail Khan to Shahdurg, 141, 144; sent force under Mustafa Khan to assist Chand Bibi, 143; ascended throne at the age of 9 years, 188; married to Taj Sultana, the sister of the Sultan of Golconda, 192; sent Dilawar Khan as prisoner to Satara, 193; killed his brother Ismail, 195; defeated Ahmadnagar army under Ibrahim Nizam Shah, 196; appeal to unite against Moghals, 233; Abhang Khan's appeal for help to, against Moghal approach, 234; a great musician, 404.

Ibrahim Barid Shah, son and successor of Ali Barid Shah .. .. 232

Ibrahim Lodi .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 218

Ibrahim Nizam Shah— 137-38

the elder son of Burhan Nizam Shah, succeeded his father, was killed in the war between Bijapur and Ahmadnagar, 196.

Ibrahim Qutb Shah— 232—253

Khunja's appeal to form alliance with Tufal Khan against Bijapur, 105; alliance with Husain Nizam Shah to invade Bijapur, 181; fled from battle field, 182; alliance with Murtaza Nizam Shah to invade Bijapur, 185, 228; league with Murtaza to invade Berar, 187, 188; joined hands with Husain Nizam Shah, 208; deserted Husain Shah and returned to his own Kingdom, 225, 226; fled the battle field, 227; alliance with Murtaza in the invasion of Bidar, 231.

Ibrahim Sanjar Khan, appointment of, as a *Sarlashkar* of Telangana, by Ahmad Shah Bahamani. 36

Ibrahim Shah of Bulkh, the son of Adhum Shah .. .. .. .. 237

Ikhlas Khan— 138, 156, 157

Ahmadnagar noble seduced by Portuguese, 110; one of the partisans of Ismail, marched towards Ahmadnager, 137; procured a child and proclaimed it as the lawful heir of Ibrahim Nizam Shah, 139; defeated by Miyan Manju, 140; dismissal of, by Chand Bibi from the regency, 190; arrested and blinded by his officers, 192; proclaimed Ahmad, the son of Khudabanda as *Sultan* of Ahmadnagar in 1595, 196; appeal by, to Ibrahim Adil to unite against Moghal invasion, 197; defeated by Moghals, 198.

Ikhtiyar Khan, commander of Gujarat army, invasion by, of Khandesh .. 251

Imad Shah, Alauddin—

call by Burhan Nizam Shah to form an alliance with, 93; laid siege to Sholapur with Burhan Nizam Shah, 94; defeated by Burhan, took refuge with Miran Muhammad of Khandesh, 249.

Imad Shah, Burhan—

family of, confined in Lohogad fort by Murtaza. 113

Imadshahi *Sultans* of Berar—

Fathullah Imad Shah, 201—203; Alauddin Imad Shah, 203—206; Darya Imad Shah, 206—208; Burhan Imad Shah, 208—211.

Imad-ul-mulk, governor of Berar and Khandesh, abandoned his province and retired to Nandurbar. 236

Imad-ul-Mulk Ghori—

appointment of, as a *Amir-ul-Umra* by Ahmad Shah II, 37; murder of, by prince Muhammad, 37.

Imad-ul-Mulk Malikji, prominent noble of Gujarat .. .. .. 251

PAGES

I—*contd.*

Imad-ul-Mulk Sartez, the commandant of the imperial troops at Sindtan 13

Imam Nasir Abdoolla, the son of Oamrool Farook, the *Khaleefa* .. .. 237

Inayat Khan, author of *Shahjahannama* .. .. .. .. .. 420

Ingalgi, the allied armies crossed the river at .. .. .. .. 184

Iskhandar Khan, the chief of Sagar .. .. .. .. .. .. 13

Islam Khan—
viceroy of Deccan, (17-6-1646 to 2-11-1647), 308; death of, in 1647, 310.

Ismail Adil Shah— 169—74
succeeded Yusuf Adil Shah, 169; killed Safdar Khan, 170; meeting with Burhan at Shahapur in 1524, at the time of his sister's marriage, 171; defeated allies, 172; invaded Vijayanagar Kingdom with the help of Alauddin Imad Shah, 173; formed an alliance with Alauddin Imad Shah by offering him his younger sister in marriage, 205, entered the capital and sat on the famous turquoise throne of the Bahamanis, 219; besieged Nalgunda, 60 miles south of Golconda, 220; died on way to Gulburga in 1534, 174, 206.

Ismail Adil Shah marched to raise the siege of Goa in 1570, .. .. 155

Ismail—
brother of Ibrahim Adil Shah II, rebellion of, 158; killed by his brother Ibrahim Adil Shah, 195.

Ismail Mukh—
elected as first independent *Sultan* of the Deccan, 12; abdicates in favour of Zafar Khan, 13.

Ismail Nizam Shah— 130—33
cousin of Miran Husain, raised to the throne, 193.

Ismail Safavi, an ambassador of Iran sent to Bijapur .. .. .. 171

Ishwar Das, author of *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri* .. .. .. .. .. 321

Itimad Khan, an officer of Nizam Shahi Kingdom of Ahmadnagar .. 157

Itimad Khan—
regent in Gujarat, 252; advised Changiz Khan to recover the district of Nandurbar held by *Sultan* of Khandesh, 253.

J

Jadhav Rao of Sindkhed (also *see* Lakhuji Jadhav Rao)—
Ahmadnagar officer, 382; murder of, in 1629, 283, 286.

Jagtil, a fort in the Bahamani Kingdom .. .. .. .. .. 404

Jahangir— 266—81, 414
seized by Mahabat Khan, 281; death of, in 1627, 282.

Jahangir Khan, the Bahamani general killed in action against Malik Ahmad 74, 76

Jahangir Khan, appointed to the charge of Gulbarga by Amir Ali Barid, creating him Dastur-ul-Mamalik. 83, 217

Jahangir Khan, brother of Aziz-ul-Mulk, marched against Danayya .. 83

Jahangir Khan (Jahangir Khan Dakhani)—
the Berar general raised the siege of Ahmadnagar, 182; death of, 207 ..

PAGES

J—*contd.*

Jahangir Khan Habshi— 131
an officer of Berar army, defeats Burhan Nizam Shah II.

Jaipur Kotli, the *ghat*—
withdrawal of the Moghals through, 143; march of Nehang Khan to, 146.

Jaisingh—
viceroy of Deccan up to 17-5-1645, 308; retreat from battle with Bijapur, 327; died at Burhanpur in 1667, 329.

Jaising Rai of Virkheda, the Maratha chief, defeat of, by Yusuf Adil .. 63

Jajnugar .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 238

Jakhurai, the *Raja* of Sangameshwar, opposed Mahmud Gawan .. .. 61

Jalal Dhoni, an officer of *Sultan* Muhammad Tughluk .. .. .. 13

Jalal Khan—
the brother-in-law of Alauddin Ahmad, leader of Telangana rebellion, 46; crowned at Nalgonda, 46; submission to Mahmud Gawan, 47; retreat from the battle with Humayun 49; imprisonment for life, 49; release of, by Yusuf Turk, 50; murder of, 51.

Jalaluddin Davani, a scholar .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 378

Jalal-ud-din Husain, appointment of, as prime minister by Murtaza Nizam Shah. 109

Jalal-ud-din Khilji—
the *Sultan* of Delhi, 1; murder of, by Alauddin, 2 .. .. ..

Jalna .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 118, 144, 145

Jamal Khan—
deputed by Murtaza to reduce Mahur fort, 111; head of Abyssinian noblemen, 129; defeated Salabat Khan, 130; made preparations to oppose Burhan Nizam Shah, 131; slain in engagement with Khandesh and Ahmadnagar forces at Rohankhed, in 1591, 193.

Jamaluddin, son of Mukammil Khan, created Aziz-ul-Mulk and appointed as *Sarnobat*, (*see* Aziz-ul-Mulk).

Jame Masjid, a monument of Moghal times .. .. .. .. 421

Jami Masjid (in the Gulbarga fort), built by Muhammad Shah Bahamani I. 20

Jamkhindi—
besieged by Hasan Shah, the *Sultan*, 15; Qutb-ul-Mulk Dakhani, governor of Telangana, killed near, 214; independent Hindu Kingdom at the time of the rule of Delhi *Sultanates*, 362.

Jamshid Khan (Jamshid Khan Shiraji)—
a noble of Ahmadnagar and *Jahagirdar* in Berar, 110, 113; joined Sayyad Murtaza to put down the rebellion of Firoz Shah, 115; joined Khudawand Khan to march against Sahib Khan, 118; counter-attacked Nizam Shahi troops, 122; made prisoner, by Salabat Khan, 124.

Jamshid Khan, raised to high post by Mirza Khan .. .. .. 129

Jamshid Qutb Shah—
ascended throne after murdering his father *Sultan* Quli Qutb Shah of Golconda in 1543, 92, 223; alliance with Burhan Nizam Shah, 176, 177; died in 1550, 225.

PAGES

J—*contd.*

Janardan Swami, a devotee of the *Dattatraya Pantha*, in the service of Ahmadnagar. 404, 405

Jani Janardan, author of *Bhakti* songs in the 16th century .. .. 405

Jan Nisar Khan, a Moghal officer, march of, towards Serum .. .. 348

Jarif-ul-Mulk Afghan, officer in the council constituted by Malik Ahmad Nizam Shah. 79

Jaswant Singh, pursuit by, of Diler Khan .. .. .. .. .. 338

Jantapur .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 115

Jawal Khan, .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 90
*sarpardadar*, sent by Burhan Nizam Shah to counter Pir Muhammad.

Jawhar, captured by Marathas from Koli *Raja* Vikram Shah (1672) .. 338

Jawhar Kolis, attacked by Portuguese in 1559 .. .. .. .. 155

Jawli, annexed by Shivaji in 1657 .. .. .. .. .. .. 322

Jeur Pass .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 124

Jharkhand, the modern Chhota Nagpur .. .. .. .. .. 244

Jhunjar Rao Ghatge, of Malvadi, the principal Hindu officer in Bijapur Government. 385

Jivadhan (Judhan)—
a fort in Pune district, subjugated by Malik Ahmad, 73; in possession of Burhan Nizam Shah, 73; handed over to the Moghals by Shivaji, 307.

Jond (Chavand)—
a fort in Pune district, subjugated by Malik Ahmad, 73; Murtaza imprisoned Khan Khanan (Mulla Husain Tabrizi) in, 109.

Jujar Khan, the commandant of Lohogad .. .. .. .. .. 118

Juner Khan, the *Sarnobat* in command of the vanguard .. .. .. 83

Junnar—
centre of learning in the reign of Mahmud Shah Bahamani, 22; Malik Naib sent his son Ahmad to take charge of, 72; Malik Ahmad's return to, after defeating Bahamani troops, 74; Ahmad shifted his capital to Bhingar from, 76; Nehang Khan fled to, after Chand Bibi's refusal to compromise, 147; Sadashivraya's attack on, 103; Murtaza Nizam's visit to, 109; Burhan Nizam Shah's march towards, from Lohogad, 118; Mirza Khan's escape to and arrest at, 130; Yusuf Adil, the Turkish noble, appointed as *Sarlashkar* of, 161; Mahabat Khan joined Shah Jahan at, 281; Shah Jahan subjugated the district of, in 1630, 286.

Junnar (Shivneri)— 308
the fort in Pune district, siege to, by the Marathas, 305; Shahaji agreed to hand over to Moghals in 1636, 307.

K

Kabir Khan, son of Bahadur Khan.. .. .. .. .. .. 258

Kadam Khan—
an officer in the council constituted by Malik Ahmad, 79; fled to Berar and entered into services of Alauddin Imad Shah, the *Sultan* of Berar, 80; attacked reconnaissance mission of Ahmadnagar with Mustafa Khan, 93.

K—*contd.*

PAGES

Kadam Khan, deputed by Murtaza alongwith Jamal Khan and Bahiri Khan to reduce Mahur fort. 111

Kaij, rout of Ahmadnagar troops at .. .. .. .. .. .. 185

Kaji Khavand Majlis, appointed in the council by Malik Ahmad.. .. 79

Kalam—
Yusuf Adil defeated Mahmud Shah and Amir Ali Barid at, 167; 217; Yusuf Adil defeated Ali Barid with the help of Imad-ul-mulk at, 247.

Kalam fort, capture of, by Ahmad Shah Bahamani.. .. .. .. 32

Kalimullah—
nominal ruler of Bahamani kingdom who succeeded *Sultan* Muhammad (1526—1538), 69; fled to Bijapur in 1527, 85; put on throne by Amir Ali Barid, 218; died at Ahmadnagar, 219.

Kaltur, a fort, captured by Mir Zainal Astrabadi, the Qutb Shahi general.. 121

Kalyan, a port in Thana district which yielded revenue to Gujarat Kings .. 151

Kalyani fort— 15, 220 318.
demand for the cession of, by Ismail Adil Shah in 1531, from Amir Barid, 89; promise by Barid Shah to the cession of, 94; besieged by Burhan Nizam Shah, 95; in possession of Burhan Nizam Shah, 98; surrender of, by Bhopalrai, commandant of the fort, to Adilshahi forces, 101; meeting of Husain Nizam Shah and Ibrahim Qutb Shah near, 102; besieged by Ibrahim Qutb Shah and Husain Nizam Shah, 103; capture of, by Burhan Nizam Shah, 177; besiege of, by Husain Nizam Shah, 182; besieged by armies of Husain Nizam Shah and Ibrahim Qutb Shah, 208; capture of, by Burhan Nizam Shah with the help of Sadashivraya, in 1547, 225; invested by the forces of Ahmadnagar and Golconda, 226; Husain raised siege of, 227.

Kamal Khan Dakhani—
general of Yusuf Adil, 164, 167; appointed as regent of Ismail Adil Shah, 169; plot of, to depose the *Sultan*, 169; stabbed by Yusuf Turk to death, 170.

Kamal Khan Dakhani, prime minister of Bijapur, appointment of, by Chand Bibi. 188

Kamaluddin Gurg, an officer of Malik, Naib, death of, in Gujarat rebellion 6

Kambhgaon, march to, of Bahadur Khan .. .. .. .. .. 335-36.

Kamil Khan, officer in the council constituted by Malik Ahmad .. .. 79, 111

Kamil Khan, one of the officers in the force to attack Chaul, sent by Burhan Nizam Shah. 157

Kamil Khan, one group in the Bijapur court headed by .. .. 232

Kampilli .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 236, 362

Kamthana, imprisonment of Mahmud Shah Bahamani at.. .. .. 217

Kanchan Manchan, a fort, siege to, by Allawardi Khan .. .. .. 304

Kanchi, march to, of Shamsuddin Muhammad III.. .. .. .. 66, 162

Kanchtan-a fort in the dominion of Burhan Nizam Shah .. .. .. 96

Kandhar— 89, 94, 98, 111, 112 118, 204, 308.

PAGES

*K—contd.*

Kandhar *jagir*, held by Qasim Barid-ul-Mamalik .. .. .. .. 164

Kandhar fort—

54, 57, 173.

Ismail Adil Shah demanded cession of, from Amir Barid, 89; captured by Burhan Nizam Shah, 94; in possession of Burhan Nizam Shah, 98; march of Tufal Khan, towards, 111; defeat of Nizam Shahi forces, by Qutb Shah at, 112; Murtaza Nizam Shah's march towards, from Udgir, 118; Ismail agreed the cession of, to Amir Ali Barid, 220; reduced by Burhan Nizam Shah, 224; attack on, by Sharza Khan, governor of Mahur, 204; Murtaza kept contingent at, to counter-attack Golconda forces, 230; subjugated by Moghal army in 1631, 287.

Kandhra, the Hindu chief of Gulburga .. .. .. .. .. 13

Kanhu Narsi— 382

appointed as *Wazir*, by Burhan Nizam Shah replacing Shaikh Jafar, 83; management of the kingdom left in the hands of, by Burhan Nizam Shah, 89.

Kandoha (Khandava), Burhan II takes refuge at .. .. .. .. 131

Kandukur, defeat of Bahamani forces at, by Saluva Narsinha .. .. 216

Kanho, a writer, contemporary of Eknath 405

Kanhopatra, a saint of Bahamani period .. .. .. .. .. 378

Kanhur .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 103

Kaniph Nath, a *Nath Panthi Gosavi* .. .. .. .. .. 375

Kanur (Parner), Burhan II camps at .. .. .. .. .. 118

Kantalam, battle of (1366), .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 19
between Vijayanagar and the army of Muhammad Shah Bahamani.

Kapilendra Deva or Kapileshwar—

the founder of the Gajapati line of rulers in Orissa, 42; deposes Bhanu-deva, 42; treaty of, with Alauddin Ahmad, against Vijayanagar, 42; march of, into the Bahamani territory, 53; help of, to *Sultan* of Malwa, for invasion of the Bahamani kingdom, 54; defeat of, in war with Vijayanagar and Bahamanis, 60.

Karad—

capture of, by Hasan Shah, 16; promised grant of, to Malik Ahmad, 75

Karanda, assignment of, to Malik Raja .. .. .. .. .. 237, 238

Karanja, loot of, by Shivaji .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 338

Karinari, march of Jamal Khan to .. .. .. .. .. .. 132

Karkara, a fort in the dominion of Burhan Nizam Shah I .. .. .. 97

Kartalab Khan, posting of, near Junnar .. .. .. .. .. 319

Karnala—

hill fort in Kolaba district, in possession of Gujarat, 152; capture of, by Burhan Nizam Shah, 153.

Kasim Beg Hakim— 128

appointed as prime minister, 95; continued in the post of, by Khunja Humayun, 105; dismissal of, by Murtaza Nizam, 126.

Katra, a fort in the dominion of Burhan Nizam Shah .. .. 96

PAGES

K—*contd.*

Katya Vema—
an officer of Anavata of Kondavidu, defeated Hasan Shah at Dharnikota, 16; help by, to Bukka, 24.

Kaulas fort—
march of Vinayak Dev, commander of Telangana and Vijayanagar forces towards, 17; Murtaza's halt at, on his march towards Berar, 111; march of Qutbshahi army to, 112.

Kaveri, a river .. .. .. .. .. .. .. ..

Kavi Kalash, seized alongwith Sambhaji, by Shaikh Nizam .. .. 360

Kawani, the fort in the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar, destruction of, by Portuguese. 153

Kembhavi, a chief, submission of, to Hasan Shah Bahamani .. .. 15

Ketra, the fort in the dominion of Burhan Nizam Shah I.. .. .. 98

Khadija—
the sister of Ibrahim Adil II, given in marriage to Miran Husain, 192; surrender of, by Jamal Khan, 193.

Khadki, later renamed Aurangabad, capital of Malik Ambar .. .. 270—71

Khairdurga fort, capture of, by Shayasta Khan .. .. .. .. 304

Khairiyat Khan, commander of the Bijapur garrison at Daulatabad .. 293

Khaj, a fort .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 73, 106

Khalaf Hasan *alias* Khalaf Hasan Basri—Friend of Ahmad Khan, fled to Khanapur, 27; appointed as prime minister, creating him Malik-ut-Tujjar, by Ahmad Shah, 29; sacked city of Burhanpur, 243; forced to raise the siege of Laling fort, 244; defeated Nasir Khan in the battle near Laling fort, 39; a foreigner who came in Deccan in-search of career, 370. 60,61

Khafi Khan, author of *Muntkhab-ul-Lubab* .. .. .. .. .. 421

Khalilulla Khan, the Golconda general, dispatch of, to the help of Bijapur. 348

Khalafal Mashaikh Shaikh Daud-i-Mandavi, eminent person in the court of *Sultan* Mahmud Khilji, sent to Bahamani court. 59

Khaliph Umar Faruk .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 237

Khan Azam—
governor of Malwa, sent by Akbar to attack Berar, 255; sent by Akbar to besiege Asir, 258.

Khandesh— .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 405
Yusuf Adil fled to, being unable to face the alliance of Deccan *Sultans*, 217; Kingdom of, held by *Raja* of Khandesh at close of 18th century, 235; kingship of, devolved on Daud, younger brother of Adil Khan, 246; Ahmad Nizam Shah and Imad-ul-Mulk invaded the Kingdom of, 247; Kingdom of, annexed to empire by Akbar in 1601, 259, 380.

Khan-i-Azam—
the general of Ahmad Shah, 31; march of, against Warangal, 31; appointment of, as the governor of Telangana, by Ahmad Shah, 32.

Khan-i-Azam, second-in-command to Khan Jahan.. .. .. .. 267

Khan-i-Azam Adil Khan—
accompanied *Sultan*, 66; commander of *Sultan* Muhammad Shah Bahamani II, march of, against Narsimha of Vijayanagar, 162.

PAGES

K—*contd.*

Khan-i-Azam Sadr Khan, the special envoy of Mahmud Gawan arrival of, at Shadiabad Mandu. 59

Khan-i-Dauran—
appointed by Shah Jahan in the campaign against Shahaji, 304; viceroy of Deccan—(28-5-1644 to 22-5-1645), 308; murdered at Burhanpur in 1645, 310.

Khan-i-Jahan, replaces Qasim Barid, murder of, contrived by Qasim Barid. 166, 216

Khan-i-Jahan— 348
new viceroy of Deccan, 341; northwards march from Aurangabad by, 342; incharge of out-posts established in the east of Bijapur territory by Moghals, 346.

Khan-i-Jahan Abdul Qadir—
the Bahamani governor of Berar, 32; part of, in Malwa campaign, 33; fled to Narnala fort, 38; joins the forces of Khalaf Hasan, 39.

Khan-i-Khanan *alias* Ahmad Shah—
launches a counter attack against Narsingh Deo, 25; commands the Bahamani army against Vijayanagar, 26; an aspirant to the throne of Firoz Shah, 27.

Khan-*i*-Zaman, the *Sarlashkar* of Berar, arrival of, with an army to assist the *Sultan* (Alauddin Ahmad II). 41

Khan-i-Zaman Iftikar Khan. 337

Khan Jahan—
brother of Malik Barid, appeal to, by Burhan Nizam Shah for help against Ibrahim, 92; insulted Shah Tahir, envoy of Burhan Nizam Shah, 93; dissuaded Darya Imad Shah from sending assistance to Ahmadnagar, 207. 101

Khan Jahan *alias* Pir Khan Lodi— 284, 349
commander sent by Jahangir to the Deccan, 267; refusal to support Shah Jahan against Jahangir, 281; submission of, to Shah Jahan, 282; escape of, with ladies of his harem, 286.

Khan Jahan Faruqi, the father of Malik Raja, minister in the court of Khiljis. 237

Khan Jahan Lodi, forced the provincial governor of Chaul and the Portuguese to conclude peace between them. 159

Khan Khanan—
minister of Miran Muhammad, negotiated peace with Murtaza Nizam Shah on behalf of his master, 114; friend of Mirza Khan, 129.

Khan Khanan— 141, 142
the Moghal general accompanied prince Murad, 140, commander-in-chief of Moghal army in Berar, appeal to, by Muhammad Khan for help, 144; Akbar deputed Shaikh Abul Fazl in place of, 145.

Khan Muhammad, prime minister of Bijapur Kingdom .. .. .. 317

Khanazad Khan, sent by Aurangzeb to subdue Pam Nayak of Sagar .. 352

Khan Zaman—
the governor of Berar, defeated by Firoz Shah, 115; Officer of Murtaza Nizam Shah, sent to invest Gawil fort, 210.

Khan Zaman—
son of Mahabat Khan, defeated Bijapur army near Khadki, 293; sent by Mahabat Khan to Parenda, 300; deputed by Shah Jahan on an expedition against Shahaji, 304.

PAGES

K—*contd.*

*Khaskhel*, designation of the post of special bodyguard in charge of king's person created by Muhammad Shah Bahamani I. 17

Khatta Khan, appointed as *Sarlashkar* of Berar by Murtaza .. .. 113

*Khawas*, personal servants of Murtaza .. .. .. .. .. 116

Khawas Khan—
the Bijapur minister, duplicity of, towards the Moghals, 290; assassinated by partisans of Mustafa Khan, 302.

Khawas Khan—
commander of army sent by Adil Shah to help Jaisingh, 326; battle with Sharza Khan, 327; seized power after death of Ali Adil Shah, 330; agreed to support Moghals in campaign against Shivaji, 331; seized by Bahadur Khan, 332.

Kheddurg, fort in possession of Burhan Nizam Shah .. .. .. 96

Khedla, a fort .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 130

Khelna (Vishalgad), a fort in Kolhapur district captured by Mahmud Gawan. 61, 62

Kheloji Bhosle, the first cousin of Shahaji .. .. .. .. .. 309

Kherla fort—
restoration of, to Narsingh Deo, 25; Ahmad Shah's march to, 32; attack on, by the *Sultan* of Malwa in 1434, 35; besieged by Malik Yusuf Turk, commander of Berar army, 59.

Khizr Khan—
son of Alauddin, imprisoned by Malik Naib, 6; blinded by Malik Naib, 7.

Khizr Khan Panni, chief adviser of Bahlol Khan, died in 1676 .. .. 332

Khudawand Khan—
provincial governor, refusal of, to respect commands of *Sultan*, 68; commanded by Mahmud Bahamani to form league against Yusuf Adil and to invade his kingdom, 78; accompanied *Sultan* on tour of western provinces, 202; governor of Mahur, opposed acendency to power of Amir Barid, 203; incharge of the *subha* of Mahur, 204. 68

Khudawand Khan, governor of Bahadur Shah of Gujarat .. .. 86

Khudawand Khan— 210, 217
Murtaza conferred nobility upon, 110; pursued Tufal Khan with Rustam Khan, 111; killed Sahib Khan at Ranjani with a dagger, on instructions of Sayyad Murtaza, 118; fled the battle field with Sayyad Murtaza in a battle with Salabat Khan, 124; recipient of *jagir* in Berar, 113, 162.

Khudawandaza Malik Jauhar, appointed to besiege Dharkhera by Muhammad Tughluk. 13

Khuldabad, burial place of Gesu Daraz .. .. .. .. .. 375

Khurram *alias* Shah Jahan, appointed as the governor of the Deccan (1616). 268

Khurshid Khan *Sarnobat*—
appointed as commander-in-chief by Murtaza to suppress rebellion in Berar, 113; unable to cope with Khandesh army, withdrawal of, to Gawilgad, 114.

Khunja Humayun—
mother of Murtaza Nizam Shah, Murtaza Nizam Shah entrusted the management of the Kingdom to, 105; confined in the fort of Daulatabad, later transferred to Satara, 107.

PAGES

K—*contd.*

Khush Qadam .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 61

Khushrav—
the son of Jahangir, 266 ; appointed to the joint command of Deccan, by Jahangir, 269 ; death of, in 1622, 271.

Khushrav Khan—
campaign of, against Prataprudra, murder by, of the *Sultan* of Delhi, 8 ; entitled as Nasiruddin Khushrav Shah, ascends the throne, defeat and execution of, by Ghazi Malik, 8.

Khushrav Turk—
awarded estate of Belgaum and fief of Asad Khan, by *Sultan*, 170 ; alliance with Bijapur and Ahmadnagar to punish Amir Barid for fomenting trouble, 171.

Khushapal Singh, son of Narsingh Deo, capture of, by Khan-i-Khanan .. 25

Khusru Beg Uzbek, appointment of, as a bowman and archer to Alauddin Ahmad, by Ahmad Shah Bahamani. 31

Khwaja, son of Bahauddin, insurrection of .. .. .. .. 378

Khwaja Bande Nawaz, death of, at Gulbarga in 1422 .. .. .. 377

Khwaja Beg Mirza, defended Ahmadnagar against attack of Malik Ambar 266-67

Khwaja Beg entitled Qalandar Khan, appointment of, as the *darogha* of Gulburga by Ahmad Shah Bahamani. 31

Khwaja Hafiz, great poet of Persia, invited to visit the Deccan .. .. 377

Khwaja-i-Jahan Turk— 201

dispatch of, by Alauddin Humayun, in the attack against Sikandar, 49 ; appointment of, as *Wakil* and *Tarafdar* of Telangana, 52 ; march of against Kapileshwar, 53 ; role of, in the Kandhar battle, 54 ; assassination of, for his impudent behaviour towards the old nobility by Nizam-ul-Mulk, 57.

Khwaja Ibrahim, an officer of Burhan Nizam Shah, received title of Latif Khan. 89

Khwaja Jahan— 165

Burhan Nizam Shah handed over Parenda fort to, 95 ; daughter of, married to Miran Shah Haider 95; supported cause of succession of his son-in-law Miran Shah, fled to Bijapur, 99, 178 ; appeal for help by Qasim Barid to, 164 ; alliance with Malik Ahmad, Dastur Dinar and Qasim Barid, 166 ; defeated by Yusuf Adil near Gulburga, 214 ; fled to Ausa after defeated by Yusuf Adil, 215.

Khwaja Jahan Dakhani—
reinforcement of Ahmadnagar troops under Mukammil Khan by, 81 ; Burhan Nizam Shah and Amir Ali Barid subjugated Sholapur and its five and half districts and entrusted to, 91.

Khwaja-i-Jahan Astrabadi appointment of, as *Wazir* by Ahmad Shah Bahamani II. 37

Khwaja Jahan Fakhr-ul-mulk, defeated by Yusuf Adil in a battle near Bidar. 164

Khwaja Mahmud Gawan— 370-71

construction of forts by, of Ausa, Parenda and Udgir, 373 ; celebrated *Wazir*, establishment of a college by, at Bidar, 377 (also *see* Mahmud Gawan).

PAGES

K—*contd.*

Khwaja Muhammad Khan Shirazi .. .. .. .. .. .. 142

Khwaja Muhammad Lari, an officer of Ahmadnagar entered in Narnala fort by pretending to be dealer in horses. 112

Khwaja Sayyad Muhammad Gesu Daraz, the religious preceptor and supporter of Ahmad Shah, death of. 29

Khwaja Ubaidullah al Ahrar, a Sufi saint, correspondence with, of Mahmud Gawan. 378

Kir Khan *alias* Malik Maqbul, revolt and imprisonment of .. .. 15

Kishwar Khan—
commander of Ali Adil Shah, defeated Murtaza's officers at Kaij and built fort of Dharur, 106; Murtaza's march against, 107; died from the arrow shot released from Changiz Khan of the besieging army of Murtaza, 108.

Kishwar Khan—
preparation of, to meet aggression of allied armies of Murtaza and Ibrahim Qutb Shah, 120; took refuge with Murtaza Nizam Shah, 122.

Kiwam-ul-mulk—
the younger, Nizam-ul-Mulk marched against, to suppress the rebellion of, 214; accompanied Adil Khan to march against Maharana of Chitod, 248.

Kodeval, a fort in possession of Burhan Nizam Shah .. .. .. 98

Kohij, a fort in possession of Burhan Nizam Shah .. .. .. .. 97

Kohir, a fort, capture of, by Hasan Shah Bahamani .. .. .. 15

Koli Konda, attempt of Qutb-ul-Mulk to restore Bahamani authority over 216

Kolaba, Portuguese secured firm foothold in the coastal belts of, in 16th century. 151

Koldevhir, the fort in possession of Burhan Nizam Shah .. .. .. 98

Kol, a fort, capitulation of, to Allawardi Khan .. .. .. .. 305

Kolhapur— 122
capture of, by *Sultan* Alauddin Hasan in his campaign of west, 16; the headquarters of Mahmud Gawan, in his expedition of western coast in 1467, 60; Mahmud Gawan left camp at, to besiege Rangana fort, 61; march from, by Mahmud Gawan towards Sangameshvar, 62; Khan Zaman's camp at, during his expedition against Bijapur, 306; capture of, by Shivaji, 333.

Kondana (Sinhagad), a fort in Pune district, captured by Tanaji Malusare in 1670. 337

Kondapalli, a place where Mahmud Gawan was executed .. .. 162

Kondavidu—
Hamir Rai's retreat to, 65; *Sultan* put Nizam-ul-Mulk in charge of, 66; *Sultan's* stay at, on his return from Vijayanagar campaign, 67.

Kondavidu, a fort—
capture of, by Kapilendra, 42; subjugation of, by the Bahamanis, 60.

Konkan—
campaign of, undertaken by Malik-ut-Tujjar, governor of Daulatabad, 42; divided into five districts by Mahmud Begada, in 1495, 151; in possession of Portuguese for 35 years from 1634; 159, Ibrahim's march into, to crush rebellion, 177; Ibrahim's unsuccessful wars with Portuguese in, 180.

PAGES

K—*contd.*

Koregaon, Sambhaji and Kavi Kalash seized by Muqarrab Khan, brought to, from Bahadurgad. 360

Korla or Korlai—
a fort in Kolaba district, attack on, by Portuguese with a contingent of 1,000 soldiers in 1593, 185; Burhan Nizam Shah's plan to build a fort at, 157.

Krishna Deva Raya— 173
instigated by Amir Ali Barid to invade Bijapur, 84; confrontation with Ismail Adil, 171.

Krishna Nayak—
dominant role in upsurge against Muslim domination at Warangal, 11; war of, with the Bahamanis, 17; sues for peace with Muhammad Shah Bahamani I, 18.

Krishna river—
border of the Kingdom of Kakatiya Kings, 1; crossed by *Sultan* Muhammad I with the army of Daulatabad, 18; the allied armies reached Talikota in the vicinity of, 104; border of the Kingdom of Krishna Deva Raya of Vijayanagar, 171; camp of Vijayanagar army on the banks of, 184, 216; Khan Zaman proceeded towards, from the camp at Kolhapur, 306; Diler Khan raided the fertile valley of, in his campaign against the Bijapur Kingdom, 336.

Kotdanda Rajapuri, a fort, subjugation of, by Malik Ahmad .. .. 73

Kuddas Khan, commander of Ahmad Shah Bahamani, killed in action at Manikpunj pass. 242

Kumbha, a *ghat*—
Shahaji's retreat *via*, from Konkan, 306; Randullah Khan reached at, 307.

L

Lakhuji Jadhav Rao of Sindkhed—
father of Jijabai and father-in-law of Shahaji, 381; principal Hindu *jagir* holder under Ahmadnagar, 382. 406

Laling (in Dhulia district)— 240, 243
a chief fort of Malik Raja Faruqi, bequeathed to Malik Nasir, his eldest son, 239; battle of, between *Mulik-ut-Tujjar* and Nasir Khan and the defeat of the latter, 39; refuge taken in, by Malik Nasir and *Raja* Kanha, 242; *Malik-ut-tujjar* forced to raise the siege of, 244.

Linga, Velama general, assists Bukka and defeats the Bahamanis at Badami and Etgir. 30

Linga VII, the Velama ruler appeals to Kapileshwar, the Raja of Orissa, attacks the Bahamani army; triumph over the Bahamanis. 50

Lodi Khan, the general of Ahmad Shah Bahamani, defeats the Vijayanagar forces. 30

Lohaganv (near Pune)— 306
camp at, by Shahaji.

Lohogad— 98
a fort in Pune district captured by Malik Ahmad, 73; Burhan, Murtaza's younger brother, imprisoned at, 107; Imadshahi family confined at 113, 211; Burhan's march of, from, 118; Shah Ibrahim and Shah Ismail confined at. 129.

Louis Ferrira Da Adred, commandant of Chaul in 1569 .. .. .. 109

PAGES

M

Machal, a fort, capture of, by Mahmud Gawan .. .. .. .. 61

Madanna—
appointment of, as *Wazir* by Abul Hasan Qutb Shah, 348; assassination of, 349.

Madura, the capital of Sundara Pandya, sacked by Malik Naib .. .. 5

Mahabat Khan—
dispatch of force under, by Aurangzeb, 318; appointment of, to the supreme command of the Deccan, 338.

Mahabat Khan, an officer of Mahmud Khilji of Malwa, killed in the battle of Kandhar by Mahmud Gawan. 54

Mahabat Khan—
joins Shah Jahan at Junnar, 281; in charge of Deccan Provinces, 282; death of (1634), 301.

Mahabat Khan of Chanderi—
*see* Mahabat Khan.

Mahadev, the hills .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 308

Maharana Sanga of Chitod, defeats Mahmud II of Malwa and restores him to throne. 248

Mahim— 151, 153
battle of, between Gujarat and Bahamanis, 34.

Mahim fort, Portuguese defeated commandant of, in 1516 .. .. 152

Maholi, the fort, captured by Malik Ahmad .. .. .. .. 73

Mahomed Ahmud, the son of Imam Nasir Abdoolla, of the Faruqi dynasty 237

Mahmood Shah, the son of Azim Shah of the Faruqi dynasty .. .. 237

Mahmud, son of Muhammad Shah, placed on the throne by Malik Naib Bahri. 70

Mahmud—
the prince, son of Ahmad Shah Bahamani, appointed as the Governor of Mahur, 33. 36

Mahmud III (Shihabuddin Mahmud Bahamani)— 216
coronation of, 214; complimentary visit to, by Adil Khan II of Khandesh, 245.

Mahmud Bahamani—
appeal by, to provincial governors to suppress rebellion of Bahadur Gilani, 164; defeated Bahadur Gilani and visited port of Dabhol, 165; led an expedition against Vijayanagar Kingdom in 1503, 166; wounded in the battle, 170.

Mahmud Begada— 79, 202
*Sultan* of Gujarat, 76; divided Konkan in five districts, 151; treaty with Mameluk Soldan, an Egyptian, 152.

Mahmud Gawan— 202, 246
one of the new-comers from Qawan, conferment of a *mansab* on, 47; help to Alauddin Humayun, in the attack against Sikandar, 49; appointed in charge of Telangana affairs, by Humayun, 50; created *Jumalat-ul-Mulk* and *Wazir-i-Kul* and appointed as *Tarafdar* of Bijapur, 52; commanded one flank of Bahamani army in Kandhar battle, 54; march of, to Bhir, 56; domination of, in the Bahamani politics, 57; appointed as prime minister and the sole administrator, by Shamsuddin Muhammad, 58; proceeded to western coast with

PAGES

M—*contd.*

considerable army in early 1467, 60; capture by, of Machal fort, 61; capture by, of Goa, 62; accompanied *Sultan* on an expedition, 63; divided Bahamani Kingdom in to 8 compact units, 64; ordered measurement of land and fixation of boundaries of villages, 65; failed in bringing together newcomers and oldcomers, 66; death of, in 1481, 67, 68; disintegration of Bahamani Kingdom after the death of, 361; revolutionised military system, 369; a foreigner who came in Deccan in search of career, 370; visit of Russian traveller during the *Wazirship* of, 378; opinion of Nikitin about, 379; revenue reforms introduced by, 384.

Mahmud Khilji—
decision of, to conquer Gujarat, 244; attack on the Bahamanis, 295; agrees to the proposal of Jalal Khan, to invade Bahamani Kingdom, 46; withdrawal of support to Jalal Khan, 47; alliance with Gajapati Kapileshwar and *Sultan* of Khandesh, 54; occupation by, of Bahamani territory, 55; defeat of, by the forces of Gujarat and Bahamanis, 56; retreat of, towards Burhanpur and Asir, 56; re-entry of, into the Bahamani territory and withdrawal of, 56-57; plans an invasion of Bahamani Kingdom, 58; invasion of the Bahamani territory by, 58; treaty of friendship signed by, with Bahamanis, 60.

Mahmud Shah—
the *Sultan* of Gujarat, agrees to help the Bahamanis against Malwa invasion, 56; march of, to Sultanpur, 57.

Mahmud Shah III, *Sultan* of Gujarat, besieged Bassein in 1540 .. .. 154

Mahmud Shah Bahamani (Daud's brother), enthroned as *Sultan* by Ruh Parwar, death of. 22

Mahmud Shah Bahamani— 76, 204,
ascends the throne, 202; helped wage war against Yusuf Adil, 78, 203; accompanied Amir Barid to face the invasion of Bijapur, 83; died in 1518, 84, 218. 216, 217

Mahmud Shah Begada— 245
*Sultan* of Gujarat, 246; ships of, attacked by Bahadur Gilani, 214; receives call of help from Bahamanis, 244; disputes the claim of Alam Khan to Khandesh 247.

Mahmud Shah of Malva, disputes of, with Gujarat .. .. .. 250

Mahuli—
a fort in Thana district, capture of, by Shahaji, 305; surrender of, by Shahaji to Khan Zaman, 307; capture of, by Marathas (1670), 337.

Mahur— 202
Ahmad Shah's campaign against, 32; meeting of Sikandar Khan and Mahmud Khilji at, 47; march against, by Murtaza Nizam Shah, 85, 210; Murtaza's promise to return of, alongwith Pathri to Berar, 86; a division of Berar, 204.

Mahur fort— 111, 112,
captured by Burhan Nizam Shah with the help of Amir Ali Barid, 205, 219; Tufal Khan retired to, 209, 230; attacked by Ain-ul-Mulk, 249. 206, 404

*Majlis-i-Ali*, the designation of the governor of Berar province .. .. 17

*Majlis-i-Rafi* Adil Khan, the successors of Yusuf Adil, styled themselves as, 164

Makhdum Faqih Ali, a saint and author, death of, in 1482 .. .. 377

Makhdum Khwaja Jahan, governor of Parenda .. .. .. .. 84

Makhduma-i-Jahan Nargis Begum, the queen, the adviser to the council of regency, appointed by Humayun. 52

PAGES

M—*contd.*

Makhsud Aqa, a noble of Murtaza Nizam Shah, recipient of *jahagir* in Berar. 113

Malabar, expedition of, by Malik Naib .. .. .. .. .. 6

Malaigad, out work of, strengthened by Adil Khan Faruqi .. .. 244

Mali Khan—
officer of Murtaza Nizam Shah, receives *jahagir* in Berar, 112; dispatch of, to invest the fort of Gawil, 210.

Mali-i-Qummi, the poet of the times of Deccan *Sultanates* .. .. 404

Malik Ahmad— 73—80
son of Nizam-ul-Mulk, appointed as deputy by *Sultan*, 66; assumed title of Malik Ahmad Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahri 73; 202, 246; laid the foundation of the city of Ahmadnagar on the banks of Sina, in 1494, 76; death of, in 1509, 79, 89, 217; conquered fortified places in Konkan and western ghats, 164; support of, obtained by Dastur Dinar, 215; refused to take part in the attack of Qasim Barid, against Yusuf Adil, 214; supports Alam Khan of Khandesh, 247; leaves four thousand cavalry to assist Alam Khan, 247. 164, 165, 166, 167

Malik Ahmad Lachhin, the emissary of the emperor Muhammad Tughluk, murder of, by the Deccan *Amirs*. 12

Malik Ambar— 149, 380, 406
granted to Portuguese the right to collect half of revenue in the vicinity of Chaul, 158; decided to attack Salsette, Bassein and Agashi, 159; founded a civil station at Khadki, 308; defeated Moghal troops, 266; commander of a strong force of 60,000, 269; negotiations of, for peace with the Moghals, 271; attack of, on Bijapuris, 275; negotiated with the Moghal commander, 276; attack on Moghals and Bijapuris at Bhatwadi in 1624, 277; occupation by, of Bijapur, 278; death of, in 1626, 280-81.

Malik Ashraf—
appointed to the charge of Daulatabad fort, revolt of, 75; seeks aid of Mahmud Begada, 77, 78.

Malik Barid, help of, sought by Burhan Nizam Shah .. .. .. 92

Malik Barkhurdar, Moghal envoy to the court of Bijapur .. .. .. 331

Malik Burhan, an officer of the *Sultan* of Gujarat, kills officers of Hisamuddin, the minister of Adil Khan Faruqi III. 248

Malik Dinar *alias* Zafar Khan, the Governor of Gujarat, execution of, by Mubarak Shah. 7

Malik Eiaz, Gujarat governor of Div. .. .. .. .. .. 153

Malik Hasan Bahri— 214
a noble of Humayun Shah Bahamani, entitled as Sarang Khan, 51; appointment of, as *Sarlashkar* of Telangana under the title of Nizam-ul-mulk, 60; an old-comer, appointed as *Sarlashkar* of Gulbarga by Mahmud Gawan, 65; the prime minister, placed Mahmud, son of Muhammad Shah on throne, 71; killed by Dilpasand Khan, 72.

Malik Hizhbaruddin, uncle of Alauddin Hasan Bahaman Shah, death of, in action. 14

Malik Hoshang—
revolt of, in the Deccan 11; defeat of, by imperial troops, 11 .. .. 30

Malik Husain, Moghal officer, kills Kheloji Bhosle .. .. .. .. 9

PAGES

M—*contd.*

Malik Iftikar—
the younger son of Malik Raja, 239; taken as prisoner in the fort of Asirgad, 241; leaves for Gujarat, 241.

Malik Larun—
an officer incharge of Asir, 247; submission of, to Mahmud Shah of Gujarat, 247; entitled as Khan Jahan and the *jagir* of Ahulas bestowed upon, 248.

Malik Mahmud Turk, an officer of Gujarat, sent against Khandesh and Malwa army. 241

Malik Maqbul *alias* Kir Khan—
revolt of, 15; beheaded by Hasan Shah Bahamani, 15.

Malik Maqbul, the Gujarat governor, defeat of .. .. .. .. 15

Malik Muhammad Khan, officer of Murtaza, dispatch of, against Bijapur.. 117

Malik Mukarrib, an officer of Ahmad Shah .. .. .. .. .. 242

Malik Mukhlis-ul-mulk, appointment of, as a *Subhedar* by Muhammad Tughluk. 12

*Malik Naib*, designation of the governor of Gulburga province .. .. 17

Malik Naib Kafur— 7, 235.
expedition of, to the Kingdom of Devagiri and defeat by, of Yadava forces, 3; massacre by, of the inhabitants of Chidambaram, 5; defeat of, by Vikram Pandya, 5.

Malik Nasir-ul-Mulk Gujarati, *Wakil* and *Peshwa* of Malik Ahmad .. 79

Malikpur, in Telangana, march to, of Bahamani army .. .. .. 65

Malik Raja Dastur-ul-mulk, an officer in the council of Malik Ahmad .. 79

Malik Raja Faruqi— 237—40.
the founder of the Faruqi dynasty, the son of Khan Jahan, 237; title of *Sipah Salar* of Khandesh given to, 238; invades the territory of Gujarat, 239; death of in 1399, 240.

Malik Saifuddin— 369
appointed as *Wakil-i-Mutalaq* or prime minister by Hasan Shah, 14; appointment of, as prime minister by Muhammad Shah Bahamani I, 16; reappointed as the prime minister by Alauddin Mujahid, 20; reappointed as the prime minister by Mahmud Shah, 21; death of, 22.

Malik Sardawatdar, appointment of, as a *Subhedar*, by Muhammad Tughluk. 12

Malik Shah *alias* Ali Shah Natthu, defeat of, by the governor of Daulatabad, assumes royal title. 12

Malik Shah, entitled as Khwaja-i-Jahan, appointed to the *subha* of Telangana by Alauddin Humayun Shah. 49

Malik Shah, in the regent, murder of, by Mubarak Shah .. .. .. 7

Malik-ut-Tujjar (*see* Khalaf Hasan)—
prince of merchants, an honorific title given to Khalaf Hasan, 34; appointment of, in charge of Dabhol, by Ahmad Shah, 36; march of, for the Konkan campaign, 42; death of, in the attack by the chief of Sangameshwar, 43.

PAGES

M—*contd.*

Malik-ut-tujjar, son of *Raja* Rustam Nizam-ul-mulk .. .. .. 48

Malik Ushsharq Muhammad, an officer of Nizamuddin Ahmad Bahamani III. 56

Malik Waji, appointed to the charge of Daulatabad fort, murder of, by Malik Ashraf. 75

Malik Yaklakhi—
appointment of, as the governor of the Deccan, 7; revolt and defeat of, 7.

Malika Jahan, daughter of Malik Nasir, married to Alauddin Bahamani 242

Malkhed— 335, 358
on the western border of Golconda Kingdom, Khan Jahan's camp at, 349

Malik Nasir *alias* Garib Khan, nominated the successor by Malik Raja 239; capture by, of the fort of Asir, 240; defeats his brother, 241; war with Gujarat, 242; defeat of, by Bahamanis, 243; death of, 243.

Mallikarjun—
the son of Deva Raya, ascendance to the throne of, 42; defeats Bahamani and Orissa forces, 42.

Mallu Khan, Alauddin Ahmad's courtier .. .. .. .. .. 48

Mallu Khan, the eldest son of Ismail Adil raised to throne by Asad Khan 174

Mallu Khan, Yusuf Adil's return to capital with .. .. .. .. 163

Mallu Khan, the Gujarat Governor of Malwa .. .. .. .. 251

Mallu Khan Deccani—
town of Bidar put in charge of, by Mahmud Gawan, 55; force sent to the relief of, 56.

Maloji Bhosle of Verul, grand-father of Shivaji .. .. .. .. 381-82

Malwa— 161, 235
end of the campaign of, in 1429, 33; campaign against, by Mahmud Gawan 201; campaign against, by Adil Khan in 1517, 248; annexation of, by Humayun, 252; Akbar stationed a permanent force under Murad in, 256; ruled by Prince Danial, 264; in charge of Khan Jahan, 282. 255, 258 269

Mumbaji Bhosle, fort of Mahuli taken from, by Shahaji .. .. .. 306

Mameluke Soldan, the Egyptian, treaty with, signed by Mahmud Begada.. 152

Man, river in Satara district .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 179

Mandelslo, the French traveller, account of, of Bijapur .. .. .. 388

Mandu—
chief of, assisted the *Raja* of Kherla, 24; Ghizny Khan fled to, after defeated by Malik Turk, 241; Ikbal Khan retired to, 246; Muzaffar Shah, father-in-law of Adil Khan marched against, 248; annexation of, by Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, 250; Humayun's return to, 251; march of Miran Mubarak Shah and Tufal Khan up to, 252; endangered by the contingents of Deccani cavalry, 269. ..

PAGES

M—*contd.*

Mane of Mhasvad, the principal Hindu officer in Bijapur government .. 385
Mangal Rai, defeat of, in Orissa campaign of the Bahamanis .. .. 60
Mangalvedha, a place in Sholapur district .. .. .. .. ..

Burhan Nizam Shah's advance upto, in course of the invasion of Bijapur, 133; Burhan Nizam Shah supervised demolition of construction work at, 195; advance of Moghal troops upto, 327; Jahangir's march towards north after abandoning gains of campaign of, 328.

Manikdaund hills— 143
Manikpunj, a fort in possession of Burhan Nizam Shah .. .. .. 98

Manikpunj—
a pass, 38 miles north-west of Daulatabad, 242; scene of battle between the Bahamanis and the Gujarat Kingdom at, 34.

Manjan Khan, the son of Khairat Khan, commandant of the fort of Daulatabad. 86

Manjra river— 328, 335.
border of the province, 308.

Manor, important station on the Vaitarana river captured by Portuguese in 1556. 154

Manur Khan, the local officer at Chaul under Malik Ambar .. .. 158

Manuri, a village, march towards, by Danial .. .. .. .. 147

Marabdev, the fort in Pune district also known as Rajgad, capture of, by Malik Ahmad. 73

Mariam Bibi, the sister of Ismail Adil, marriage of, with Burhan in 1524.. 205

Markoda, the fort in the dominion of Burhan Nizam Shah.. .. .. 97

Masud Khan, conspiracy of, with Daud Khan, the uncle of Alauddin Mujahid (1378). 21

*Maulana* Husain—
teacher of Murtaza Nizam Shah, 106; appointed as *Wazir* by Murtaza Nizam Shah (creating him Khan Khanan), 107.

*Maulana* Jami, a scholar, correspondence with, of Mahmud Gawan .. 378

*Maulana* Nizamuddin Barani, a learned man during the reign of Muhammad Shah Bahamani I. 20

*Maulana* Pir Muhammad Sherwani, a minister of Burhan Nizam Shah .. 83

*Maulana* Shah Muhammad Ustad, general of Husain Nizam Shah, sent alongwith others to build a fort at Korlai. 155

Mecca— 170
Murtaza intended to proceed on pilgrimage to, 119; Alauddin's request to Amir Ali Barid to allow him to return to, 218.

Mehedvi, the sect. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 193

Medini Rai, associate of Maharana Sanga, deposed Sultan Mahmud II of Malwa. 248

Mehkar, Khan-i-Jahan joined hands with Khalaf Hasan at, 39 .. .. 243

Melgiri Pandit, commander of Maratha troops, arrival of, in Bijapur (1685) 346

Metapur, a village where Murtaza Nizam Shah overtook Tufal Khan .. 109

Melkot, chief of, submission to *Sultan* Alauddin Hasan .. .. .. 15

Mihar Ali, Muzaffar's deputy, killed by accidental bullet shot .. .. 255

PAGES

M—*contd.*

Mir Ali Kurd, made Hajari, by Ahmad Shah Bahamani .. .. .. 31

Mir Ali Sistani, made the *mansabdar* of 300 by Ahmad Shah Bahamani .. 31

Mir *alias* Malik Fazlullah Inju—
appointed as the *Malik Naib* and *Wakil* or prime minister, by Firoz Shah, 24; counter-attack by, against Narsingh Deo, 25.

Mir Jumla— 317, 348.
minister of Abdullah Qutb Shah, 312; opened negotiations with Bijapur and Shah of Persia, 313; held *jagirs* in Karnatak, appealed for help to Shah Jahan, 314; appointment of, as commander of 5000 Moghal troops, 315; put in command of expedition by Aurangzeb, 318.

Mir Muhammad Ibrahim—
commander-in-chief, officer of Golconda, opposition by, to Jan Nisar Khan, 349; seduction of, by the Moghals, 349.

Mir Ruknuddin, replaced by Shaikh Jafar as *Wazir* and *Peshwa* .. .. 83

Mir Safavi, Bijapur ambassador .. .. .. .. .. .. 137

Mir Zainal Astrabadi—
Qutbshahi general, captured Kaltur, 121; created Mustafa Khan, 122..

Miraj—
Burhan's march towards, 93; Nizam Shahi troops returned to Ahmadnagar by way of, 122; Ain-ul-Mulk became master of the district of, 179; Muhammad Kishwar Khan moved to, for supporting Ali's accession, 181; loot of, by Shahaji, 306.

Miraj, a fort in Sangli district, Ibrahim confined his son Ali in, .. .. 180

Miran Adil Khan, assassinated at Burhanpur and buried at Thalner .. 244

Miran Husain— 127, 130.
son of Murtaza Nizam Shah, attempted murder of, by Murtaza, 125; marriage of, with the sister of Ibrahim Adil celebrated at Patori, 126, 192; killed his father Murtaza Nizam Shah, 128; imprisoned by Sayyad Murtaza, 129; murder of, 193.

Miran Muhammad Baqar, son of Burhan Nizam Shah .. .. .. 99

Miran Mubarak Khan Faruqi, successor of Adil Khan, death of, in 1457. 244

Miran Mubarak Khan—
brother and successor of Miran Muhammad Shah, 251; death of, in 1566, 252.

Miran Muhammad Khan *alias* Miran Muhammad Shah—
son and successor of Miran Mubarak Shah, 252; death of, 254; Tufal Khan seeks asylum with, 210; refused asylum to Tufal Khan on request of Murtaza Nizam Shah, 112; sent his general Sayyad Jainul Abidin to invade Berar, 113; agreed to pay a million of *muzaffari* rupees as indemnity of war to Murtaza, 114; married sister of Bahadur, 249; accompanied Bahadur Shah to Malwa, 250; took possession of Mandu, crowned as *Sultan* of Gujarat at Mandu, died on way to Ahmadabad in 1535, 251.

Miran Shah Ali, the prince, fled to Ibrahim Adil Shah after escape from confinement in Pali fort (also *see* Shah Ali). 99

Miran Shah Haider, son of Burhan Nizam Shah, marriage of, with the daughter of Khwaja Jahan (also *see* Shah Haider). 95

*Marat-i-Ahmadi*, a history of Gujarat .. .. .. .. .. 151

Miriad, captured by Mahmud Gawan .. .. .. .. .. 62

PAGES

M—*contd.*

Mirzas, cousins of emperor Akbar, rebellion of, suppressed by Akbar, 210; assisted Changiz Khan in defeating Miran Muhammad, 253.

Mirza Ali Khan, a noble of Ahmadnagar, a recipient of *jahagir* in Berar.. 113

Mirza Aziz Koka—
the governor of Malwa, Akbar entrusted command of expedition against Deccan to, 124; attacked and plundered Ellichpur, 125.

Mirza Husain—
Sayyad Murtaza entrusted defence of Berar to, along with Chugtai Khan, 123; imprisoned by *Sultan* of Khandesh, 124.

Mirza Khan— 128-30, 133.
confirmed in the post of prime minister by Miran Husain, resigned from the post of prime minister, 128; assassinated Miran Husain, 129; arrested and carried through the streets of Ahmadnagar city on an ass, 130.

Mirza Muhammad, envoy of Aurangzeb .. .. .. .. .. 348

Mirza Muhammad Khan— 421
author of *Alamgirnama*.

Mirza Muhammad Taqi, commander of Salabat Khan .. .. .. 125, 257

Mirza Nuruddin Muhammad Nishaburi, the general of Adil Shah sent to attack Qutb Shahi forces, retired to Bijapur. 121

Mirza Raja Jaisingh (Jay Singh)—
viceroy of Deccan, (Jan. 1666 to May 1667), 309; opened vigorous campaign against Shivaji, 324; Shivaji's promise to, 325; turned his attention to Bijapur, 326.

Mirza Sadiq, appointed as prime minister by Murtaza .. .. .. 126

Mirza Yadgir *alias* Khan Jahan Chugtai Khan—
one of the commanders deputed to invest Bidar, 119; chief noble of Salabat Khan defected to Sayyad Murtaza, 123.

Misami Dawal, appointment of, as the deputy minister by Hasan Bahaman Shah. 14

Mushir-ul-Mulk, the old comer, confiscation of the property of, by Alaud-din Ahmad. 46

Miyan Buddu, the commander of Kishwar Khan .. .. .. .. 120

Miyan Hasan, son of Miyan Manju sent to disperse troops, under Ikhlas Khan. 139

Miyan Kala Ajdur Khan, one section of Ahmadnagar army commanded by 81

Miyan Mahmud Nizam-ul-Mulk, appointment of, as administrator by Ahmad Shah Bahamani. 36

Miyan Manju Dakhani— 196
appointment of, as prime minister of Ibrahim Nizam Shah, 137; disagreed with plan to constitute regency under Chand Bibi, 138; encamped on the plain of *Kala Chabutra* near Ahmadnagar, 139; appointed Chand Bibi as regent, 140; joined Suhail Khan, Ibrahim Adil Shah's general, 141; obeyed summons of Ibrahim Adil to desist from passing the claim of Ahmad Shah, and retired to Bijapur, 143; entered into service of Ibrahim Adil Shah; 198; appealed to Murad, governor of Gujarat for help, 238; led one faction in Ahmadnagar court, invited Akbar to intervene, 258.

PAGES

M—*contd.*

Miyan Minnallah Dakhni—
appointment of, as the prime minister by Ahmad II, 38; deposition of, as prime minister, 46.

Miyan Muhammad Ghori—
Burhan Nizam Shah put Pathri fort in charge of, 81; entitled Kamil Khan, 82.

Moghals—
Administration, 406-415; Architecture, 415-420; Literature, 420-421; Social Organisation, 421-423.

Moghal emperors—
Akbar; Jahangir, 266-282; Shah Jahan, 282-322; Aurangzeb, 323-360..

Moghal Khan, one of the commanders of Kishwar Khan .. .. .. 120

Moghals in Maharashtra—

Background, 265-66; Jahangir 266-282; *Shah Jahan's rebellion*, 271-281; Shah Jahan, 282-322; *Rebellion of Khan Jahan*, 282-286; *War in Deccan* 286-302; *Treaty with Bijapur*, 302-303; *Settlement with Golconda*, 303-304; *Moghal campaign against Shahaji*, 304-307; *Aurangzeb appointed viceroy*, 307-309; *Conquest of Baglana*, 309-310; *Reforms of Murshid Quli Khan*, 310-311; *Rise of Shivaji*, 311-312; *War with Golconda and Bijapur*, 312-322; Aurangzeb, 323-360; *War with Shivaji and Treaty of Purandar*, 323-325; *War with Bijapur*, 325-337; *Moghal-Maratha relations*, 337-341 *Death of Shivaji*, 341; *Sambhaji*, 341-345; *Invasion of Bijapur* 345-347; *Fall of Bijapur* 347-348; *Invasion of Golconda*, 348-352; *Fall of Bijapur and Golconda*, 353-359; *Capture and death of Sambhaji*, 360; Epilogue, 360.

Mongols, defeat of, by Alauddin Khilji .. .. .. .. .. 2

Moranjan, a fort in the dominion of Burhan Nizam Shah I .. .. 98

More, the Maratha chief in the Bijapur Kingdom .. .. .. .. 38

Morkel, a fort in the dominion of Burhan Nizam Shah I .. .. .. 98

Moropant, the *Peshwa*, attack of, on Moghals .. .. .. .. 338

Moti, an unknown person proclaimed as *Sultan* by Africans .. .. 197

Muazzam—
the prince, viceroy of the Deccan (5-2-1658 to July 1659), 309; (Jan. 1664 to Jan. 1666), 309, 329; (May 1667 to June 1672), 309; (Oct. 1678 to May 1680), 309; replaced Shayasta Khan in Deccan, 323; replaced by Bahadur Khan as governor, 330; charged Diler Khan of rebellion, 337; left for Delhi, 338; return of, to the emperor, (1684), 345; submission of the *Sultan* of Hyderabad to, 347.

Mubarak Khan, a son of Alauddin entitled as Qutubuddin Mubarak Shah ascendence to the throne of. 7

Mubarak Khan Faruqi .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 46-47

Mubarak Shah, third son of Alauddin, murdered on April 15, 1320 .. 236

Mudgal— 404
Narasa Nayak defeated Yusuf Adil and captured the coveted possession of, 164; expedition against Vijayanagar by *Sultan* for the occupation of, in 1503; 216; reduced by Ismail, 220; capture of, by the *Raja* of Vijayanagar, 18; recapture of by Muhammad Shah I, 18; capture of by Deva Raya, 41, capture of, by Ismail Adil, 173.

Mudhol governed by Narayan, a Hindu chief, siege of, by Hasan Shah.. 15

PAGES

M—*contd.*

Mujahid, the prince, marriage of, with the daughter of Bahadur Khan.. 18

Muhammad, a son of Bahauddin, insurrection of .. .. .. .. 22

Muhammad Shamsuddin, the Bahamani *Sultan*, death of.. .. .. 202

Muhammad—

the prince, crowned as king, 37 ; surrender of to Ahmad II, 38 ; son of Ahmad Shah, assistance of, to Malik-ut-Tujjar, 34 ; appointed as co-worker of Alauddin, 36 ; defeat of by Alauddin, the *Sultan*, 40 ; brother of Alauddin, imprisoned by the Vijayanagar army, 41.

Muhammad I—

the eldest son of Hasan Shah, enthronement of (1358), 16 ; put to practice the principles in *Nasaih*, 17 ; march of, to suppress the rebellion of Bahram Khan, 19 ; death of, 20.

Muhammad I, the Bahamani *Sultan*, division of the Kingdom by.. .. 369

Muhammad II—

The *Sultan* of Turkey, correspondence with of Mahmud Gawan .. 378

Muhammad III 214, 216, 245.

Muhammad II, the *Sultan* of Khandesh .. .. .. .. .. 65, 72

Muhammadabad, the new name of Bidar.. .. .. .. .. 29

Muhammad Adil Shah, death of, in 1656.. .. .. .. .. 317

Muhammad Amin, the son of Mir Jumla, imprisonment of by Qutb Shah. 314

Muhammad-*bin*-Alam, the leader of Sagar rebellion .. .. .. 15

Muhammad-bin-Ali Shah— 16

chief of Daulatabad division of the Bahamani Kingdom.

Muhammad *bin* Tughluk—

Ulugh Khan, ascended the throne under the title of, 10 ; shifting of capital from Delhi to Daulatabad by (1327), 11 ; death of, 15.

Muhammad Husain Mirza, sent by Murtaza to invade the territory of Bijapur. 117

Muhammad Khan— 143

Amir-ul-Umra of Berar, 130 ; appointment of, as *Peshwa* by Chand Bibi, 148 234; appeal to Khan Khanan, the commander- in-chief of Moghal army in Berar, for help against Suhail Khan, 144.

Muhammad Khan, son of Ahmad Shah of Gujarat, commander of a division of the army. 242

Muhammad Khan Turkman, a commander, march of, towards Bidar .. 119

Muhammad Khudabanda, son of Burhan Nizam Shah .. .. .. 99

Muhammad Kishwar Khan—

the son of Asad Khan, 181 ; the general of Ali Adil Shah, killed by Changiz Khan, 185.

Muhammad Lari, father-in-law of Mustafa Khan killed by Malik Ambar 287

Muhammad Misri, a physician of Murtaza, sent to poison Changiz Khan. 115

PAGES

M—*contd.*

Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah— 195, 233
successor and son of Ibrahim Qutb Shah, 232, contribution of, to Deccani literature, 420 ; prince of Golkonda, 189.

Muhammad Quli, the prince,
Nizamshahi army reinforced by contingent of Qutbshahi army commanded by. 121

Muhammad Said, the Mir Jumla, minister of Qutb Shah.. .. .. 312

Muhammad Shah, the *Sultan*—
assumed title of *Lashkari*, 64 ; died in 1482 68; Malik Naib Bahri put Mahmud, son of, on throne, 71.

Muhammad Saqi, author of *Masiri Alamgiri* .. .. .. .. 421

Muhammad Shah I of Khandesh, Alauddin Imad Shah seeks the help of. 205

Muhammad Shah II of Gujarat, died in February 1451 .. .. .. 244

Muhammad Sahib, author of *Amal-i-Salih*.. .. .. .. .. 420-21

Muhammad Sultan—

son of Aurangzeb, dispatch of, towards Golconda, 315 ; reaches Golconda with Aurangzeb, 316.

Mukammil Khan *alias* Mukammil Khan Dakhani—
regent of Burhan Nizam Shah, 169 ; reappointment of, to the post of *Wakil* and *Peshwa*, 80; defeated Imad Shah near Ranubari, 81 ; in charge of affairs of Ahmadnagar Kingdom, 169 ; defeated Alauddin Imad Shah, 203. 82, 83.

Mukteshvar, the Marathi poet saint.. .. .. .. .. .. 421

Mulher (Murhir)—
a fort in Nasik district, besieged by Burhan Nizam Shah, 90 ; reduced by Aurangzeb in 1658, 309.

Mulla Ahmad, seduction of, by Jaisingh .. .. .. .. .. 326

Mulla Daud, author of *Tarikh-i Alfi* .. .. .. .. .. 420

Mullah Daud Bidari, author of *Tohafut Salatin* .. .. .. .. 377

Mulla Haider, a poet of the Deccan *Sultanates* .. .. .. .. 404

Mulla Husain Tabrizi *alias* Khan Khanan .. .. .. .. .. 109

Mulla Haidarkashi, the envoy of Murtaza Nizam Shah. 209

Munjabuddin Zarazari Baksha, a Muslim *Sufi* .. .. .. .. 374-75

Munir Khan—
officer in the council constituted by Malik Ahmad, 79 ; fled to Alauddin Imad Shah, the *Sultan* of Berar, 80.

Muqarrab Khan—
commander of Ahmadnagar army at Jalna, 204 ; entered into services of the Moghals, 209 ; son of Yakut Khan, 259.

Muqarrab Khan—
*Sultan* Muhammad I puts the special artillery wing of army under the command of, 17 ; attacked Vijayanagar army, 20.

Mushir-ul-mulk Afghan, appointed as commander by Burhan to attack Bijapuris. 93

PAGES

M—*contd.*

Murad son of Akbar— 141, 142, 197, 198, 233.
the governor of Gujarat, Miyan Manju's appeal to, for assistance to march against Ikhlas Khan, 139; sent off strong guard to protect, inhabitants of Burhanabad, in the vicinity of Ahmadnagar, 140; on bad terms with Khan Khanan, 145; Akbar put permanent force at Malwa in charge of, to invade Deccan at proper time, 256: prince, died in 1599, 258.

Murad Baksh—
viceroy of Deccan, (15-7-1648 to 4-9-1649) 308; replaced by Shayasta Khan as viceroy in 1652, 310; Shivaji's appeal to, for release of Shahaji, 311.

Muranjan—
a fort captured by Malik Ahmad, 73; action fought near, between Shahaji and Moghals, 307.

Murar Jagdev, assistant of Khawas Khan of Bijapur, assassination of .. 302

Murhir fort *see* Mulher fort .. .. .. .. .. ..

Muri, a pass 40 miles south-west of Ahmadnagar .. .. .. .. 74

Murshid Quli Khan—
a native of Khurasan, accompanied Aurangzeb as *Diwan* of Balaghat, 310; introduced new system of *dhara*, 311.

Murtaza Khan, a Bijapuri officer, defeated contingent of Ahmadnagar troops between Parenda and Sholapur. 103

Murtaza Nizam Shah— 105—128, 253
succeeds his father Husain Nizam Shah, 105, 208; alliance with Ali Adil Shah against Tufal Khan, 106, 185, 208; takes over charge of administration after confining his mother; 107; concludes treaty with Bijapur after naming Dharur as Fathbad, 108; forms an alliance with Ali Adil Shah and others to expel Portuguese from India, 109; appoints Sayyad Murtaza to the post of *Sar Shiledar*, 110; gives protection to the rebel Mirzas, 111, 210; captures the fort of Narnala, 112, 210; distributes the Kingdom of Berar among nobles of Ahmadnagar, 113; sacks city of Burhanpur and besieges fort of Asir, 114; causes death of a faithful minister, Changiz Khan, by poisoning, 115; orders execution of all his personal servants, 116; defeats Burhan in 1580, 118; forms an alliance with Qutb Shah to invade the Kingdom of Bidar, 119; 187; orders Salabat Khan to arrest Sayyad Murtaza, 123; develops obsession for a dancer Fatteh Shah, 125; attempts to kill prince Miran Husain by setting fire to his bed clothes, 126, 192; forms council of ministers, appoints Habibullah as prime minister, 127; died in 1588, 128, 192; forms coalition with Bijapur and marches to besiege Chaul, 155; imprisons Farhad Khan and decides upon an overall attack on Chaul, the Portuguese possession, 156; raises siege of Chaul and returns to Ahmadnagar in June 1571, 157; signs humiliating treaty with Portuguese, 186; imprisons Tufal Khan, Samsher-ul-Mulk, Burhan Imad Shah and all members of the royal family at Lohogad, 113, 211; allies with Ibrahim Qutb Shah and invades Bijapur Kingdom, 228; annexes Kingdom of Berar in 1574, 230; forms alliance with Ibrahim Qutb Shah to invade Bidar Kingdom, 231; undertakes campaign against Naldurg, 232; enters Khandesh and lays waste territory upto the gates of Burhanpur, 254; judicial system of, mentioned by *Burhan-i-Masir*, 383.

Murtaza Nizam Shah II—
title of Shah Ali, placed on throne by Malik Ambar, 266; the puppet ruler under Muqarrab Khan, 290; murder of, by Fath Khan 291.

*Musnad-i-Ali*, designation of the governor of Daulatabad province .. 17

*Musnad-i-Ali* Khan Muhammad, Alauddin Mujahid appointed Azam-i-Humayun in place of, as *Tarafdar* of Daulatabad. 20

PAGES

M—*contd.*

*Musnad-i-Ali* Malik Yusuf Turk *alias* Nizam-ul-Mulk, appointed as the commander of army of Berar, by Muhammad III, 58; murder of, by Rajput soldiers of Malwa, 59.

Mustafa Khan, a powerful leader in Bijapur, appointment of, as prime minister. 302

Mustafa Khan, arrest and execution of, by Ahmad Shah Bahamani II .. 46

Mustafa Khan—
an officer of Bijapur, attacks Ahmadnagar troops, 93; attacks Nizam-shahi troops at Bijapur, 122.

Mustafa Khan, dispatch of, towards Chaul by Burhan Nizam II. .. 157

Mustafa Khan, dispatch of, by Ibrahim Adil Shah to help Chand Bibi .. 143

Mustafabad Dabul—also called Dabhol in Ratnagiri district, a Bahamani seaport, mention of, by Nikitin. 378

Muzaffar Husain Mirza, made prisoner by Raja Ali Khan Faruqi .. 116, 225

Muzaffar Khan Mazindarani—
the commandant of the fort of Khedla releases Salabat Khan, 130; defeat of, by Jamal Khan, 130.

Muzaffar Khan *alias* Zafar Khan, assumption by, of the title of Muzaffar Shah. 239

Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat, successor of Mahmud Shah Begada dispatch by, of assistance to Adil Khan III. 248

Muzaffar Shah, claim of, to the Gujarat throne disputed by Miran Muhammad. 243

*Muzaffari* coins, indemnity payment by Miran Muhammad to Murtaza Nizam. 254

N

Nadiruzamani Shaikh Movaddi,, a Bahamani officer, marches against Malik Ahmad Nizam Shah (also *see* Shaikh Movaddi). 73

Nagothana— 152
Mahmud Begada established garrison at, 151; attack of Da Sylveira on, 153.

Naik— 381, 385
Nimbalkar of Phaltan, the principal Hindu officer in Bijapur government.

Naldurg—
cession of demanded by Malik Ahmad, 78; Burhan Nizam Shah, routed by Asad Khan Lari at, 89; Murtaza Khan, a Bijapuri officer, attacked and imprisoned at, 103; Changiz Khan's meeting with Sayyad Ali Motbar Khan, Prime minister of Bijapur at, 110; Burhan Nizam Shah, an ally of Amir Ali Barid, defeated by Ahmadnagar troops at, 220; Murtaza Nizam Shah's campaign under the command of Sayyad Murtaza Sabzavari against, 232; Bijapuri's interception near, 318; Bahadur Khan's capture of (May 1677), 335.

Naldurg, a fort (in Osmanabad district)—
Nizam Shahi invasion and besiege of, 120; Nizam Shahi plan of attack on, 122; Asad Khan Lari defeated Amir Ali Barid and Burhan Nizam Shah at, 173; rebuilt by Ali Adil Shah, 183; Sayyad Murtaza's defeat at, 189; Bahadur Khan laid siege to, 334; construction of, during the Bahamani period, 373.

PAGES

N—*contd.*

Nalgonda—
a fort, capture of, by Mahmud Gawan, 47 ; *Jagir*, restoration of, to Jalal Khan, revolt of Jalal Khan at, 49, recapture of by Mahmud Gawan, 49 ; besieged by Ismail Adil, in 1534, 174 ; besieged by Ismail Adil, and Amir Ali, 220.

Nama, contemporary writer of Eknath .. .. .. .. .. 405

Namdev, the Maratha poet saint .. .. .. .. .. .. 378

Nanded—
a part of which was in Berar under the jurisdiction of Imad Shah, 201 ; a part of the Kingdom of Barid Shahis of Bidar, 213 ; the eastern frontier of the reorganised province of the Deccan, 308.

Nandgaon, the *jahagir* place of Farhad Khan, an officer of Murtaza Nizam Shah. 109

Nandurbar—
Bahadur Shah's entry into Berar by way of, 85 ; a small town included in the province of Gujarat and described by Ibn Batutah, 236 ; a part of Khandesh under the rule of Delhi kings, 237 ; Malik Raja laid waste the district of, 239 ; Malik Nasir's attack with the forces of Malwa and Khandesh on, 241 ; *Raja* Kanha laid waste the district of, 242, the army of Malwa joined hands with Gujarat forces to help Nasir Khan at, 243; Mahmud Khilji's invasion of, 244 ;

Mahmud Begada's march to, 245 ; Bahadur Shah of Gujarat met Miran Muhammad and *Raja* of Baglana at, 249 ; Changiz Khan's invasion and occupation of, 253. Muzaffar Husain Mirza's occupation of the district of, 255.

Nandurbar, a fort, rebuilt and occupied by Vaghela Karna (the Gujarat King). 235

Narasa Nayak, the minister of Vijayanagar, captured the coveted possession of Raichur and Mudgal. 164

Narasimha (Narasinha)—
*defacto* ruler of Vijayanagar, retreat of, before the forces of Muhammad Shah Bahamani III, 66.

Narayan—
Governor of Mudhol, besieged at Jamkhindi by Hasan Shah Bahamani, 15, flees to Mudhol, 15, surrender of, to the *Sultan*, 15.

Nargis Begum, the queen— 57
mother of Shamsuddin Muhammad Bahamani III, order of, to assassinate Khwaja-i-Jahan Turk.

Narmada river—
Prataprudra committed suicide on the banks of, 9 ; Pir Muhammad Khan's defeat, by Tufal Khan on the banks of, 252 ; Raja Ali Khan defeated Sayyad Murtaza on the banks of, 257 ; crossed by Shah Jahan on his march to the Deccan (1636), 302.

Narnala Fort—
Khan-i-Jahan Abdul Qadir's escape to and Asad Khan's siege to, 38; Murtaza Nizam Shah appointed Sayyad Ali Zahir in charge of, 112
113; invaded and besieged by Khandesh army, 114; reduced by Khan Khanan's army, 145 ; Murtaza Nizam's victory over Tufal Khan in the capture of, 210, 211; Khan Jahan's escape to 243; situated as a stronghold on the northeast frontier of Bahamani Empire, 404.

Narsing Deo (Narsingh Deo)—
The *Raja* of Kherla, crossed the Bahamani frontiers, 24; Mahur reached by, 24 ; submission of, to Firoz Shah, 25 ; refusal of, to pay tribute to Khan-i-Jahan Abdul Qadir, 32 ; submission of, to Ahmad Shah, 33 ; murder of, by Hoshang Shah, 35.

PAGES

N—*contd.*

Narsu Pandit *alias* Kanhu Narsi meeting of, with Bahadur Shah, 87 .. 250

*Nasaih*, the political compendium, use of, made by Muhammad Shah Bahamani I. 17

Nasik—
included in the newly formed Bahamani Kingdom, 237; reduced by, Khwaja Abdul Hasan, 287.

Nasir Khan—
the *Sultan* of Khandesh, 33; help of, to Ahmad Shah, 34; declaration of as sovereign of Berar, 38; defeat of in the battle of Rohan Kheda, 39; daughter of, married to Alauddin (Ahmad Shah Bahamani's son), 241; fled to Kalinga, 243.

Nasir Khan *alias* Khan Dauran— 301
appointed at Dharur, by Aurangzeb to ravage the enemy territory, 319.

Nasiruddin, *Sultan* of Malwa, Daud Khan's appeal for help to, against Ahmad Nizam Shah. 246

Nasir-ul-Mulk Gujarati— 75, 77
an officer of Malik Ahmad Nizam Shah defeat of, by Shaikh Movaddi, 74.

Nasir-ul-mulk, officer of Burhan Nizam Shah II, dispatch of, to Chaul .. 157

Nehang Khan (also called Abhang Khan)—
forces entry into Ahmadnagar fort, 141; confinement of, by Muhammad Khan, 143; appointment of, to the post of Prime Minister by Chand Bibi, decides to seize Chand Bibi, 145; march by, to meet the Moghals 146; retreat by, to Ahmadnagar, 147.

Nellore, halt at, by Shamsuddin Muhammad Bahamani *III* .. .. 66

Netaji Palkar, a general of Shivaji, desertion of, to Bijapuris .. .. 327

Newberry, the English traveller visited Bijapur in 1583 .. .. .. 192

Nilanga, a fort—
in Osmanabad district, reduced by Aurangzeb, 318, ; captured by Jai-singh in his campaign against Bhoom, 328.

Nirmala Pathak, contemporary writer of Eknath .. .. .. .. 405

Nizamaluco (Nizam-ul-mulk), so called by the Portuguese, the envoy from received by Dom Joao de Castro, the Portuguese viceroy. 154

Nizam Shahi of Ahmadnagar,.. .. .. .. .. .. .. 71-149.

Nizamshah, capitulation of .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 300

Nizam Shahi Kingdom, became part of Moghal empire in 1636 .. .. 406

Nizamshahi *Sultans* of Ahmadnagar—
Malik Ahmad Nizam Shah, 75-79;
Burhan Nizam Shah, 80-99;
Husain Nizam Shah, 99-105;
Murtaza Nizam Shah, 105-128;
Miran Husain Nizam Shah, 128-130;
Ismail Nizam Shah, 130-135;
Burhan Nizam Shah II, 133-137;
Ibrahim Nizam Shah, 137-138;
Ahmad Nizam Shah, 138-39;
Bahadur Nizam Shah, 139-149;

Nizamuddin Ahmad, author of *Tabakat-i-Akbari* .. .. .. .. 420

PAGES

N—*contd.*

Nizamuddin Ahmad III—
son and successor of Humayun Shah Bahamani, 52 ; council of regency, policy of, 52 ; commanded the Bahamani army in the battle of Kandhar 54 ; death of, 57.

Nizam-ul-Mulk *alias Raja* Rustam—
confiscation of the property of, by Alauddin Ahmad Shah Bahamani 46 ; asylum with *Sultan* of Malwa after the defeat at Dewarkonda for fear of life at the hands of Humayun Shah Bahamani, 50.

Nizam-ul-mulk Turk—
victory over Malwa troops in the battle of Kandhar, 54 ; designated as *Musnad-i-Ali* Malik Yusuf Turk, the commander of Berar army, 58 ; moves to counter Mahmud Khilji of Malwa, 58.

Nizam-ul-mulk—
also known as Malik Hasan Bahri *sarlashkar* of Telangana, defeat of, by Orissa forces, 65 ; accompanies the *Sultan* in his campaign against Vijayanagar, 66 ; plot of, against Mahmud Gawan, 66 ; appointment of as *Wakil* and *Peshwa*, 68, 202 ; father of Malik Ahmad Nizam Shah, 75, 201 ; orders massacre of Turkish population, 163 ; assassination of, at Bidar 164; 214. (also *see* Malik Hasan Bahri).

Nuno Cunha—
Portuguese commander, attacked Gujarat possession of Div, 193 ; Bahadur Shah, paid visit to, 154.

Nurghat—Khan Zaman retired from banks of Indrayani and moved towards. 306

Nur Jahan, step-mother of Shah Jahan, growing influence of, in the administration of the empire. 271

Nuri Khan, the general of Ali Adil Shah assisted Ali Adil in opening the siege of Goa in 1570. 86

Nuruddin, the *Amir*, entitled as Khwaja-i-Jahan by Ismail Mukh, the predecessor of Hasai Shah Bahamani. 13

Nusrat Khan—
help by, to Alauddin Khilji against Shankardeo, 1 ; the governor of Bidar, proclamation by, asking, 11-12, defeated and sent to Delhi by Qutlugh Khan 12 ;

Nusrati, contribution of, to the Deccani literature .. .. .. .. 420

O

Oamrool Farook or Umar Farook, the *Khaleefa* or representative of the last of the prophets from whom the Faruqi dynasty descended. 237

Ogilby, the English geographer, an account of Bijapur, given by .. .. 390

Oothman Khan, the son of Simeon Shah, a predecessor of Malik Raja Faruqi. 237

Osmanabad— 213
Bahijad -ul-mulk, the general of Murtaza Nizam Shah, camps at, 120 part of the district of, under the Baridshahi Kingdom of Bidar, 213.

P

Paithan—
occupied by Jahangir Khan, 74 ; Husain Nizam Shah fled to, when allies marched against Ahmadnagar, 101 ; Sayyad Murtaza's halt at, 124 ; Daulat Khan sacked the flourishing town of, 141 ; Husain Nizam Shah withdrew from his capital and retired to, where he summoned Darya Imad Shah for help, 182.

PAGES

P—*contd.*

Palampet, Vinayak Deo's capture and execution at, by Muhammad Shah Bahamani I. 17

Pali— 97
a fort in Kolaba district, in the dominion of Ahmadnagar, capture of, by Malik Ahmad, 73; confinement of Pir Muhammad at, 91; Miran Shah Ali confined at, 99.

Pam Nayak of Sagar, submission of, to Khanazad Khan .. .. .. 352

Pandyas—
a principal dynasty in the south in the thirteenth century, 1; subjugation of, by Ulugh Khan, 9.

Pangal—a fort, subjugation of, by the *Raja* of Vijayanagar.

Panhala— 404
a fort in Kolhapur district besieged by Burhan Nizam Shah, 94; Ibrahim Adil Shah retired to, 96; Bahadur Gilani's march towards, 215; capture of, by Ali Adil Shah in 1660, 323; failure of Shivaji to capture the fort of, 327; capture of, by Shivaji in 1673, 338.

Panvel— 152
a port which yielded revenue to Gujarat kings, 151.

Par, march to the banks of, by Burhan Nizam Shah .. .. .. 94

Parali, a fort (in Satara district) capture of, by Shivaji .. .. .. 333

Parandi (Purna)—
meeting of Murtaza Nizam Shah and Miran Muhammad on the banks of, 112; defeat of Ahmadnagar forces on the banks of, 114.

Parenda (Paranda)— 72, 73, 86, 90, 103, 137, 195, 219, 306, 327, 374, 404.
Ahmad moved towards, after capturing the families of all nobles of Bidar, 74; Shah Tahir, learned scholar from Iran, warmly received by Makhdum Khwaja Jahan at, 84; in the dominion of Burhan Nizam Shah, 97; Murtaza dismissed Bahizad-ul-Mulk and imprisoned him at, 126; besieged by the combined armies of Bijapur, Golconda and Vijayanagar, 182; captured by Burhan Nizam Shah with the help of Amir Ali Barid, 175; captured by Ibrahim Adil Shah, 177; Ibrahim defeated Burhan Nizam Shah at, 196; Burhan marched to, with the help of Amir Ali Barid, 220; the capital of Ahmadnagar territory shifted to, where Malik Ambar raised to the throne the son of Shah Ali under the title of Murtaza Nizam Shah II, 266; Shah Shuja raised siege of, on the advice of Mahabat Khan, 301; handed over to Bijapur, 300; cession of, by Bijapur to Moghals, 318; surrender of, by Bijapur to Shayasta Khan, in 1660, 323; the fort built by Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, 373.

Pargaon, march to, of Khan Zaman .. .. .. .. .. 306

Parketa—
the chief of Belgaum, submission of, to Bahamanis, 63; 162, 201; made *Amir* of the Bahamani court, 64.

Parner—
a fort, 308; return of Diler Khan to, 335.

Parthal—
a beautiful girl of Mudgal, 25; flees in fear of Deva Raya, 25.

Parviz, the prince—appointed as the commander of the imperial forces by Jahangir, 266; the governor of the Deccan, transferred to Allahabad, 268; death of, in 1626, 281.

Parviz Sultan, *Thanedar* of Fathabad in the reign of Nizamuddin Ahmad Bahamani III, 56

PAGES

P—*contd.*

Patan, Todarmal's march from .. .. .. .. .. .. 255

Pathardi, camp at, of Ibrahim Adil Shah .. .. .. .. .. 128

Pathri— 86, 144, 219.
Burhan Nizam Shah donated the district of, to his Brahman relations, 85 ; Murtaza's halt at, on expedition against Berar, 111 ; Jamal Khan's camp at, 133 ; Burhan Nizam Shah attacked the town of, 205 ; plan of Ismail Adil for the capture of, 206.

Pathri fort—
carried by assault by Burhan Nizam Shah, 81 ; taken by assault and razed to ground by Burhan Nizam Shah, 82 ; Alauddin Imad Shah's unsuccessful attempt to get possession of, 173.

Patori, marriage of Miran Husain celebrated at .. .. .. .. 26

Pavangad, a fort in Kolhapur district, capture of, by Ali Adil Shah .. 323

Payin—a fort, march of Burhan Nizam Shah against .. .. .. 94

Pedgaon, Diler Khan moves out of .. .. .. .. .. 336

Pen, a town in Kolaba district .. .. .. .. .. .. 152

Penukonda (Penuconda)—seat of Vijayanagar ruler Venkatadri, 137; Tirumala, brother of Ramraja of Vijayanagar established at 185; invasion of, by Ali Adil Shah, 187.

Pennar a river, boundary of the Hoyasala Kingdom .. .. .. 1

Perestrelo, the Portuguese commander .. .. .. .. .. 156

Phaltan, abandoned by Jaisingh .. .. .. .. .. .. 328

Phonda, capture of, by Shivaji .. .. .. .. .. .. 339

Pir Khan Lodi *alias* Khan Jahan sent to the Deccan by Jahangir. .. 267

Pir Muhammad, *Maulana*—
revolt of, 90 ; defeat and confinement of, at Pali by Burhan Nizam Shah, 91 (also *see* Maulana Pir Muhammad).

Pir Muhammad Khan, the Moghal general, attacks and plunders Khandesh, defeat of, by Miran Mubarak and Tufal Khan. 252

Polad Khan, minister of Malik Ahmad Nizam Shah .. .. .. 79

Portuguese— 209
settlements of, on western coast, 151—60 ; defeated joint Gujarat, Calicut and Egyptian fleets off Div, in 1507, 152 ; established a factory at Bassein, in 1526, 153 ; captured Asheri fort, in 1556, 154 ; attacked Jawhar Kolis and passed through their country up to Sahyadris, 155 ; attacked Nizamshahi encampment and destroyed earth-works, 156 ; Burhan Nizam Shah declared a holy war against, 157 ; traders and peasants fled away to Bassein and Dabhol due to high handed behaviour of, 158 ; treaty by, with Burhan Nizam Shah III and Adil Shah, in 1615, 159 ; defeated *Sultans* of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, 228.

Posra, a fort, capitulation of, to Allawardi Khan .. .. .. .. 305

Prachandgad—
a fort, also called Torna in Pune district, capture of, by Shivaji. 311

Pratap Rao, a Maratha general, attack by, on Salher .. .. .. 338

Prataprudra (the Kakatiya Ruler)—
expedition of, into the Yadava empire, 2 ; surrender of, and agreement by, with Malik Naib, 3-4 ; defeat of, by Ulugh Khan and suicide by, 9.

PAGES

P—*contd.*

Purandar— 326, 404
a fort in Pune district, subjugated by Malik Ahmad, 73; in the dominion of Burhan Nizam Shah, 96; capture of, by Shivaji, (1649), 312; recovery of, by Nilopant (1670), 337.

Purushottam, forms alliance with Orissa against the Bahamanis .. .. 65

Purushottam III, the king of Orissa, occupation by, of Godavari-Krishna region. 216

Q

Qadam Khan, an officer who alongwith Yusuf Adil, Qutb-ul-mulk and Jahangir Khan defeated Dastur Dinar, the rebel. 165

Qadr Khan *alias* Bahadur Shah—
son and successor of Raja Ali Khan of Khandesh, 258; submits to Akbar, 259.

Qaltash, an emissary of the emperor Muhammad Tughluk, murder of .. 12

Qandhar (Kandhar)—
a centre of learning, 22; granted in *jagir* to Qasim Barid by Shihabuddin Mahmud Bahamani, 215.

Qasim Barid— 69, 71, 75
sought audience of *Sultan*, 72; in charge of Ausa and Qandhar, defeated Dilawar Khan, 73; forced the *Sultan* for the appointment of Prime Minister, 164; decided to reduce Yusuf Adil, 164; fled to Aland after defeated by Yusuf Adil, 165; entitled as *Barid-ul-Mamalik* at the time of coronation of Shihabuddin Mahmud Bahamani, 214; defeated Dastur Dinar, 215; allied again with Dastur Dinar against Yusuf Adil, 215; contrived the murder of *Khan-i-Jahan* and assumed charge of the prime ministership, 216; death of, in 1504, 247.

Qasim Beg, Turkish nobleman, appointed as subordinate of Yusuf Adil .. 161

Qasim Beg Safshikan, *Mansabdar* of 500, and *Jagirdar* of Karad, 31; narrated to the *Sultan*, story of the dastardly plot of old-comers, 46.

Qazi Beg Tihrani—
the prime minister of Murtaza Nizam Shah, entrusted to look after affairs of State with the help of Amin-ul-Mulk and Kasim Beg, 115; informed of the invasion of the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar by Adil Shah, to Murtaza, 117.

Qiwam-ul-Mulk— 215
the younger, put in charge of Warangal, by Mahmud Gawan, 68, 71; revolted in Telangana, 72.

Qizal Bash Khan, a noble of Murtaza Nizam Shah, sent in pursuit of Tufal Khan. 210

Quli Qutb Shah of Golconda, (also known as Qutb-ul-mulk)— 140, 164, 167, 219.
formed league with Mahmud Bahamani against Yusuf Adil 78, 166; assisted Alauddin Imad Shah to march against Pathri, 85; alliance with Burhan Nizam Shah against Bijapur, 93, 95; joined hands with Yusuf Adil and defeated Dastur Dinar, 165; Ismail Adil and Amir Ali defeated a force sent by, 220; murdered by his son Jamshid, in 1543, 92, 223; Bahamani *Sultan* conferred the title of *Amir-ul-umra* upon, 215; defeated the combined forces of Sitab Khan, the chief of Khammammel and Warangal, in 1504, 216; assumed independence in Telangana, in 1512, 218; alliance with Amir Ali Barid and Ahmad Nizam Shah, against Yusuf Adil, 247; Muslim rule in Telangana consolidated under, 365.

PAGES

Q—*contd.*

Qutb-ul-Mulk Dakhani, governor of Telangana killed in action near Jamkhindi. 214

Qutb Shah (Abdullah)—
Aurangzeb demanded alienation of certain part of Golconda territory from, 312; arrival of the mother of, at imperial camp with arrears of tribute of ten million rupees, 317; marriage of Muhammad Sultan with the daughter of, 317; sent an army of 12,000 cavalry and 40,000 infantry to join Bijapuris, in Jan. 1666, against Jaisingh, 327.

Qutb Shah (Abul Hasan)—
offer of 5 lakh rupees to Diler Khan, by, 335; Adil Shah's appeal to, for help, 346.

Qutbshahi Sultans of Golconda—
Sultan Quli Qutb Shah .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 213—223
Jamshid Qutb Shah .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 223—225
Subhan Quli Qutb Shah .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 225
Ibrahim Qutb Shah .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 225—232
Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah .. .. .. .. .. .. 232—
Muhammad Qutb Shah,
Abdullah Qutb Shah,
Abul-Hasan Qutb Shah.

Qutlugh Khan—
the Governor of Daulatabad, 11; imprisons Nusrat Khan, the Governor of Bidar, 12; recalled, 12.

Qutubuddin Mubarak Shah—
title of Mubarak Khan, son of Alauddin Khilji, marches towards Deccan, kills Harpaldeo, returns to Delhi and puts down the revolt of Malik Yaklakhi, 7; murder of, in 1320, 8.

R

Rabia-ud-Daurani, wife of Aurangzeb, mausoleum of, erected in 1676 by Ata-ullah, the chief Architect. 422

Rafiuddin *alias* Fathulmulk, appointed as the *Hajib-i-khas* or Lord Chamberlain, by Hasan Shah Bahamani. 14

Rafiuddin Shiraji, author of *Tajakarat-ul-Muluk*.. .. .. .. 404

Raghunath Pandit, a famous Marathi author .. .. .. .. 421

Rahuri, defeat at, of foreign nobles by Mukammil Khan of Ahmadnagar. 203

Rahutanaya, the Oriyan commander, skirmishes of, with the Bahamanis 48

Raichur—
battle at, between Alauddin and Deva Raya's son, 41; Narasa Nayak, minister of Vijayanagar captured coveted possession of, 164; cession of, by Vijayanagar army 166; in possession of Krishna Deva Raya of Vijayanagar, 171; restoration of, by King of Vijayanagar to Yusuf Adil, 216; reduced by Ismail Adil, 220.

Raichur fort—
besieged by Vijayanagar army, 22; reduced by Ismail Adil Shah 173; besieged by the *Raja* of Vijayanagar, 176.

Rajgad (a fort in Pune district)—
built by Shivaji, after taking possession of Torna in 1646, 311; retained by Shivaji under terms of treaty of Purandar, 324; arrival of Shivaji at, after escape from Agra, 329.

Rai Qutb, the Gujarat Governor of Mahim, death of .. .. .. 34

PAGES

R—*contd.*

*Raja* Ali Khan— 116
*Sultan* of Khandesh, failure of, to pay tribute, 115 ; receives letter from Akbar to support Burhan Nizam II, 131 ; part of, in the attack against Ahmadnagar 140 ; death of, from Bijapur artillery, 144, 258 ; brother of Miran Muhammad Khan 254—57 ; assisted Burhan, father of Ismail Nizam in ascending the throne, 233 ; submission of, to Akbar, 255 ; defeated Murtaza on the banks of Narmada, 257 ; buried at Burhanpur, 258.

*Raja* Baharji of Baglana—
fort of Galna in the territory of, captured by Burhan Nizam Shah, 90 ; Taj Khan, brother of Khunja takes refuge with, 107 ; solicits help from Murtaza Nizam Shah, 127.

Rajachal *Jagir*—
granted to Muhammad, by Ahmad Shah Bahamani II, 38 ; captured by Linga VII, the Velama ruler, 50.

*Raja* Jagannath, a Moghal officer killed in action with Bijapuris (1597). 144

Rajaji, the brother of Burhan Nizam Shah, attempts to place him on the throne by foreigners. 203

*Raja* Kanha, the Jhalawar king, fight between Bahamanis and Gujarat, on account of. 242

Rajamahendri (Rajamahendry)—
Bahamani army's penetration into 26 ; subjugation of, by Kapilendra, the *Raya* of Orissa, 42 ; subjugation of, by the Bahamani army, 60.

Rajamahendri (Rajamahendry)—a fort, captured by Firoz Shah 25; occupation of, by the Bahamanis 65 ; stay of Muhammad Shah III at 66; Qiwam-ul-mulk, the elder, put in charge of, 68.

*Raja* Mansingh—
the commander of the imperial forces, 266 ; dispatch of, by Jahangir from Berar against Ahmadnagar, 267.

Rajan Mahaldar, a Nizamshahi officer killed in action, in the siege of Panhala. 94

*Raja* of Khelna—
preparation of, to oppose Mahmud Gawan, 61, hands over the fort of Vishalgad to Gawan, 61.

Rajapur, Suhail Khan's 144
(the Bijapur commander) halt at, during the Moghal invasion.

Rajaram, the Maratha King, fight of the Marathas against Moghals under 360

*Raja* Ramchandra of Orissa, defeat of, by Qutb-ul-mulk .. .. 216

*Raja* Todar Mal, a minister of Akbar, revenue reforms of.. .. .. 415

*Raja* Udaram—
the Maratha chief of Ahmadnagar, 381 ; desertion of, to the Moghals, 406.

Rajbir fort, siege of, by Allawardi Khan .. .. .. .. .. 305

Rajdevhir, a fort in the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar.. .. .. .. 98

Raj Konda, attempts to subjugate by Qutb-ul-Mulk .. .. .. 216

Rajput Silahdi, vassal of the *Sultans* of Malwa, revolt of .. .. 250

Rajuri, a fort, confinement of Salabat Khan and Mirza Sadiq in, arrival of Salabat Khan from. 127

R—*contd.*

PAGES

Ramchandra—
the Vadava King, 235 ; took shelter in the fortress of Devagiri, 1 ; entitled as *Rairayan* by Alauddin Khilji 3 ; death of (1311), 6.

Rama Janardan, a author, contemporary of Eknath.. .. .. .. 405

Ramdas, poet saint of Shivaji's times.. .. .. .. .. .. 421

Ramghat, a pass, retreat of Shah Alam, by.. .. .. .. .. 344

Ramnagar, capture of, by Moropant in 1672 .. .. .. .. 338

Ramraja—
Prime Minister of Sadashivraya, 104 ; moves to meet the allied forces, 104 ; captured and beheaded on the orders of Husain Nizam Shah 105, 184.

Ramsej—
a fort in Nasik district, in the kingdom of Ahmadnagar, 96 ; surrender of, to Ahmad Khan Niyaji by Shahaji, 304 ; siege of, by Shahabuddin Khan, 343.

*Rana* of Mewar, agreement of, to accept Moghal suzerainty .. .. 268

Rama Shivdev, officer of Burhan, killed in the battle of Arjan .. .. 93

Rander, plundered by Da Sylveira.. .. .. .. .. .. 153

Randullah Khan—
the Bijapur general opposes extinction of Ahmadnagar, 287 ; reduces Fath Khan, 293 ; dispatch of, to subjugate Shivaji, 306 ; hands over Nizam Shah to Khan Zaman, 307.

Rangana, a fort in the Kolhapur district, capture of, by Mahmud Gawan 61

Rangaswamy, a temple, desecration of, by Alauddin Mujahid Shah Bahamani. 20

Ranjani, capture of, by Baichappa, a Vijayanagar general (1395).. .. 22

Ranthambore, dispute about assignment of, between Jahangir and Shah Jahan. 271

Ranubari, battle fought at, between Berar and Ahmadnagar .. .. 81

Ranuri, Mirza Khan, minister of Murtaza Nizam Shah, camped at .. 127

Rasulpur, a suburb of Bijapur .. .. .. .. .. .. 347

Ratan Khan, brother of Makhdum Khwaja Jahan, the commandant of Parenda. 90

Ratnagir, a fort in the dominion of Burhan Nizam Shah I. .. .. 97

Ravala-Javala, a fort, capitulation of, to Allawardi Khan.. .. .. 305

Rayabag, sack of, by Khan Zaman .. .. .. .. .. .. 306

Revdanda—
Burhan's march against Portuguese possession of, 134 ; Portuguese attack on, repulsed by Bahadur Gilani, 157. 100, 135, 158

Rivers—
Bhima 23, 76, 92, 133, 134, 176, 194, 306, 328, 331, 333, 335, 341, 360, 305; Binathora, 318; Godavari, 207, 1, Kalyan (Bet), 151; Kaveri, 1; Krishna, 1, 18, 104, 171, 184, 216, 306, 336; Manjra 308, 328, 335; Narmada 9, 252, 257, 302, 327; Par, 94; Parandi (Purna), 112, 114; Pennar, 1, Sina, 103, 327; Tapi, 35, 114, 125, 237, 241, 251; Tungabhadra, 18 ; Vainganga, 308; Vaitarna, 154, 155, 254. ..

PAGES

R—*contd.*

Rizullah, the Adilshahi messenger, brings letter to Asaf Khan, the commander of Shah Jahan. 288

Rohankhed—
(in Aurangabad district) battle of, between Khalaf Hasan and Nasir Khan, 39; battle of, between Jamal Khan and Khandesh and Ahmadnagar forces (1591), 193. ..

Rohankheda *Ghat*—
Occupation of, by Burhan Nizam Shah II, 133; march of Khalaf Hasan into, 243; entry into Khandesh by Murtaza Nizam Shah through, 254. ..

Rohida also called Vichitragad, a fort in Pune district in the dominion of Burhan Nizam Shah I. 96

Rohatas, a fort, surrender of, by Shahjahan to Jahangir .. .. 279

Rola Chola, a fort, in the dominion of Burhan Nizam Shah .. .. 96

Ruh Parwar, *Sultan* Mujahid's sister, plot by, to murder Daud Shah Bahamani (1378). 21

Ruhulla Khan—
detachment sent under, against Bijapur, 346; welcomes Sikandar Adilshah, 347; entry into Golconda by, 351. ..

Rumi Khan—
commander of Husain Nizam Shah, 104, 155; Ramraja, captured by, 105. ..

Rumi Khan—
also known as Rumikhan Dakhani, officer of Burhan Nizam Shah II, 133; dispatch of, to Chaul, 158. ..

Rumi Khan—
an Ahmadnagar officer, plot of, to depose Burhan Nizam Shah, 80, flight of, to Berar, 80. ..

Rustam Khan—
a noble of Murtaza Nizam Shah, 111; Tufal Khan pursued by, 111, 210; besieges the fort of Gawil 112; *jahagir* in Berar received by, 113; killed by Samsher-ul-Mulk, 210. ..

Rustam Khan, general of Firoz Shah Bahamani, killed by Narsingh Deo .. 25

Rustam Nizam-ul-Mulk—
the old corner, lieutenant, dispatch of, to Alauddin Ahmad Shah II, 44; antagonised by Allauddin Humayun, 48, flight of, to Gujarat, 48; encourages the *Sultan* of Malwa in the invasion of Bahamani kingdom, 54; an opponent of Nizam-ul-Mulk Turk, in the battle of Kandhar, 59. ..

Rustam Rao, commander of Golconda, opposition by, to Jan Nisar Khan .. 349

S

Sabaji Chitnis, officer of Burhan Nizam Shah, received the title of Pratap Rai. 89

Sabaji Koli, an officer of Husain Nizam Shah .. .. .. .. 103

Sadashivraya of Vijayanagar—
member of an alliance found to defeat Bijapur, 92; Burhan Nizam Shah entered into league with to invade Bijapur, 95; Burhan Nizam Shah attacked Bijapur territory with the help of, 95; Ali Adil Shah's appeal for help to, 100; encampment of, in the dry bed of Sina river 103; formed an alliance with Burhan Nizam Shah against Bijapur in 1546, 176; allied with Burhan Nizam Shah against Ibrahim Adil, 101

PAGES

S—*contd.*

171; captured Bijapur possessions of Raichur *doab*, 178; sent army of 15,000 under the command of his brother Venkatadri to help Ibrahim, 179, 182; marched to meet the invasion by the four *Sultans*, 184; principal member of the confederacy, 207; attacked with the help of Ali Adil Shah the besiegers, Husain Nizam Shah and Ibrahim Qutb Shah, 208; won over by Ibrahim, 223; aided Ali Adil Shah to invade Ahmadnagar Kingdom, 225, 226.

Sadiabad Mandu, the capital of Malwa, envoy of Shamsuddin Muhammad Bahamani III, sent to. 59

Safdar Khan, the brother of Kamal Khan, the Bijapur regent, wounded in the eye, killed by loyal state troops of Ismail Adil Shah. 170

Safdar Khan, an officer of Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat sent to help Adil Khan Faruqi II. 248

Safdar Khan Sistani—

in charge of Berar under Hasan Gangu Bahamani, 16; a commander of the Bahamani army, participated in the defeat of Vijayanagar and Telangana 17; besieges Adoni fort, 20; death of, 23. ..

Sagar—

confinement of Ghiyasuddin Bahamani at, Firoz Khan and Ahmad Khan defeated and fled to, 23; rebellion of Muhammad-*bin*-Alam, Ali Lachin and Fakhruddin Muhurdar at, renamed as Nushratabad, by Firoz Shah 24; siege of, by Diler Khan, 337. 2

Sahib Khan—

the favourite of Murtaza, atrocities perpetrated by, 117; issues grants, killed by Khudawand Khan, 118. ..

Saif-Ain-ul-Mulk—

the nobleman of Ahmadnagar made the *Amir-ul-umra* of Bijapur by Ibrahim Adil Shah, suspected of treachery, 178; defeated by Adil Shahi troops, murdered alongwith Salabat Khan by Husain Nizam Shah, 179; defeats the combined force of Husain Nizam Shah and Darya Imad Shah, 207. ..

Saif Khan, a noble of Gujarat left incharge of Asir by Adil Khan, intrigue of, with Ahmad Nizam Shah. 248

Shaikh Abul Fazl, replaced Khan Khanan and took charge as commander-in-chief of Moghal army in Berar. 145

Shaikh Burhanuddin of Daulatabad, city of Burhanpur built after.. .. 241

Shaikh Farid Raja, an officer of Nizamshahi army commanded by Farhad Khan, sent to attack Chaul. 135

Shaikh Jafar, appointed *Wakil* and *Peshwa* by Burhan Nizam Shah .. 83

Shaikh Movaddi, an officer of Bahamani army, killed by Malik Ahmad.. 74

Shaikh Minhaj, an officer of Abul Hasan Qutb Shah .. .. .. 349

Shaikh Nizam *alias* Muqarrab Khan, officer of Golconda army, 350; captured Sambhaji and Kavi Kalash at Sangameshwar, 360. ..

Shaikh Zain-ud-din, tutelary saint of Faruqis, robe of, presented to Malik Raja Faruqi. 239

Salabat Khan, governor of Berar, appointed by Ghiyasuddin .. .. 23

Salabat Khan, nephew of Ain-ul-mulk, murdered by Husain Nizam Shah. 179

PAGES

S—*contd.*

Salabat Khan— 120
commander of Murtaza Nizam Shah, in the expedition against Bidar, 119; the Ahmadnagar *Wazir*, 125; defeated Berar army in December 1584, 124; put in prison at Danda Rajapuri by Murtaza, 125; defeated by Jamal Khan, 130; sent force under Bahizad-ul-Mulk to besiege Naldurg, 188, 232; rebellion of Ahmadnagar nobles against 255; defeated Sayyad Murtaza, the governor of Berar, 257.

Salar Hamza Mushir-ul-Mulk, the old comer lieutenant, misrepresentation to Alauddin Shah Bahamani about happenings at Sangameshwar. 44

Salher—
the fort in Nasik district besieged and reduced by Aurangzeb in 1638, .. 309: captured by Marathas and besieged by Ikhlas Khan, 338.

Salim *alias* Jahangir, crowned as the emperor .. .. .. .. 266

Salsette, trading station and strong hold of the Portuguese.. .. .. 157, 159

Saluva Narasimha (Narsinha)—
all powerful minister of Virupaksha, 60; the Ruler of Vijayanagar, .. invades Bahamani Kingdom, agrees for truce, 216.

Saluva Timma, regent of Vijayanagar incited by Qasim Barid against Yusuf Adil Shah. 164

Sambhaji—
ran away from Shivaji and joined Diler Khan, in December 1678, 336, 337, 346 340; Shivaji's promise for the dispatch of with a contingent to serve under Moghals, 339; 341; gave asylum to prince Akbar, 343; evicted Moghals from Kalyan, 343; seized alongwith Kavi Kalash at Sangameshwar, in February 1689, and executed in March 1689, 360.

Sampayo, Portuguese Commander, defeats Gujarat fleet under Alishah at Bombay. 153

Samsher Khan, Ahmadnagar officer seized by Muhammad Khan, the *Peshwa* of the Kingdom. 143

Samsher-ul-mulk—
son of Tufal Khan, 111, 209; attacks Nizam Shahi troops in Berar, 111; 210 takes refuge in Gawil, 112; put under arrest and confined at Lohogad, 113, 211 ;

Shamsuddin Muhammad III .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 161, 201, 369.

Samtya, officer of Nizam Shahi *Sultans* of Ahmadnagar, takes part in the siege of Bidar, 119. 382

Sangameshwar—
capital of *Raja* Jakhurai, 62; Sambhaji surprised at, 360. .. .. 43

Sangamner—
Shahaji sent by Azam Khan to subjugate the district of, in 1630, 286; .. reduced by Khwaja Abul Hasan, 287; captured by Shayasta Khan, in 1636, 305.

Sanjar-e-Kashi, a poet of the Deccan *Sultanates* .. .. .. .. 404

Sanjar Khan, noble of Telangana under Shihabuddin Mahmud Bahamani 215

Sanjar Khan, the *Sarlashkar* of the Telangana *subha* under Alauddin Ahmad Shah Bahamani II, march of, against Kapileshwar and withdrawal by. 47

PAGES

S—*contd.*

Sankshi—
the fort in Kolaba district, under Gujarat in 1540, 152; captured by Burhan Nizam Shah, 153; recaptured by the Portuguese but handed over to Burhan, 154. 98

Sao Francisco, a Portuguese monastery at Chaul, attack against, by Nizamshahi troops, beaten off by Portuguese. 156

Sarang Khan, the title given to Malik Hasan Bahri, by Humayun Shah Bahamani. 51

Sarangpur, meeting at between Miran Muhammad Shah Faruqi and Bahadur Shah of Gujarat. 250

Sardar Khan, a deserter from Bijapur, goes over to Golconda, betrays Abul Hasan, his master. 351

Saifuddin Ali of Yazdi, a biographer, correspondence of Mahmud Gawan with. 378

Sharza Khan—
son and successor of Khudawand Khan of Mahur, 204, 217; attacked and killed by Amir Ali Barid, 204, 217. ..

Sharza Khan—
a Bijapuri commandant, defeated by Moghals 327; defeated by Afghans in the civil war, takes refuge with Bahadur Khan, 332; feud with Masud, 336; letter to, by Aurangzeb to crush Sambhaji, 346. ..

Satara—
siege of, by Burhan Nizam Shah, 94; Chand Bibi, confined at, 189; Chand Bibi returned from, 190; capture of, by Shivaji 333, 338; Dilawar Khan, sent as prisoner to, by Ibrahim Adil Shah, 133. ..

Satamala, a hill range .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 237

Satonda, the fort in the kingdom of Ahmadnagar .. .. .. .. 98

Savanta Mali— a *Bhagwat* Marathi saint-poet .. .. .. .. 378

Sayyad Ali Tabatabai— author of *Burhan-i-Masir* .. .. .. .. 79, 81, 82, 83, 88, 92, 106, 112, 129, 133, 203, 381, 404.

Sayyad Ali Motbar Khan, the prime minister of Bijapur, meeting of, with Changiz Khan, the prime minister of Murtaza Nizam Shah. 110

Sayyad Ali Zahir, put in charge of Narnala by Murtaza Nizam Shah .. 113

Sayyad Gesu Daraz, (Gesu Daraj)—
Muslim Saint of Gulbarga, backing of, to Ahmad Khan, 27. 29, 373, 375

Sayyad Hasan, friend of Mirza Khan, Ahmadnagar prime minister under Miran Husain, raised to high office.

Sayyad Hasan, the governor of Madura, revolt of, against Muhammad Tughluk. 1

Sayyad Hasan Jarjani—
the *Sarnobat* of Murtaza Nizam Shah, dispatched in pursuit of Tufal Khan, 112, 210. ..

Sayyad Mir Sharif Jilani, officer of Miran Husain Nizam Shah .. .. 128

Sayyad Mirza Yadgar, a commander of Murtaza Nizam Shah .. .. 112

PAGES

*S—contd.*

Sayyad Muhammad Samnani, officer of Miran Husain Nizam Shah .. 129

Sayyad Murtaza (Sayyad Murtaza Sabzavari)— 119, 254.
appointed by Murtaza Nizam Shah to the post of *sar shiledar*, a charge equivalent to *Peshwa*, 110; commander of Murtaza Nizam Shah on expedition against Berar, 114; appointed as *sarnobat*, 115; dress of honour conferred upon by Murtaza Nizam Shah, 116; strained relations with Qasim Beg, the prime minister of Ahmadnagar, 117; sent Khudawand Khan to Ranjani to arrest Sahib Khan, 118; message to Bahizad-ul-Mulk, 120; raised siege of Naldurg and proceeded to attack Bijapur, 121; decided to move against Salabat Khan, after rainy season of 1584, 123; entered into services of emperor Akbar, 124; the Ahmadnagar commandant of the besieging army, 191; decided to raise the siege of Bijapur, 192, 233; besieged Naldurg 232; officer of Murtaza Nizam Shah, defeated Zainuddin, 254; sacked the town of Burhanpur and marched towards Agra, 257.

Sayyad Murtaza Ardistani, a Bijapuri officer under Ibrahim Adil Shah .. 188

Sayyad Mustafa, a Bijapuri officer of Ibrahim Adil Shah and rival of Haji Kishwar Khan, assassinated by Kishwar Khan. 189

Sayyad Shah Rafiuddin Hasan, son of Shah Tahir, appointed as *Peshwa* by Murtaza Nizam Shah. 105

Sayyad Zainal Astrabadi, created Mustafa Khan by Qutb Shah, defeated by Dilawar Khan of Bijapur. 122

Seher Banu, surnamed Padishah Bibi, the Bijapur princess, marriage proposed of, with prince Azam. 336

Sen, Dr., a noted historian .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 416

Serum— march of the Moghal army under Jan Nisar Khan, towards, 348; claim to, given up by Abul Hasan Qutb Shah, 349.

Sadi Khan, a son of Alauddin Khilji, blinded by Malik Naib Kafur .. 7

Shahabuddin Ahmad Daulatabadi, a saint and author of *Bahre Mawaj*, died in 1445. 377

Shahabuddin Ahmad Shah I— 29
the Bahamani *Sultan*, reorganization of the *Mansabdari* system by.

Shahabuddin Khan, general of Aurangzeb, besieged Ramsej unsuccessfully. 343

Shahabuddin Mahmud Bahamani, ascends the throne .. .. .. 202

Shah Abul Hasan— ..
the son of Shah Tahir and the minister of Ali Adil Shah, 185; writes to Murtaza Nizam Shah about the duplicity of Ibrahim Qutb Shah, 186; avoids war between Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, 187, 228; arrested, blinded, imprisoned and put to death, 192.

Shahadurg— ..
march of Ibrahim Adil Shah to, 137; dispatch of Suhail Khan to, by Adil Shah, 141; Suhail Khan retreats towards, 144.

Shahaji— ..
father of Shivaji, joined Azam Khan; the Moghal *Mansabdar*, 286; faithful adherent of Nizamshahi Kingdom of Ahmadnagar, entered into the service of Moghals, 292; encampment at Lohogaon near Pune, 306; pursuit of, by Khan Zaman, 307; agreed to surrender forts to the Moghals, 307; release of, brought about by Shivaji and Sambhaji in May 1649, 311; continued the tradition of Malik Ambar of resistance of the Moghals from 1632 to 1636, 406.

PAGES

S—*contd.*

Shahaji Anant, officer under the Nizamshahi *Sultans* of Ahmadnagar. 382

Shah Alam—
title of prince Muazzam, 336, 337 ; invaded south Konkan in Sept. 1683, 344 ; ordered by Aurangzeb to march against Hyderabad, 348 ; party of soldiers sent by, to protect citizens, joined in the plunder of Hyderabad city, 349. 347

Shah Ali, Ahmadnagar officer, overtures by Chand Bibi towards .. 141

Shah Ali, son of Burhan Nizam Shah I .. .. .. .. .. 99

Shahapur—
Moghal troops driven by Suhail Khan towards 144 ; place where Yusuf Adil Shah lies buried, 169 ; tank at, dried during the Moghal invasion, 327, ..

Shahawardi Khan Kurd—
sent to devastate Bijapur territory, 117; a Nizamshahi commander sent against Bidar by Murtaza Nizam Shah, 119 ; defects to Sayyad Murtaza, 123. ..

Shah Bazar Mosque in Gulburga, one of the fine architectural constructions, built during the reign of Muhammad Shah Bahamani I. 20

Shahbaz Khan, Moghal general, marches towards Burhanabad and plunders it in 1595. 141

Shahbeg Khan, a Moghal officer dispatched to capture Chambhargonda by Khan Zaman. 306

Shah Fathullah Shiraji, an envoy of the Moghals sent to Raja Ali Khan of Khandesh. 257

Shah Habibullah—
Alauddin Ahmad's courtier, antagonised by Alauddin Humayun, puts Hasan on the throne, 48; imprisonment of, by Alauddin Humayun, 48. ..

Shah Haider, son of Burhan Nizam Shah I .. .. .. .. .. 99

Shah Haider—
a son of Shah Tahir, appointed as *Peshwa* and *Wakil* by Murtaza Nizam Shah, 109 ; sent to Tufal Khan on a mission 111 ; dismissed by Murtaza after reappointment as prime minister, 119. ..

Shah Ibrahim, son of Burhan Nizam Shah, confined in the fort of Lohogad, brought to Ahmadnagar. 129

Shah Ismail, son of Burhan Nizam Shah, confined in the fort of Lohogad, brought to Ahmadnagar by Mustafa Khan. 129

Shah Jahan—
march towards south in 1620, 269 ; appointed to the joint command of the Deccan expedition by Jahangir, 269 ; pursuit of, by Parviz and Mahabat Khan, 274 ; forced to raise the siege of Burhanpur, 279 ; succeeded to the throne on the death of Jahangir, 282 ; ordered campaign against Shahaji, 304 ; reorganised provinces of the Deccan in 1636, 308. 288-322, 422

Shah Malik, an envoy of Muhammad Shah Bahamani I sent to the rebel, Bahram Khan Mazendarani. 19

Shah Mirza Isahani—
the Golconda envoy, conspires to destroy Changiz Khan, 114, 231; turned out by Murtaza Nizam Shah from the camp, 115. ..

Shah Muhib-ullah—
the younger brother of Habibullah, support of, to Humayun Shah Bahamani, 48 ; massacre of Deccanis stayed at, at the request of, 73. ..

PAGES

S—*contd.*

Shah Nawaz Khan, viceroy of the Deccan (upto 15-7-1648) .. .. 308, 310

Shah Nimatullah Kirmani— 46
unfolder of the plot of old-comers in the massacre of foreigners at Chakan to Alauddin Ahmad Shah Bahamani II, 46.

Shah Nurullah, the grandson of Shah Nimatullah Kirmani, created *Malik-ul-Mashaik*, married to the daughter of Ahmad Shah Bahamani. 36

Shah Quli Sultan, a noble, appointed as subordinate to Yusuf Adil .. 161

Shah Raju Qattal, father of Gesu Daraz Bande Nawaz and the author of a *Divan*. 377

Shahriyar,
the youngest brother of Shah Jahan, claims to the throne of, favoured by Nur Jahan. 271

Shah Tahir, claim of, to be the son of Muhammad Khudabanda.. .. 138

Shah Tahir— 175, 185, 192, 224, 250.
the famous minister of Burhan Nizam Shah, 85; migration of, to India, 84; dispatch of, to the court of Gujarat, 87-89; appointed as *Wakil* and *Peshwa*, 90; dispatch of, to Golconda, 92; death of, in 1546-47, 95.

Shaikh Burhan Bilagrami, appointed to the siege of Dharkhera by *Sultan* Muhammad Tughluk. 13

Shaikh Mashaik Zainuddin Daulatabadi, a learned man during the reign of Muhammad Shah Bahamani I. 20

Shamsuddin Daud— ..
step brother of Ghiyasuddin, enthronement of, under the title of Shamsuddin Daud II, 23; dethroned and blinded, 24, death of, at Medina, 24.

Shamsuddin Ismail Mukh, appointed as the *Amir-ul-Umra*, by Hasan Shah Bahamani. 14

Shamsuddin Muhammad III *alias* Muhammad Khan— 57-69
the Bahamani *Sultan* ascends the throne, 57; Bahamani power reached its zenith during the reign of, 161; Khwaja-i-Jahan was assassinated in the reign of, 201; question of reorganisation of Kingdom was taken up by Mahmud Gawan in the reign of, 369.

Shankardev *alias* Singhana— ..
defeat of, by Alauddin Khilji, 1; refuses to pay tribute to Alauddin, 2; succeeds Ramchandra, 6, defeat of, and killed by Malik Naib, 6.

Shankar Rao Shirke— ..
the *Raja* in Konkan, captured by Malik-ut-Tujjar, 43; sends a message to the *Raja* of Sangameshwar about the destruction of Bahamani army, 43.

Sharaf-ul-Mulk, sent by Mahmud Khilji of Malwa as his envoy to Shamsuddin Muhammad Bahamani III. 59

Shayasta Khan— ..
campaign of, against Shahaji, 304; movement of, towards Ahmadnagar, 305; viceroy of Deccan, (4-9-1649 to Sept. 1652) and (July 1659 to Jan. 1664), 309; replacement as viceroy in 1652, 310; capture by, of Chakan in 1660, 323; night attack on, by Shivaji, 323.

Sher Khan, a noble of Ahmadnagar, recipient of *jahagir* in Berar under Murtaza Nizam Shah. 113

PAGES

S—*contd.*

Sher Khan, a Bijapuri noble, participates in counter-attack on Nizamshahis at Bijapur. 122

Sher Khan, a noble of Gujarat, intrigue of, with Ahmad Nizam Shah against Adil Khan Faruqi III. 248

Sher Khwaja, Moghal governor of Bhir, defeated by Nehang Khan .. 145

Shihabuddin Mahmud, son and successor of Shamsuddin Muhammad Bahamani III. 69, 214

Shihabuddin Umar—
put on the throne, by Malik Naib, 7, deposed by Qutubuddin Mubarak Shah, 7. ..

Shaikh Farid, appointment of, as *Thanedar* of Nasik .. .. .. 305

Shivaji—
took possession of Torna in 1646, 311 ; brought about the release of his father, in 1649, 311; annexed Jawli and the districts of Kalyan and Bhivandi, 312 ; carried raids in Moghal territory, 319; attack on Shayasta Khan in April 1663, by 323; sacked Surat in June 1664, 324; agreed to assist Moghals in expedition against Bijapur, 325; visit to Agra in 1666, 329; captured Satara, Parali, Kolhapur and north Canara region, 333; took possession of Jinji, 335; marched against Diler Khan, 336; captured many forts, 327; sacked Surat for second time in 1670, 328; Karnatak expedition of, in 1677 and 1678, 340; death of, in 1680, 341; visited Hyderabad in 1677, 348; carved out a Kingdom from Marathi districts of Bijapur, 406; controlled 7 districts of present Maharashtra, 406. 307, 317 326, 327 330, 331 361.

Shivneri fort (in Pune district)—
subjugated by Malik Ahmad, 73; Khunja, mother of Murtaza Nizam Shah sent to, 107 ; Murtaza's visit to, 109 ; besieged by Moghal army under Khan Zaman, 306. ..

Sholapur—
allied armies assembled near, in 1564, 104; encampment of Nizamshahi troops at, 121; meeting of Ismail Adil and Burhan Nizam Shah at, 171 ; besieged by Ali Barid Shah, 176; Burhan raised the siege of, 177; captured by Burhan Nizam Shah, 178; demand for cession of, by Ali Adil Shah, 181; Husain Nizam Shah's march to, with Darya Imad Shah, 207; annexed by Burhan Nizam Shah, in 1540, 220; besieged by Ali Barid Shah, 223; Ali Adil Shah formed an alliance with Vijayanagar for the recovery of, 225; arrival of Aurangzeb at, in May 1685, 347. 72, 22

Sholapur Fort—
in Sholapur district, promised by Asad Khan Lari to Burhan Nizam Shah as dowry, 84, 205; captured by Burhan Nizam Shah, 93; besieged by Ibrahim Adil Shah with the help of Barid Shah, 94 ; besieged by Ibrahim Adil Shah with the help of Sadashivaraya, 95 ; in the dominion of Burhan Nizam Shah, 97; besieged by Ibrahim Adil Shah, 99; besieged by Ahmadnagar army under Uzbek Bahadur, 137; reduced by allied armies of Burhan Nizam Shah and Amir Ali Barid, 175; constituted the dowry of Chand Bibi, 184. ..

Shiah, sect of Muslims—
Yusuf Adil re-established public profession of, 167, 216; restoration of, by Ismail Adil Shah, in 1513, 170; replaced by Ibrahim Adil Shah by the Sunni doctrine, 174; Ali and Tahmasp incurred displeasure of their father Ibrahim on account of their devotion to, 180; Ali Adil Shah made the faith, as religion of the State, 181. 169, 175

Siddhu Ghorpade—
a Hindu chief helped Firoz Shah to quell the Sagar rebellion, 24; death of, in the engagement, 24. ...

PAGES

S—*contd.*

Siddi Masud— 347

meeting with Diler Khan, made peace with Moghals, 335; installed as regent, 335; appeal by, to Shivaji for help, 336; opened negotiations with Shivaji, 340; forced to make peace with Diler Khan, 341; resigned in November 1683, 346.

Siddis—

entered with Marathas in the fray for supremacy over sea, 160; controversy developed with foreigners on succession issue of Kishwar Khan, 188; march of, to Bijapur, 189.

Sikandar, Moghal officer, defeat of, by Sharza Khan, (1666) .. .. 327

Sikandar Adil Shah—

ascended throne after Ali Adil Shah, and took vigorous steps, against constant Moghal encroachments by entrusting the task of defence to Sharza Khan, 346; Bijapur's fall to Moghals due to capitulation of, 347; Aurangzeb warned Abul Hasan to desist from help to, 348.

Sikandar-i-Sani Alauddin Hasan Bahaman Shah-al-Wali, the title of Zafar Khan, the first Bahamani ruler. 13

Sikandar Khan, the commander appointed by Hasan Bahaman Shah to subdue Kir Khan. 15

Sikandar Khan—

appointed as *Sipah-Salar* of Telangana, by Alauddin Humayun, 49; revolt of, against Alauddin Humayun, 49; death of, in the battle with Alauddin Humayun, 49.

Sikandar Khan Turk—

march of, with Mahmud Gawan against Kandhar, removed *Sultan* Ahmad III from the battle field, 55; put under arrest, 55; plots revenge against Khwaja-i-Jahan Turk for his arrest, 57.

Sinao Peres, appointment of, as minister and general of his army by Burhan Nizam Shah I. 154

Simeon Shah, the son of Ashab Shah .. .. .. .. .. 237

Sina, a river, camp of Sadashivaraya on the banks of .. .. .. 103, 327

Singhana *alias* Shankardeo *see* Shankardeo.

Siraj-e-Junaydi, a saint—author of the Bahamani period .. .. .. 377

Siraj Khan Junaidi, the vice governor of Bijapur, arrests Hasan, aspirant to the throne occupied by Humayun Shah Bahamani. 51

Siraj-ul-Mulk—

the Malwa commander, march of, to relieve Kherla, 59; capture of, by Malik Yusuf Turk, the Bahamani general, 59.

Sirpur, a fort, capitulation of, to Malik Naib, the Delhi general .. .. 3

Sitab Khan *alias* Shitaram, the chief of Khammammel and Warangal, defeat of, by Qutb-ul-mulk. 216

Siyasat Khan, the *Kotwal* of Ahmadnagar, all personal servants of Murtaza Nizam Shah arrested by. 117

Somnath, expedition of Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat against .. .. 239

Sonpet (renamed Ishratabad)— 144

battle fought between Moghal troops and Golconda forces at, in February 1597, 198; Darya Imad Shah and Husain Nizam Shah met at, 101, 207; Khan Khanan defeated the combined armies of Bijapur and Golconda in the neighbourhood of, in Feb. 1547, 234; battle between Moghals and Ahmadnagar at, in Feb. 1597, 258.

Sorab (probably Sopara), a port in Thana district which yielded revenue to Gujarat Kings. 151

Subhan Quli, son of Jamshid Qutb Shah, deposition of, by Ibrahim Qutb Shah. 225

PAGES

S—*contd.*

Suhail Khan— 197

commander of Ibrahim Adil Shah, sent to Shahadurg with a force of 25,000 horse, 141; Miyan Manju repaired to Bijapur with, 143; defeated at Sonpet, by Khan Khanan, the Moghal commander, 198; commander of 25,000 cavalry, deputed by Ibrahim Adil II to face Moghal invasion, 233.

Sujan Rai Khatri, author of *Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh.* .. .. .. 42

Sujat Khan, general of Firoz Shah Bahamani killed in action .. .. 25

Sujat Khan, general of Shah Jahan, attack on, by the Bijapuris .. .. 306

Sujat Khan, appointment of, as governor of Malwa by Humayun .. 252

Suleman Aga of Bijapur, defeat of, by Portuguese (1571) .. .. 186

Sultanpur— 237, 243

Mahmud Shah of Gujarat marched to, on his way to south, 57; Malik Raja with the support of Dilawar Khan laid waste the district of, 239; Muhammad, son of Ahmad Shah, defeated Bahamanis near, 242; arrival of Gujarat army at, 244; plundered by Khan Azam, 255; Jaisingh's halt at, for 24 days with the intention to renew his attack against Bijapur, 327.

Sultanpur—a fort, invested by Malik Nasir .. .. .. .. 241

Sumatra, King of Achin, in, *see* Achin.

Sunni— 167

a sect of Muslims, declaration of, as State religion by Ismail Adil Shah, 169; Ibrahim replaced *Shiah* doctrine by, 174; execution of Shah Abul Hasan due to restoration of, 192.

Supa, in Pune district, movement of Bahadur Khan towards .. .. 338

Surat— 135

plundered by Da Sylveira, in 1530, 153; captured by Changiz Khan, the Gujarat noble, with the help of Portuguese, 155; sacked by Shivaji, in 1664, 324; sacked by Shivaji for second time in 1670, 338.

T

Taghalachin—

brings about the deposition of Ghiyasuddin, 23; appointed to the post of *Malik Naib* and *Mir Jumla* by Shamsuddin Daud Bahamani, defeats Firoz Khan and Ahmad Khan, 23; killed by Mir Ghiyasuddin, 24.

Tahmasp, the son of Ibrahim Adil Shah, confined by his father in the fort of Belgaum. 180

Taj Khan, an officer of Burhan Nizam Shah II attacked outside the fort of Korla by Portuguese, 136. 157

Taj Sultana, the sister of the *Sultan* of Golconda, married to Ibrahim Adil Shah II. 192

Tajuddin Firoz, the title of Firoz Khan, *see* Firoz Shah Bahamani.

Talikota— 227

battle fought between Vijayanagar and the *Sultanates* of Deccan, 104-105; the armies of Deccan *Sultanates* reach at, 104, 184.

Talmal, a fort in the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar .. .. .. .. 98

Talner—

a fort in Khandesh, march by Malik Ahmad Nizam Shah towards, in support of the claim of Alam Khan, 79; bequeathed by Malik Raja to his son Iftikar, 240.

Tamarani—

Qutb Shahi army camped at, 112, march of the army from, 112.

PAGES

T—*contd.*

Tandur—
Qutb Shahi armies pursued up to, by Bijapuris, 120 ; celebration of the marriage of prince Ahmad (Bahamani) at, 216.

Tanker, a fort in the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar .. .. .. .. 98

Tapi river—
Ahmad Shah Bahamani's halt on the bank of, 35 ; Murtaza crosses the river in pursuit of Khandesh army, 114 ; Mirza Muhammad Taqi, the Ahmadnagar commander camps at, 125 ; Zainabad and Burhanpur, cities built on the banks of, 241 ; battle fought at Dangri, near, 251.

Tarabai, wages war against Aurangzeb till 1707 .. .. .. .. 360

*Tarafdar*, designation of the, in charge of an administrative division of Bahamani kingdom. 162

Tarapur, destruction of, by the Portuguese (1531).. .. .. .. 153

Tavernier, a foreign traveller who visited Bijapur and Ahmadnagar kingdoms. 389-90

Tawakya, a fort in the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar.. .. .. .. 98

Telangana—
defeat of the Bahamani army in, by Bukka, 24 ; battle of, between the Velamas and the Vemas, 25 ; invasion of, by the *Raja* of Vijayanagar, 26 ; subjugation of, by Khan-i-Azam, 32 ; rebellion in, of Doddya Alla, 36 ; rebellion in, of Jalal Khan, 46.

Telsang, sack of, by Diler Khan .. .. .. .. .. .. 336

Temples at Pune, Kandhar, Devgiri and Paithan converted into mosques 374

Thalner—
Firoz Tughluk assigned the district of, to Malik Raja Faruqi, 237, placed in charge of Hisamuddin, 248 ; advance of Changiz Khan towards, 253. 238

Thalner, a fort, *see* Talner.

Thana—
in possession of Ahmad Shah Bahamani, captured by the Gujarat forces, 34; Portuguese secured firm foothold in the coastal belts of, in 16th century, 151 ; instigation of the chiefs of, by Portuguese, 152 ; chief of, becomes tributary of Portuguese, 153.

Tikota, sack of, by Diler Khan .. .. .. .. .. .. 336

Timma Raja (Eltamraj), backed by Ali Adil Shah in the dispute about succession to power in Vijayanagar. 105

Timur, dispatch of an embassy to, by Firoz Shah Bahamani .. .. 28, 32

Tirumala, the brother of Ramraja of Vijaya nagar, establishes at Penukonda 185

Tisgaon (near Daulgaon pass), passed by Jahangir Khan, the Bahamani general. 74

Todarmal, defeat by, of Muzaffar Husain .. .. .. .. .. 255

Torna—a fort in Pune district, capture of, by Shivaji in 1646 also *see* Prachandgad. 311

Torna hills, Shahaji marches towards .. .. .. .. .. 306

Torva, a place about four miles from Bijapur, pursuit of Ibrahim Adil Shah by Ain-ul-mulk up to. 179

Treaty of Gulburga, execution demanded of, by Aurangzeb .. .. 336

Trimbak—a fort in Nasik district in the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar, 97 ; surrender of, by Shahaji, 307.

Trimbak Vanesa, a fort in the possession of Burhan Nizam Shah I.. .. 98

Trianglwadi, a fort in Nasik district, surrender of, by Shahaji .. .. 307

PAGES

T—*contd.*

Tufal Khan— 230

joins Ali Adil and Sadashivraya, 103 ; with allies marches against Bijapur, 105 ; retires to Gawilgad, 106 ; detaches Ali Adil Shah, 185; capture of, by Sayyad Husain Jarjani, 210, 230; affairs of Berar looked after by, 208 ; withdrawal of, from the battle against Ahmadnagar, 209 ; march of, with Miran Muhammad Faruqi up to Mandu, 252 ; restoration of power to Burhan Imad Shah demanded of, by Murtaza Nizam, 229 ; imprisonment of, in the fort of Lohogad, death of, 211.

Tukaram, the Maratha poet saint. .. .. .. .. .. .. 421

Tuljapur, a town in Osmanabad district .. .. .. .. .. 328

Tung and Tikona, the forts in Pune district, captured by Malik Ahmad Nizam Shah. 73

Tungabhadra river, frontier of the Bahamani Kingdom crossed by the *Raja* of Vijayanagar. 18

Tungi and Tivni, the forts captured by Malik Ahmad Nizam Shah .. 73

U

Ubegh Khan, a noble of Alauddin Khilji sent against Gujarat .. .. 235

Udgir (in Osmanabad district)—

the fortress captured by Burhan Nizam Shah, 94; defeated army of Murtaza returns to, 114 ; Murtaza moves from, to Kandhar on receipt of the news of the rebellion of Burhan, 118 ; Amir Ali Barid flees to, 205 ; Shah Jahan orders the capture of, 302 ; captured by Khan Dauran in 1636, 306 ; a fort built by the Bahamanis, 373.

Ulva, Ain-ul-Mulk turns rebel and becomes master of .. .. .. 179

Ulugh Khan—

marches to Warangal, 8, 9 ; subjugates the Pandyas, 9 ; ascends the throne under the title of Muhammad *bin* Tughluk, 13, 236.

Umarazpur, march to, by Burhan Nizam Shah 89

Ustad Khwaja-Ibn-Dabir, minister of Malik Ahmad Nizam Shah .. 79

Uzbek Bahadur, commander of Ahmadnagar army in the reign of Burhan Nizam Shah II, besieges Sholapur. 137

V

Vaghela Karna, the Gujarat King, defeated by Ubegh Khan, Alauddin's commander. 235

Vainganga river .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 308

Vairatgad .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 237

Vaitarna river, capture of Manor on the banks of, by Portuguese .. .. 154, 155

Vanjarai, a fort in the dominion of Burhan Nizam Shah.. .. .. 97

Vazir Khan, viceroy of Sarnal, defeat of, by Muzaffar Husain.. .. 255

Venkatraya, ascends the throne of Vijayanagar without opposition .. 175

Velamas—

the vassals of the Bahamanis, 25; revolt of, 36; alliance with Kapileshwar, .. 53.

Vemas, the feudatories of Vijayanagar, war of, with Velamas.. .. 25

Venkatadri—

brother of Ramraja, the prime minister of Vijayanagar, 104; dispute of, .. with Timma Raja, 105; compact of, with Burhan Nizam Shah, 137; defeats Asad Khan Lari, 175; sent by Sadashivaraya to help Ibrahim Adil Shah, with an army of 15,000 179; Ali Adil's march against, 187; alliance with Murtaza, 231.

PAGES

V—*contd.*

Varthema, the Italian traveller .. .. .. .. .. .. 151, 152, 386

Vasantagad, a fort in Satara district, captured by Maratha forces.. .. 323

Vetala, a fort in the kingdom of Ahmadnagar .. .. .. .. 98

Viceroys of the Deccan—

Khan-i-Dauran, Jaisingh, Islam Khan, Shah Navaz Khan, Prince Murad Bakhsh, Shayasta Khan, Prince Aurangzeb, Prince Muazzam, Shayasta Khan, Prince Muazzam, Mirza Raja Jaisingh, Prince Muazzam, Bahadur Khan Khan Jahan Bahadur Kokaltash, Diler Khan, Prince Muazzam, Bahadur Khan Khan Jahan. 308-09

Vijayanagar—

the capital of Bukka III, 30; invasion of, by Alauddin Ahmad and Kapilendra, 42; invasion of, by Ismail Adil, 173; Golconda and Bijapur territory annexed to, 183; invasion of, by Mahmud Gawan 201. ..

Vikram Pandya, uncle of Sundara Pandya, defeat by, of Malik Naib .. 5

Vinayak Deo, the son of Krishna Nayak, commander of the united forces of the Telangana and Vijayanagar defeat of, by the Bahamanis. 17

Virkheda, post of, granted as *jagir* to Yusuf Adil by *Sultan* Muhammad Shah Bahamani. 161

Virupaksha— 202

king of Vijayanagar, 60; preparation by, to attack Goa, 163.

Visapur, a fort .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 308

Vitha—Renukananda, author, contemporary of Eknath .. .. 405

W

Waghdari, a place where Ibrahim Qutb Shah met Murtaza Nizam Shah.. 108, 185

Waliullah—

nominal ruler of Bahamani Kingdom from March, 1523 to 1526, 69; put on the throne by Amir Ali Barid, 84; poisoned in 1526, 218. ..

Waman Pandit, a noted Marathi poet .. .. .. .. .. 421

Warangal—

invasion of, by Alauddin, 2; expedition by Malik Naib Kafur and siege of, 3; march to, by Ulugh Khan, 8; capture of, by Ulugh Khan, 9; the rise of an independent dynasty at, 11; capture of, by Hamvira from the Bahamanis, 50; charge handed over to Azam Khan by Nizam-ul-mulk, 66; Qiwam-ul-mulk, the younger, put in charge of, 68, 71; a fort to the east of Bahamani Kingdom, 404. ..

Wardha, the river in Berar .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 420

Wazirabad, retreat to, by Nizam-ul-mulk after defeat at the hands of Hamir Rai of Orissa. 65

William Sleeman, Sir, remarks of, about Dara Shukoh .. .. .. 417

Y

Yadava kingdom—

principal dynasty in south ruling in the whole of present Maharashtra, 1; invasion of, by Garigeya Sahani, 2; annexed to Delhi empire in 1317, 362.

Yaghrush Khan, the chief conspirator against Mubarak Shah, execution of.

Yahya Khan—Sultan Humayun Bahamani's brother, imprisonment of, by Humayun, 50; killed in action by prison guards, 51.

*Yakka Jawanan* or *Silahdaran*, designation of the post of special body-guard in charge of king's arms, created by Muhammad Shah Bahamani I. 17

PAGES

*Y—contd.*

Yakut Khan, appointment of, as commander and entitled as *Khudavand Khan* by Ismail Nizam Shah. 130
Yakut Khan, commander of the fortress of Asir, death of, by poisoning. 259
Yar Ali, scheming brother of Husain Ali, the *Wazir* of Daud Khan Faruqi of Khandesh. 246
Yengana, nephew of Madanna, minister of Abul Hasan Qutb Shah .. 348

Yusuf Adil— 202, 387
governor of Maharashtra provinces, sent by *Sultan* Muhammad to put down Maratha chiefs of the north-western provinces of Bahamani Kingdom, 161; put in charge of the new province of Daulatabad, 162; defeated combination of Qasim Barid and Khwaja Jahan Fukhr-ul-mulk Dakhani in a battle near Bidar, 164; defeated Qasim Barid and Dastur Dinar with the help of Qutb-ul-Mulk, 165; marriage of Prince Ahmad with Bibi Sitti, the daughter of, 165; alliance with *Sultan* Mahmud against Qasim Barid, 166; reestablishes public profession of *Shiah* form of faith, 167, 216; sent fleet of 60 vessels under Abdullah against Anjandiv, in 1506, 168; died in 1510, 169, 217; defeated Qasim Barid and Khwaja Jahan near Gulbarga, 214; abandoned enterprise against Dastur Dinar, 215; assumed royal title after the death of Mahmud Gawan, 246; conspiracy of Amir Ali Barid, Ahmad Nizam Shah and Qutb-ul-mulk against, 247; a foreigner came in search of career in the Deccan, 370; founder of Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapur, developed revenue reforms introduced by Mahmud Gawan, 384.
Yusuf Azhdar, appointed to suppress the rebel at Sagar by Mahmud Shah Bahamani. 22
Yusuf Baghra, appointed as a *Subhedar* in the Deccan by Muhammad Tughluk. 12
Yusuf Talash of Chakan, march of, against Malik Ahmad .. .. .. 164

Yusuf Turk—
releases the prisoners at Bidar, 50; appointed as the *Amir-ul-Umra*, by Hasan, the brother of Humayun Shah Bahamani, 51.
Yusuf Turk, God father of Ismail Adil Shah, stabs Kamal Khan and dies in the process. 170

Z

Zafar Khan—
besieges Gulbarga, 13; declared as king under the title of *Sikandar-i-Sani* Alauddin Hasan Bahaman Shah-al-Wali (1347), 13.
Zafar Khan, son of Ahmad Khan (later Ahmad Shah Bahamani) escapes to Khanapur with his father. 27
Zafar Khan, son of Ahmad Shah I of Gujarat, sent to oppose Khalaf Hasan, the noble of Ahmad Shah Bahamani towards Mahim. 34

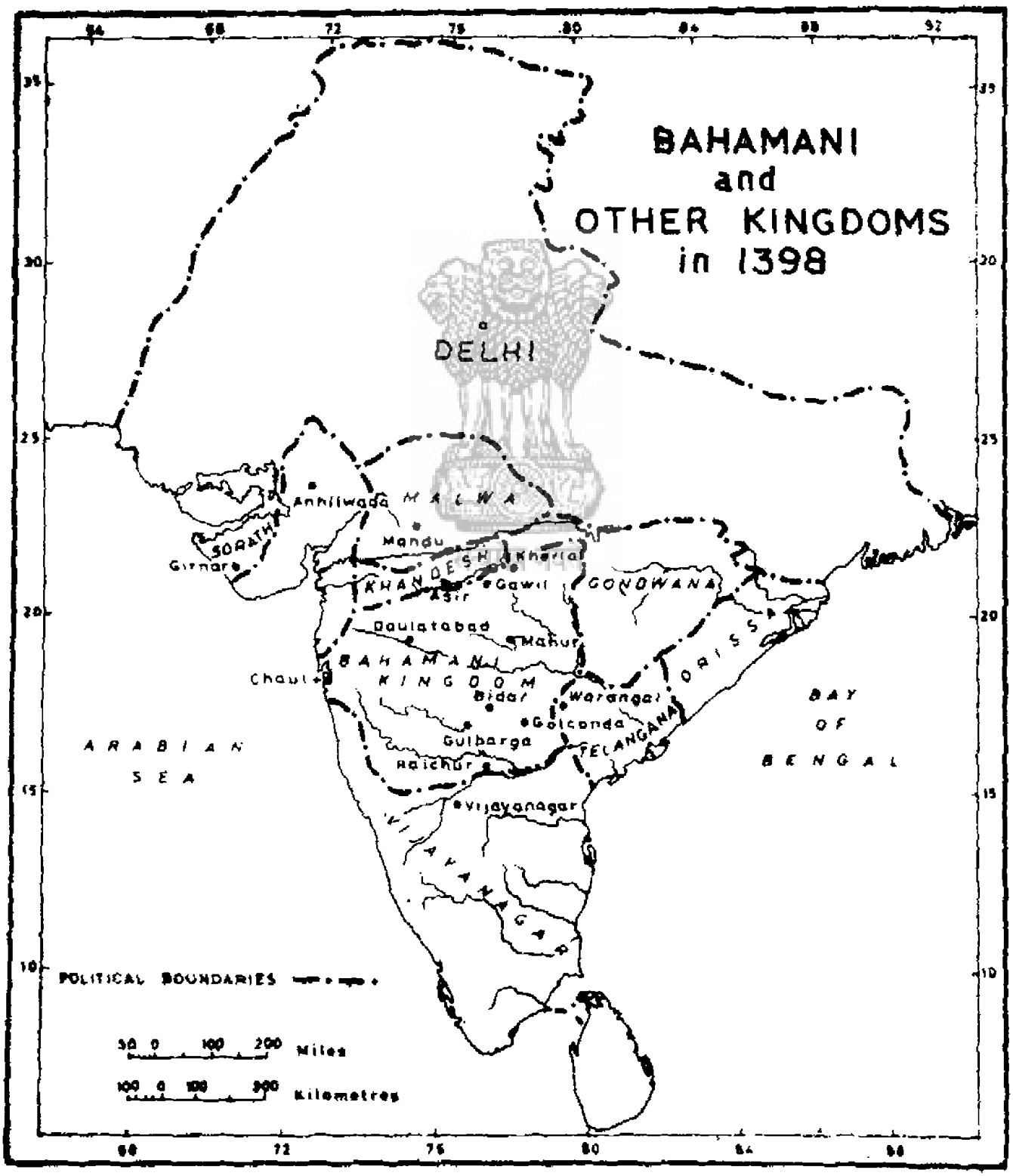
Zafar Khan *alias* Muzaffar Khan—
sent as governor of Gujarat, by Muhammad Tughluk, 239; assumes title of Muzaffar Shah, 239.

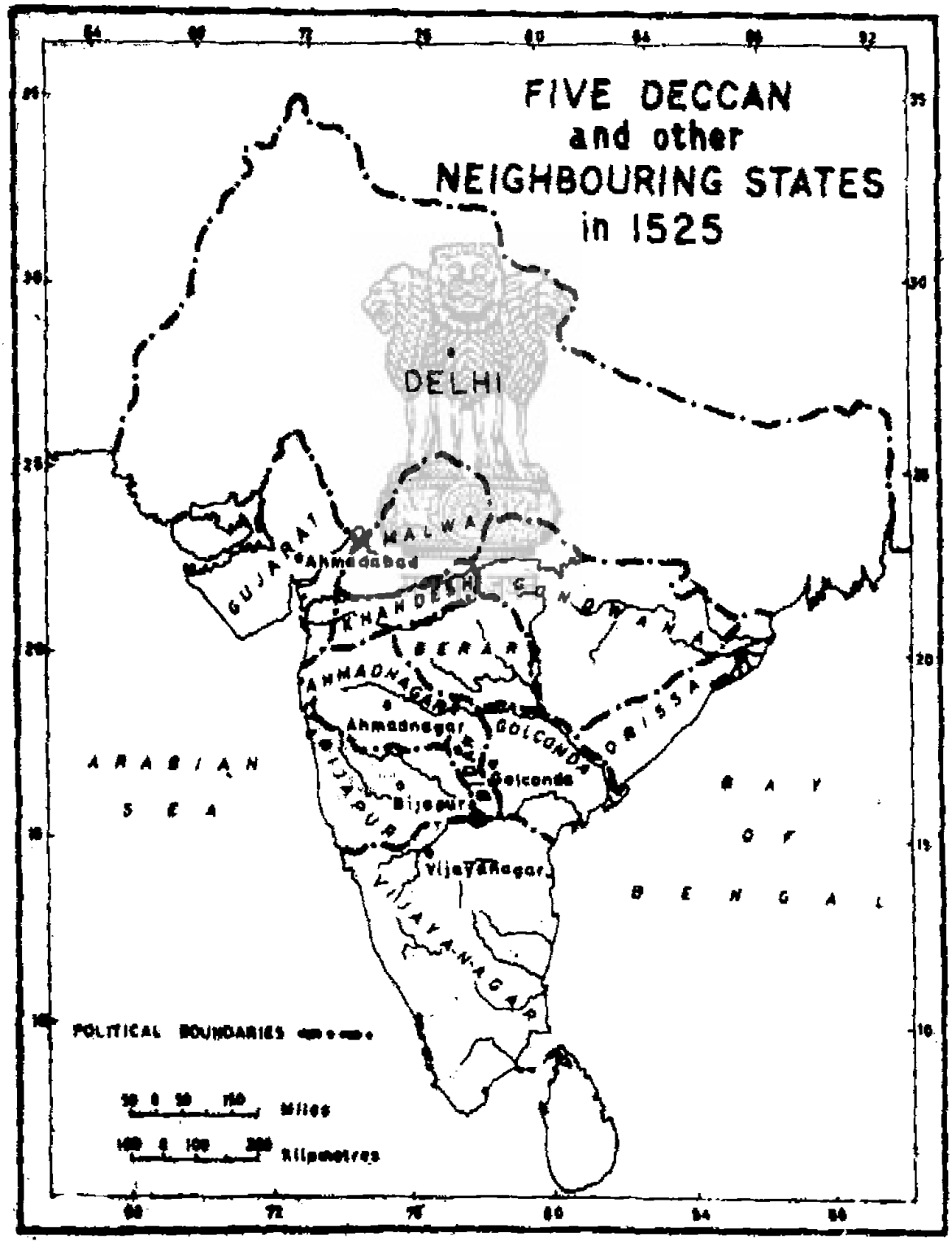
Zahir-ul-Mulk—
a nobleman of Mahmud Khilji of Malwa, opposes Mahmud Gawan, commanding the Bahamani army, 54; killed by Mahmud Gawan, 54.
Zahuri, a poet in the court of Deccan *Sultanates* .. .. .. .. 404
Zainabad, city built by Malik Nasir of Khandesh .. .. .. .. 241

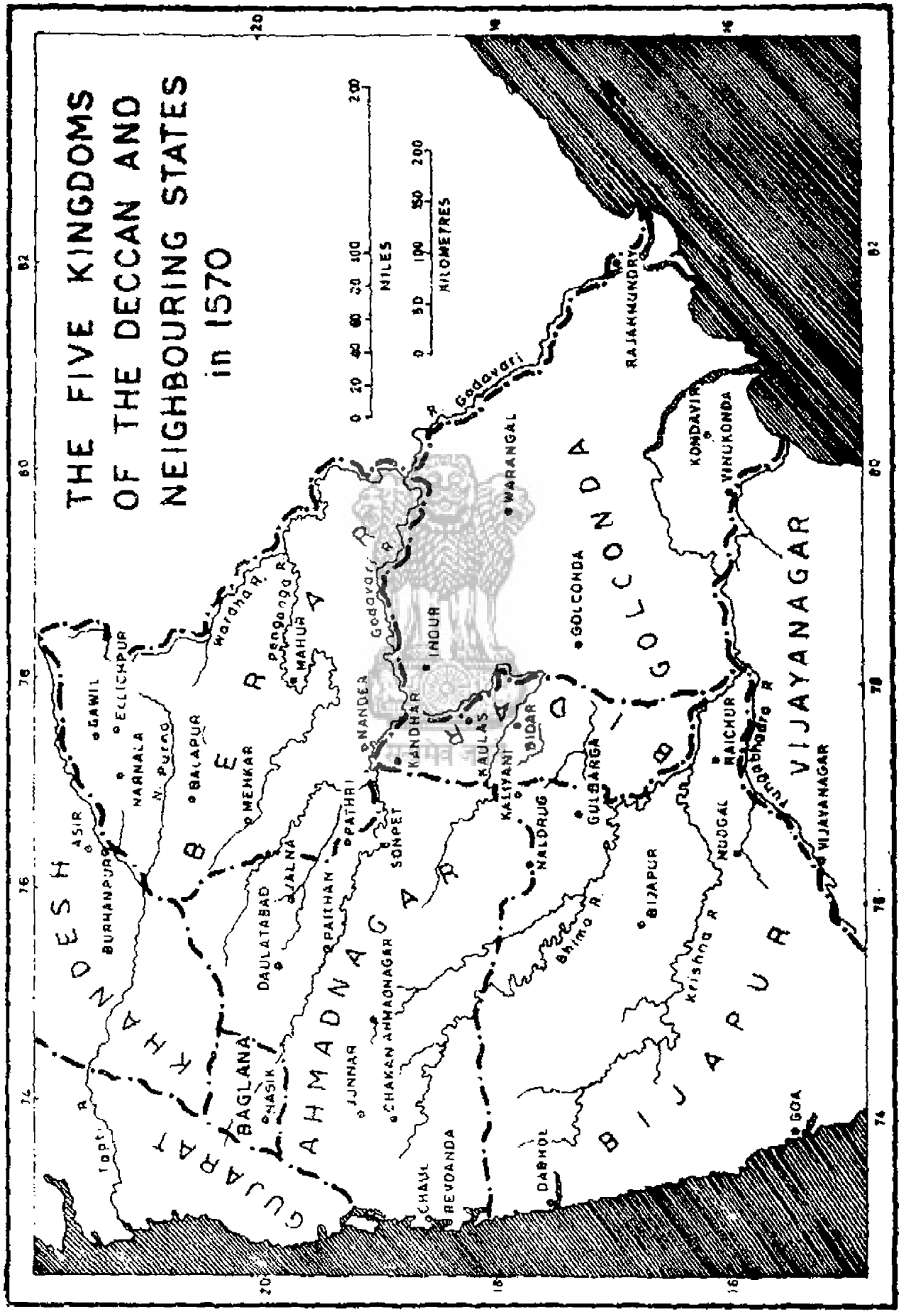
Zainuddin Ali—
the governor of Chakan, 72; prepares to march against Ahmad Nizam Shah, 73; defeated and killed by Ahmad Nizam Shah, 74.
Zainuddin, a minister of Miran Muhammad Shah of Khandesh, attacked and defeated by Sayyad Murtaza, officer of Murtaza Nizam Shah. 254
Zainuddin Ali, a Muslim Sufi .. .. .. .. .. .. 375
Zamiri Khan, an officer of Murtaza Nizam Shah, attacks Chaul .. .. 156

Zamorin of Calicut—
sends envoy to Portuguese viceroy, 154; forms an alliance with Bijapur and Ahmadnagar against Portuguese, 155, 186; sends flotilla to assist Murtaza Nizam Shah, 156.

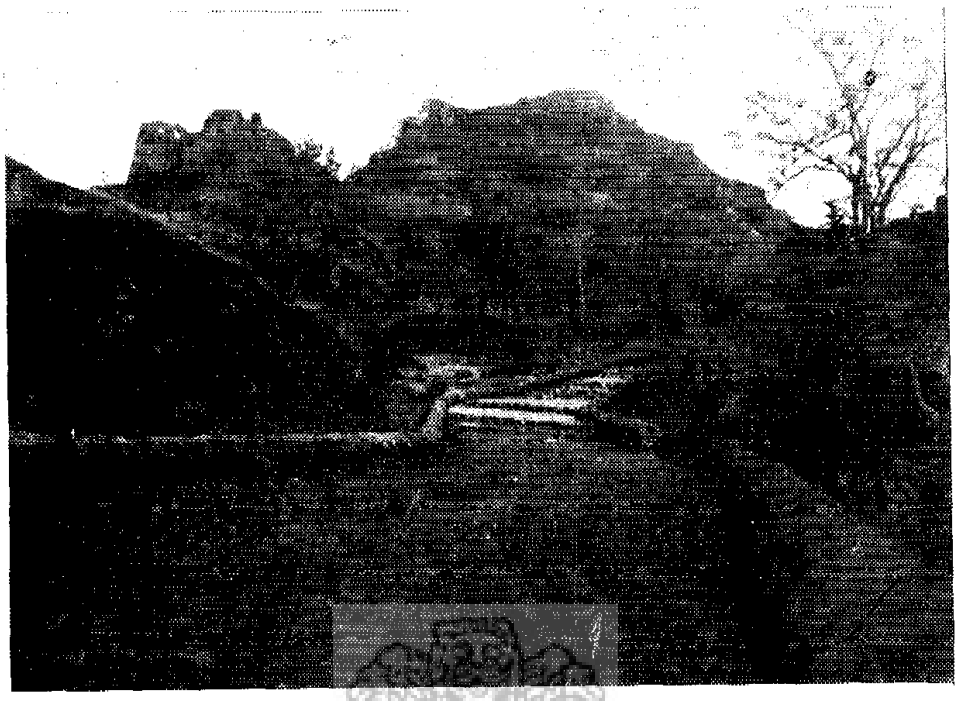
# MAPS AND PLATES


BAHAMANI
and
OTHER KINGDOMS
in 1398
DELHI
MALWA
Anhilwada
SORATH
Girnar
Mandu
Khelna
KHANDESH
Asir
Gawil
GONDWANA
Daulatabad
Mahur
BAHAMANI
KINGDOM
Chaul
Bidar
Warangal
Golconda
Gulbarga
TELANGANA
Raichur
Vijayanagar
ORISSA
ARABIAN
SEA
BAY
OF
BENGAL
POLITICAL BOUNDARIES
50 0 100 200 Miles
100 0 100 300 Kilometres

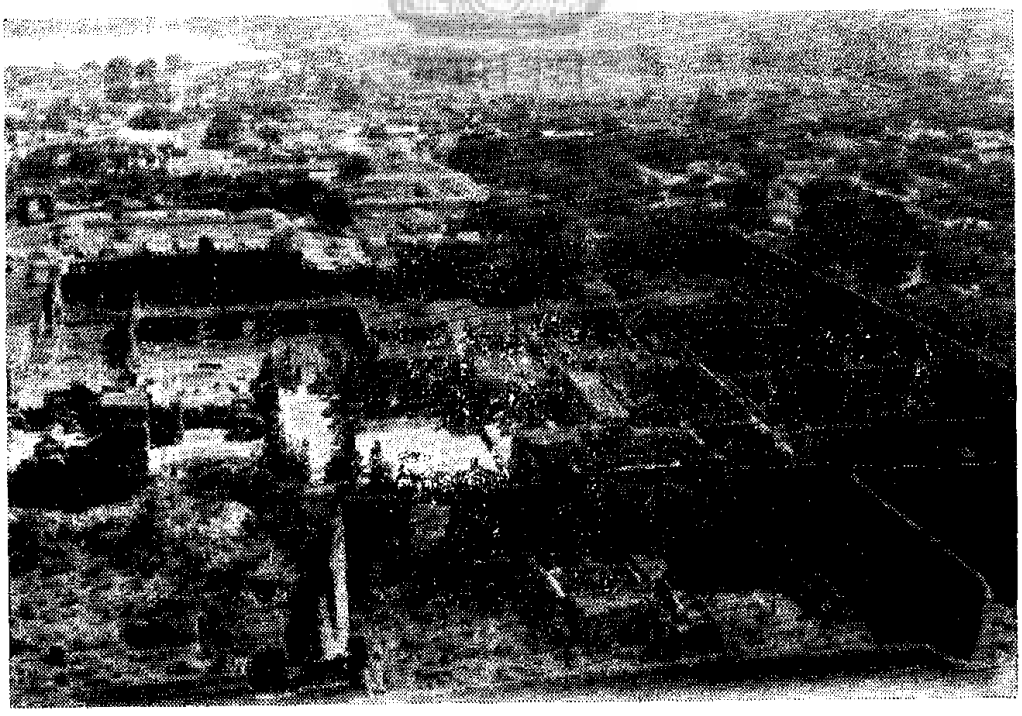

FIVE DECCAN
and other
NEIGHBOURING STATES
in 1525
DELHI
MALWA
GUJARAT
Ahmadabad
KHANDESH
GONDWANA
BERAR
AHMADNAGAR
Ahmadnagar
GOLCONDA
ORISSA
Golconda
Bijapur
BIJAPUR
VIJAYANAGAR
Vijayanagar
ARABIAN
SEA
BAY
OF
BENGAL
POLITICAL BOUNDARIES
Miles
Kilometres


THE FIVE KINGDOMS
OF THE DECCAN AND
NEIGHBOURING STATES
in 1570
MILES
KILOMETRES
GUJARAT
KHANDESH
BERAR
AHMADNAGAR
BIDAR
GOLCONDA
BIJAPUR
VIJAYANAGAR
BAGLANA
BURHANPUR
ASIR
GAWIL
ELLICHPUR
NARNALA
BALAPUR
MEHKAR
MAHUR
NANDER
INDUR
KANDHAR
KAULAS
WARANGAL
GOLCONDA
KONDAVIR
VINUKONDA
RAJAHMUNDRY
Godavari R.
Wardha R.
Penganga R.
DAULATABAD
JALNA
PATHRI
SONPET
PAITHAN
JUNNAR
CHAKAN
AHMADNAGAR
KALYANI
NALDRUG
GULBARGA
BIJAPUR
RAICHUR
MUDGAL
Bhima R.
Krishna R.
Tungabhadra R.
VIJAYANAGAR
CHAUL
REVDANDA
DABHOL
GOA
Tapti R.

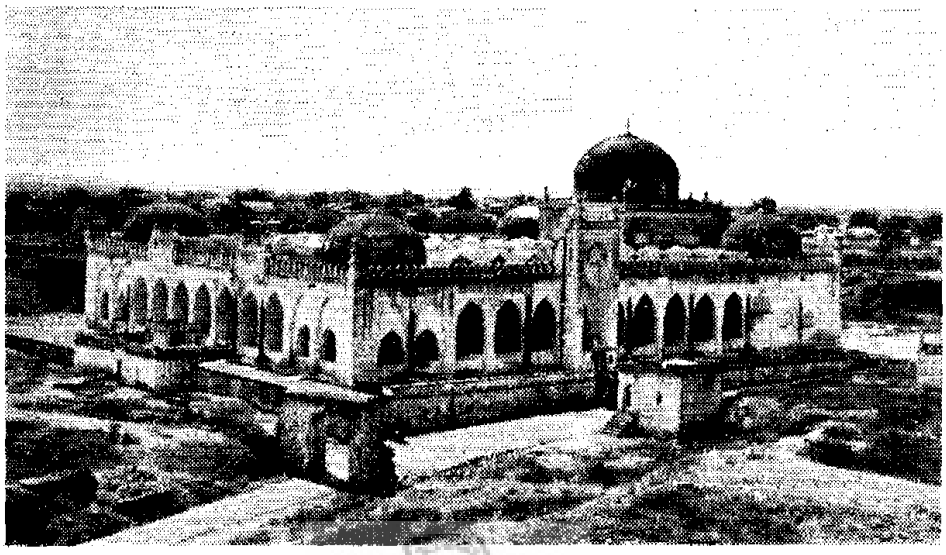
Karnala Fort



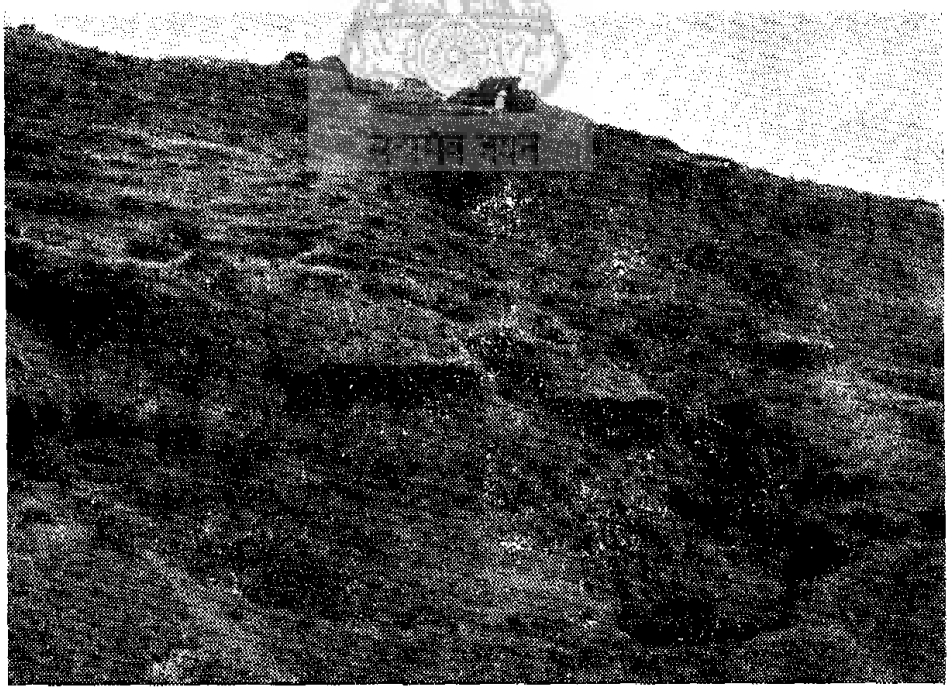
Asirgad Fort



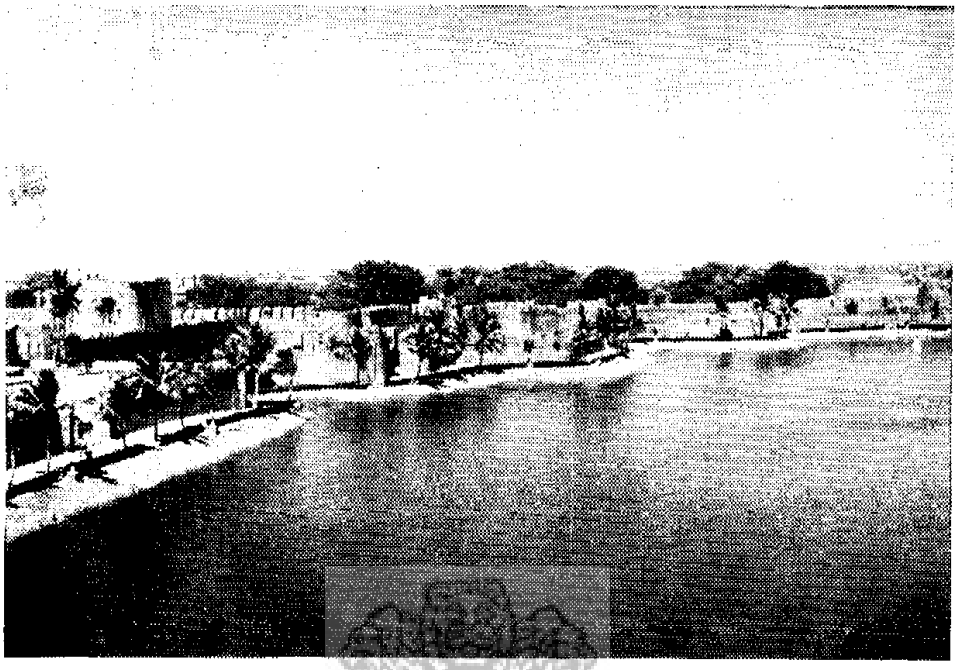
Remains of Golconda Fort



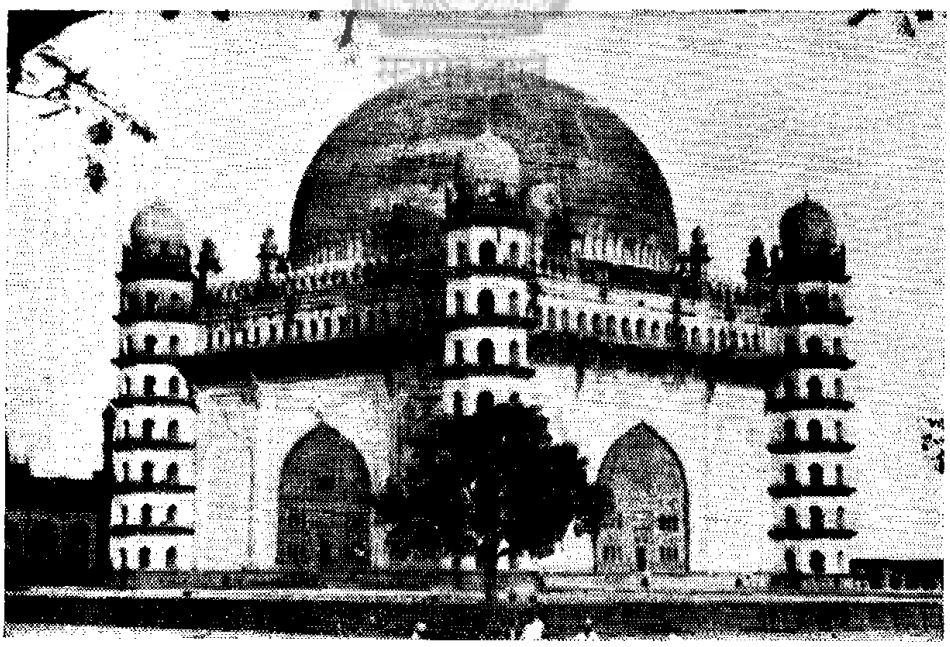
Jami Masjid, Gulbarga



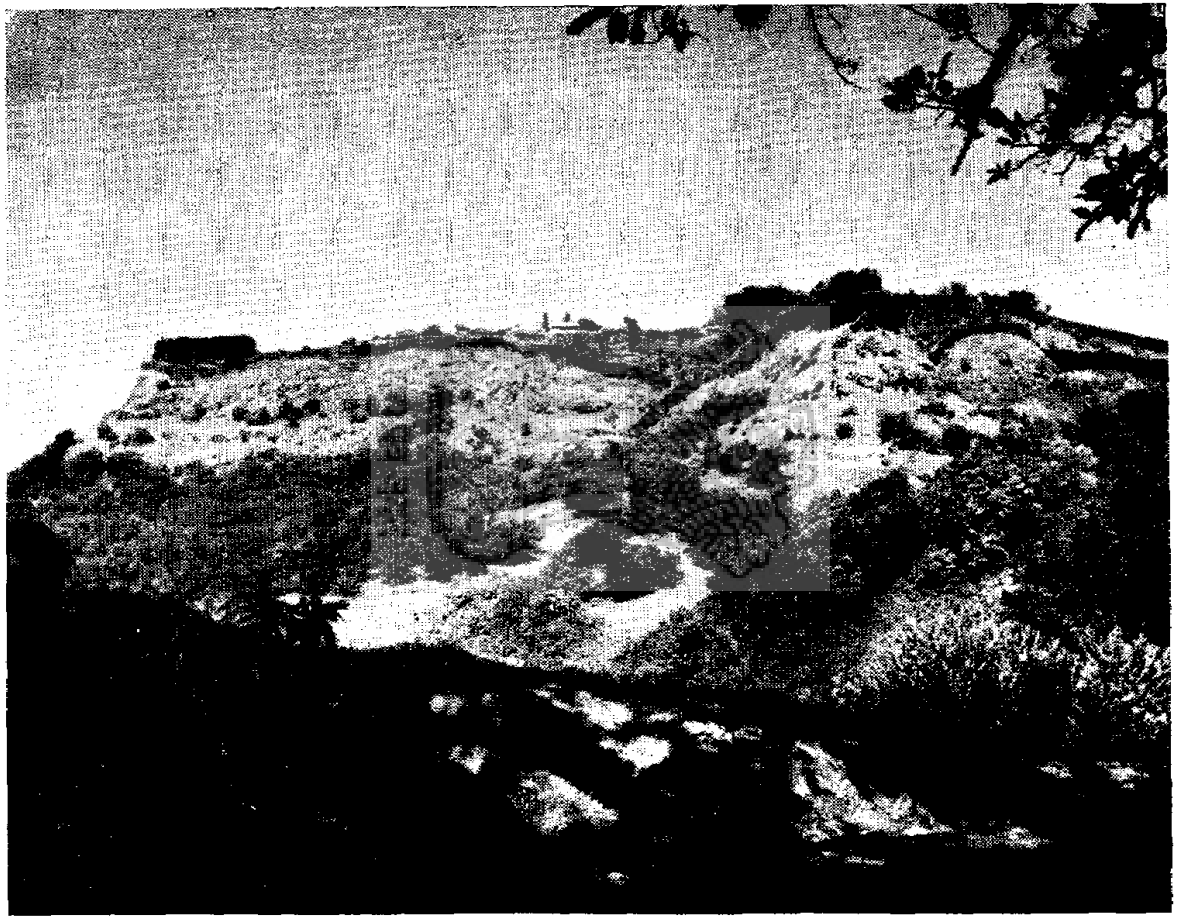
A view of Vishalgad



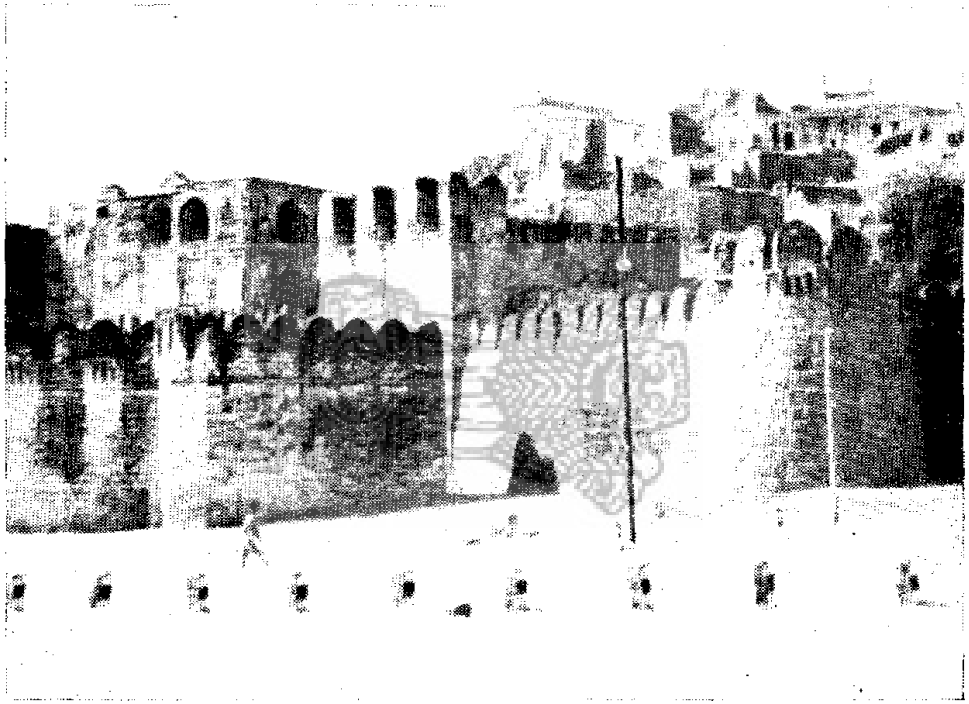
Sholapur Fort



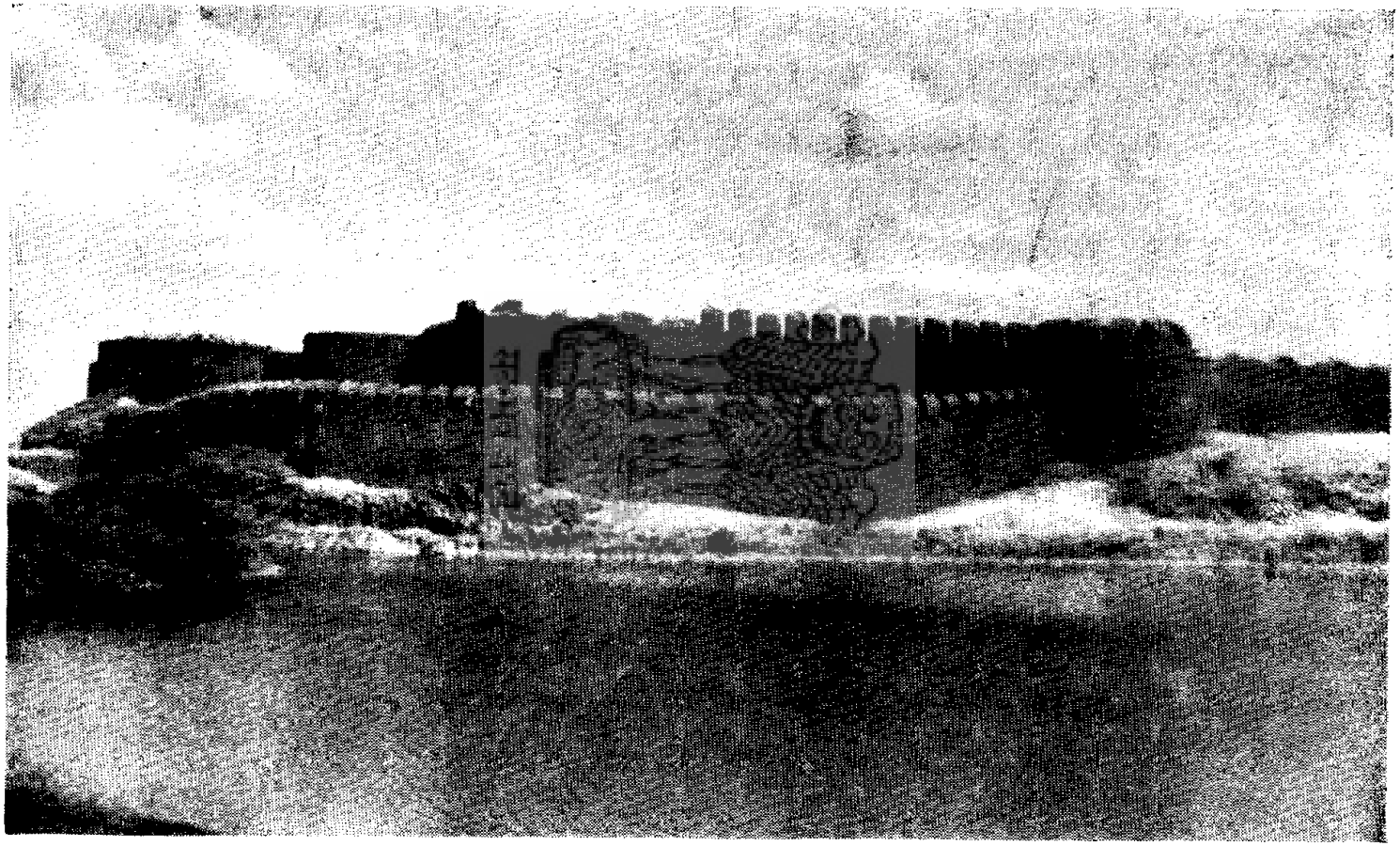
Golghumbaz, Bijapur



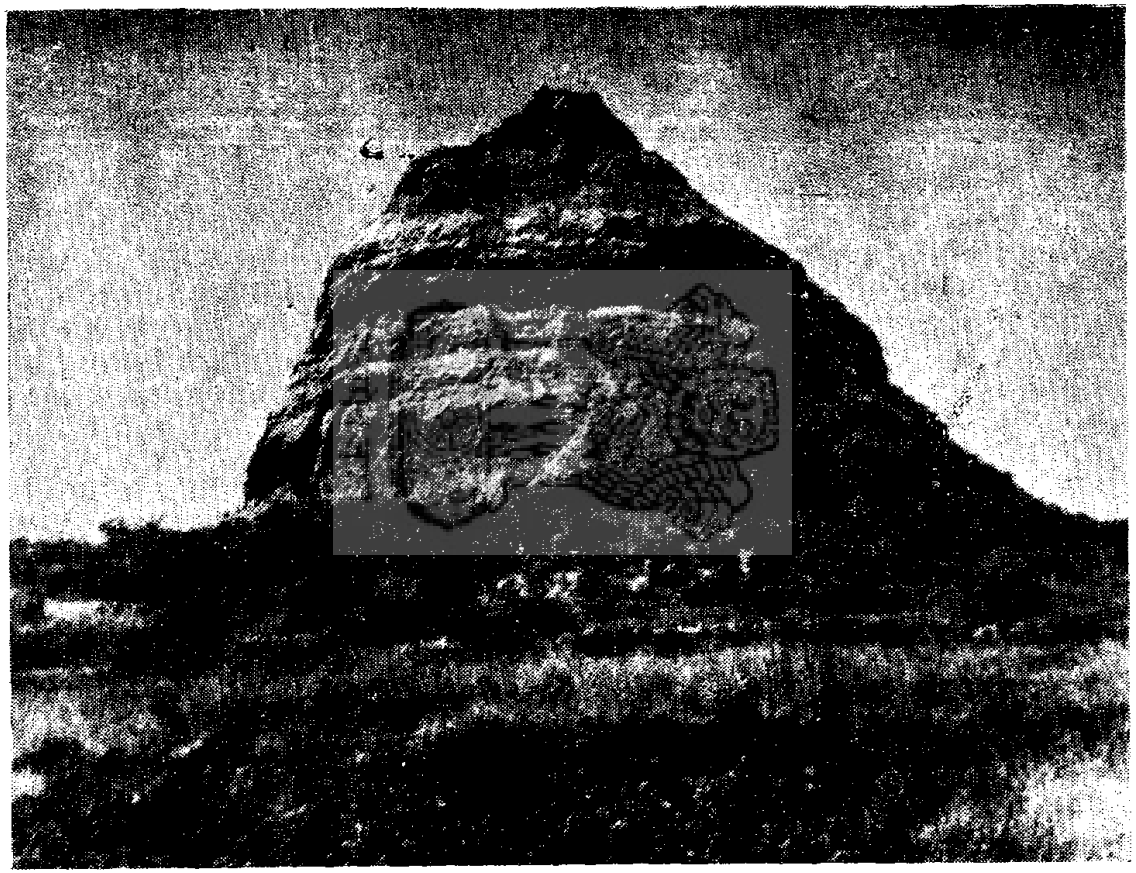
Pratapgad Fort



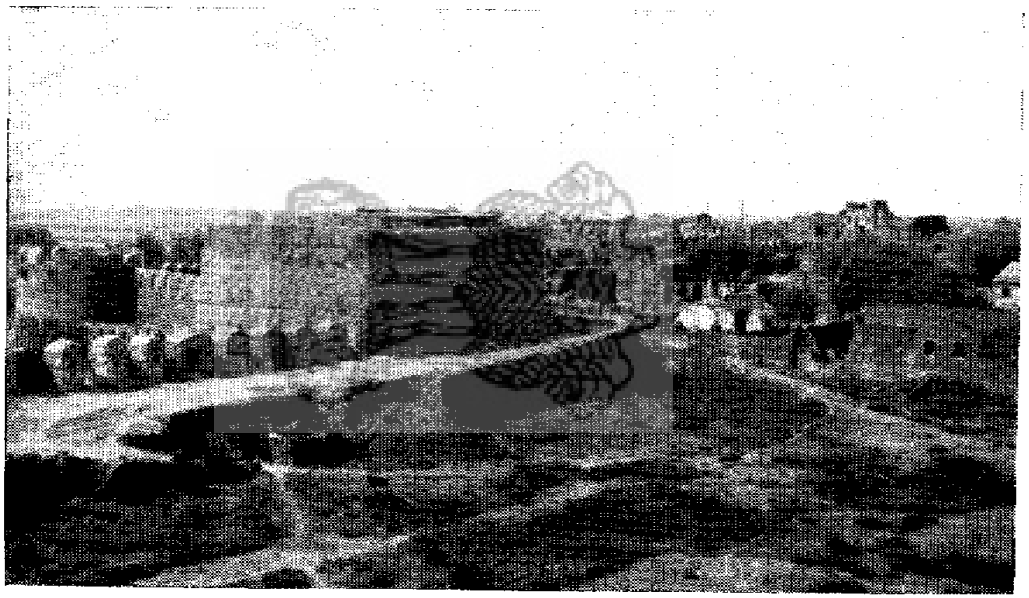
Golconda Fort, a front view



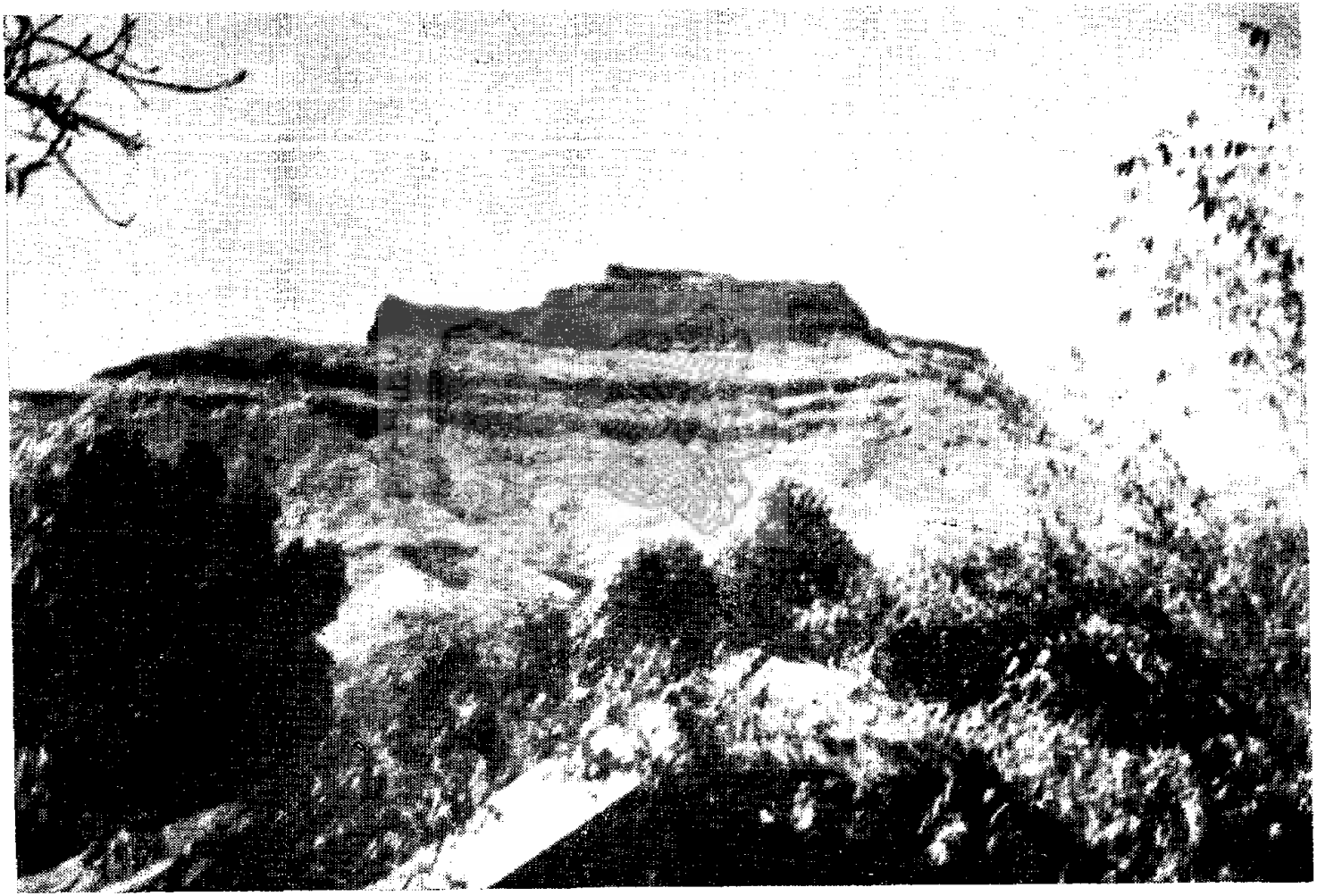
Naldurg Fort



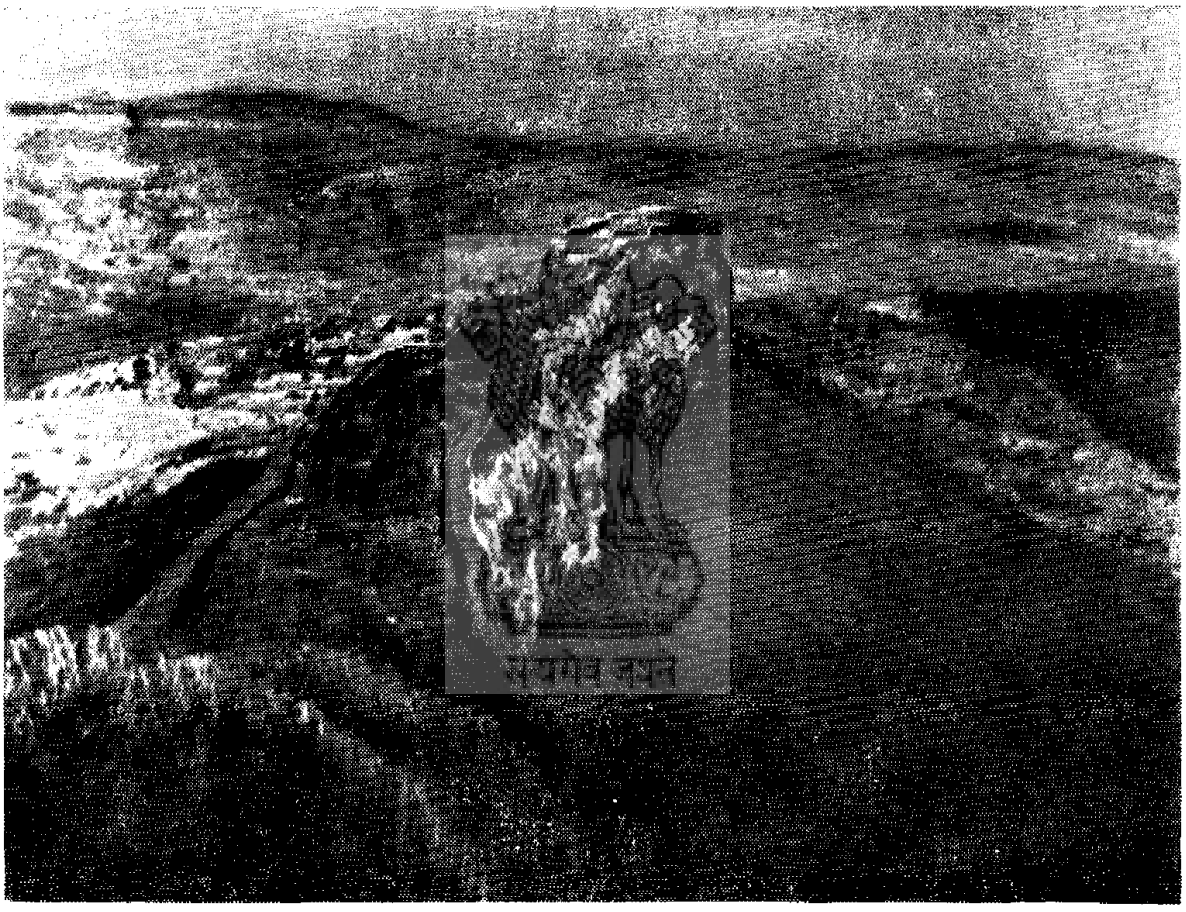
Tunga Fort



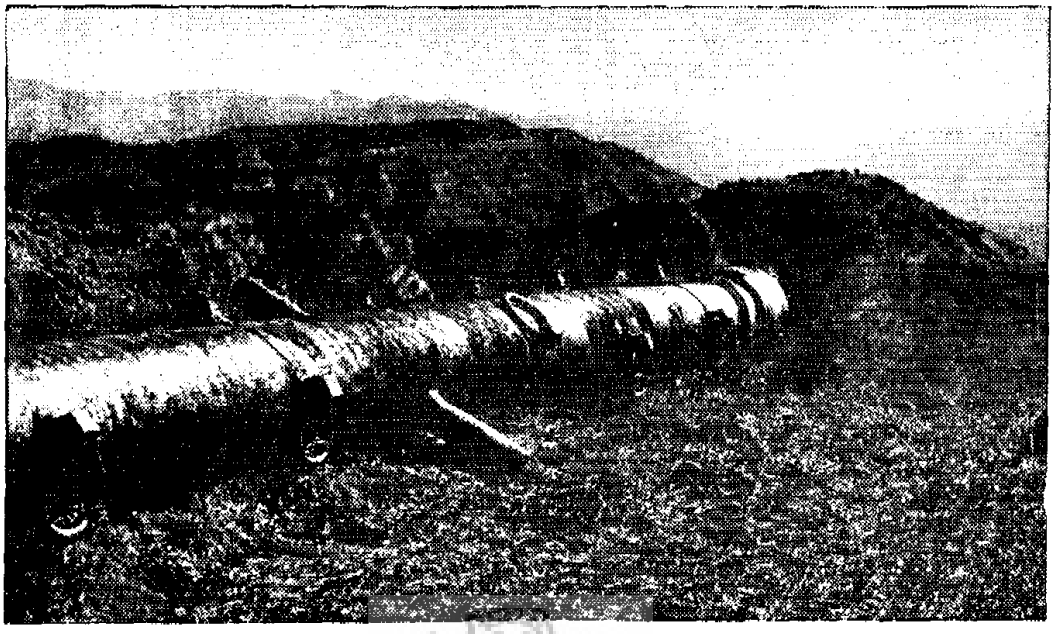
Gulbarga Fort, a general view



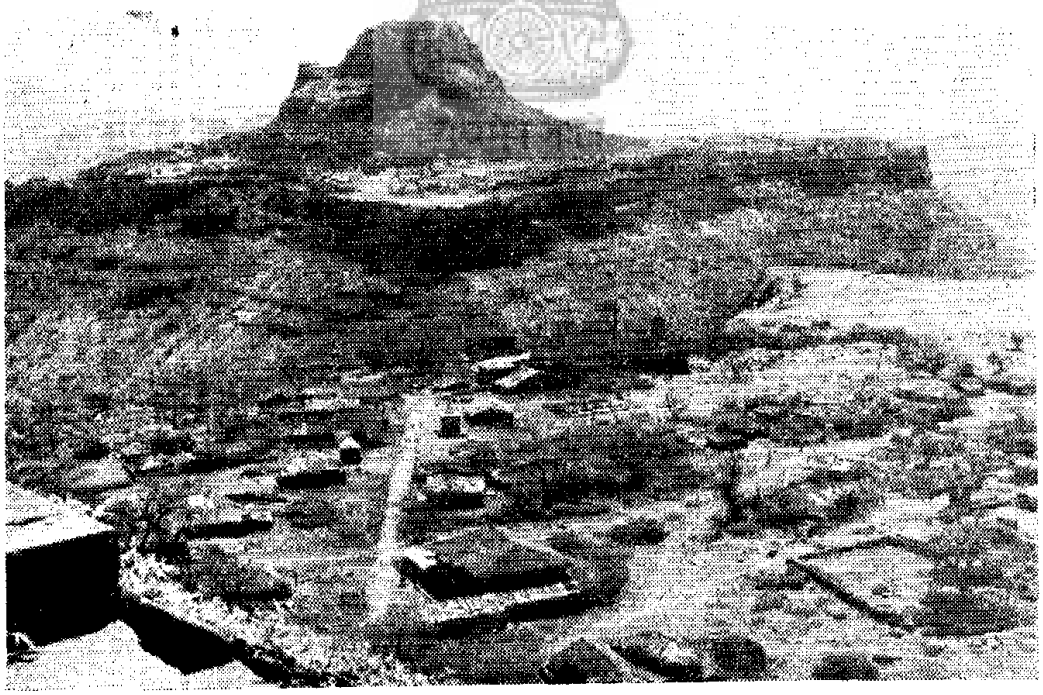
Torna Fort



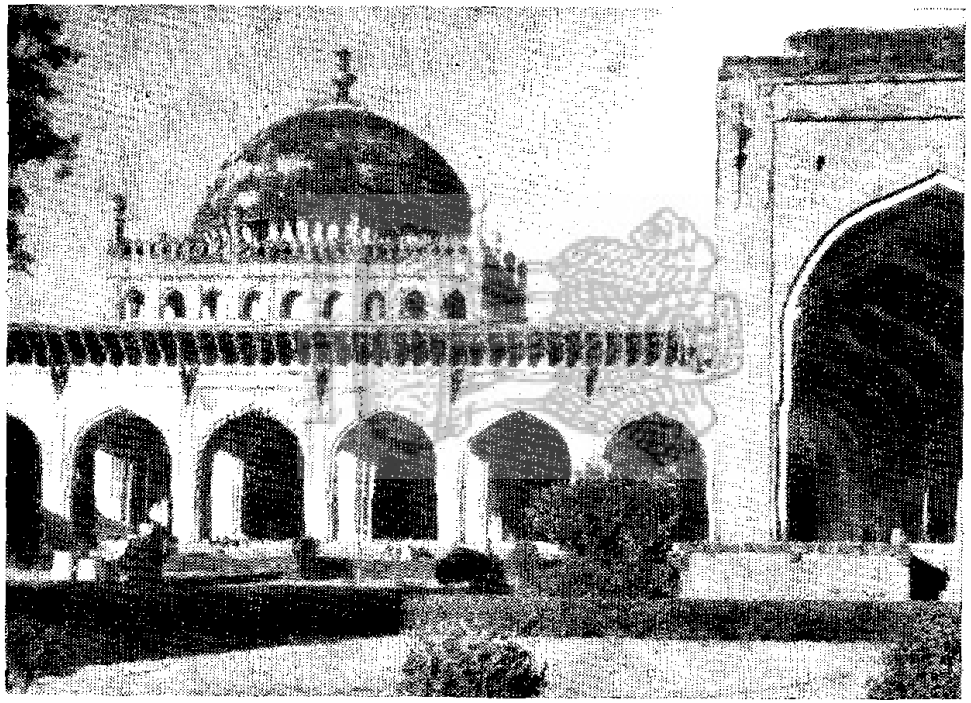
Vinchu-Kata, Lohagad Fort



Nav Gaz Toph, Gavilgad

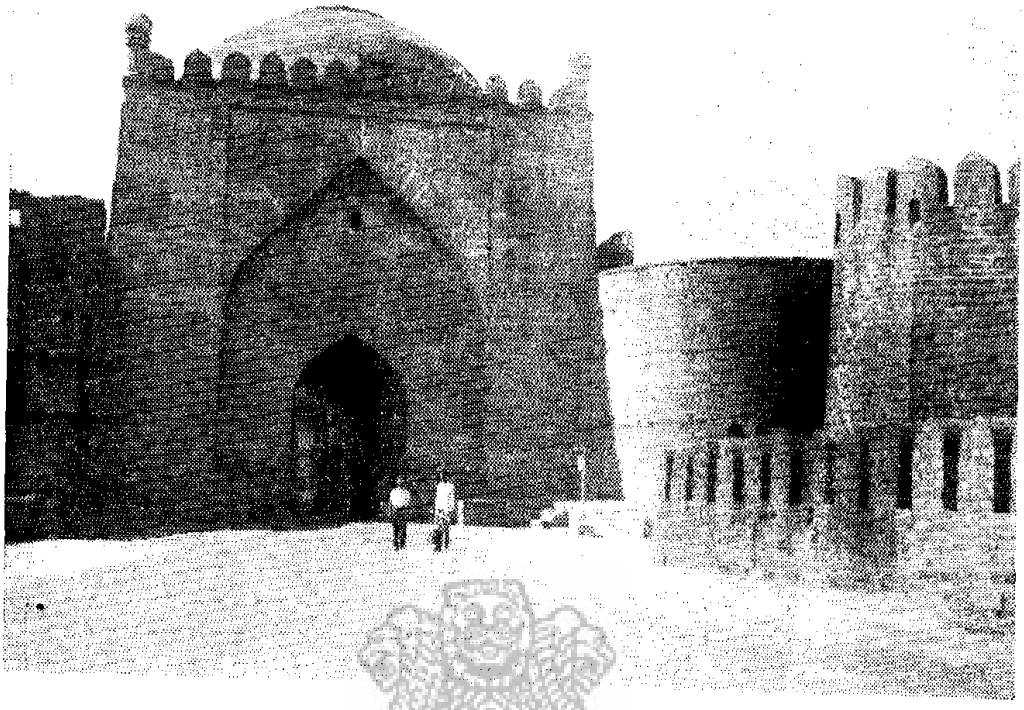


Dhodap Fort

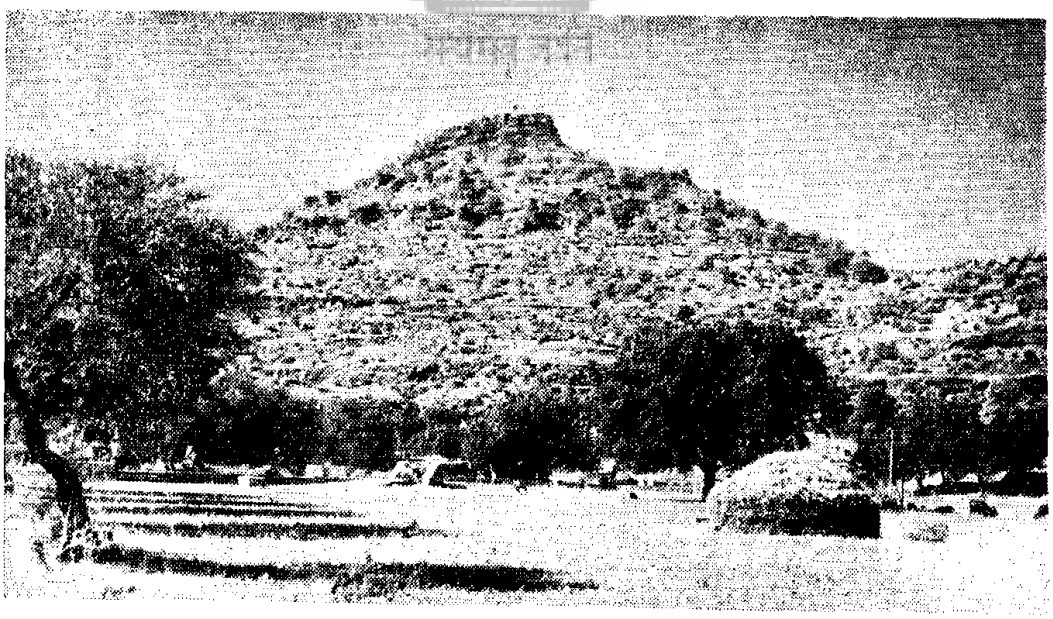


Jami Masjid, Bijapur

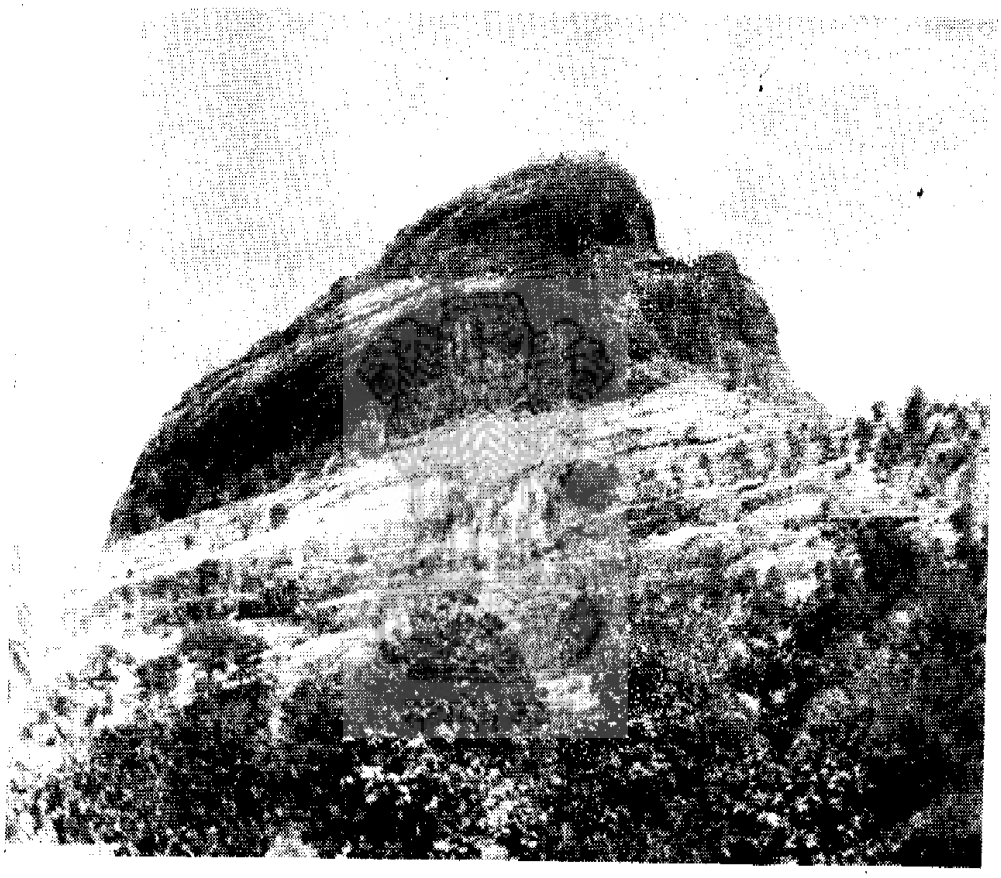
Sinhgad Fort



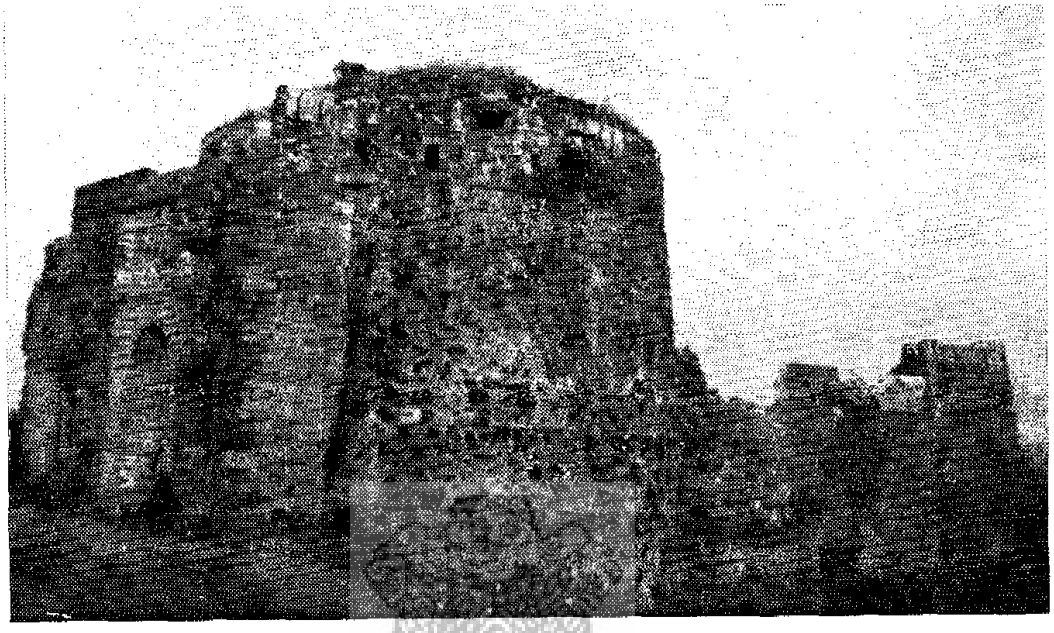
Gumbad Gate, Bidar Fort



Laling Fort

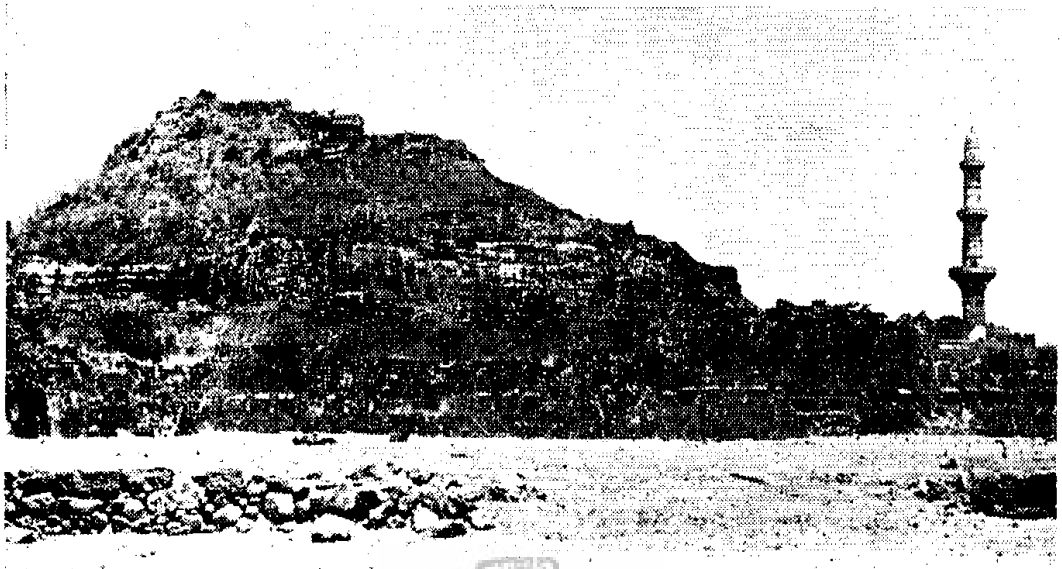


Sarasgad Fort

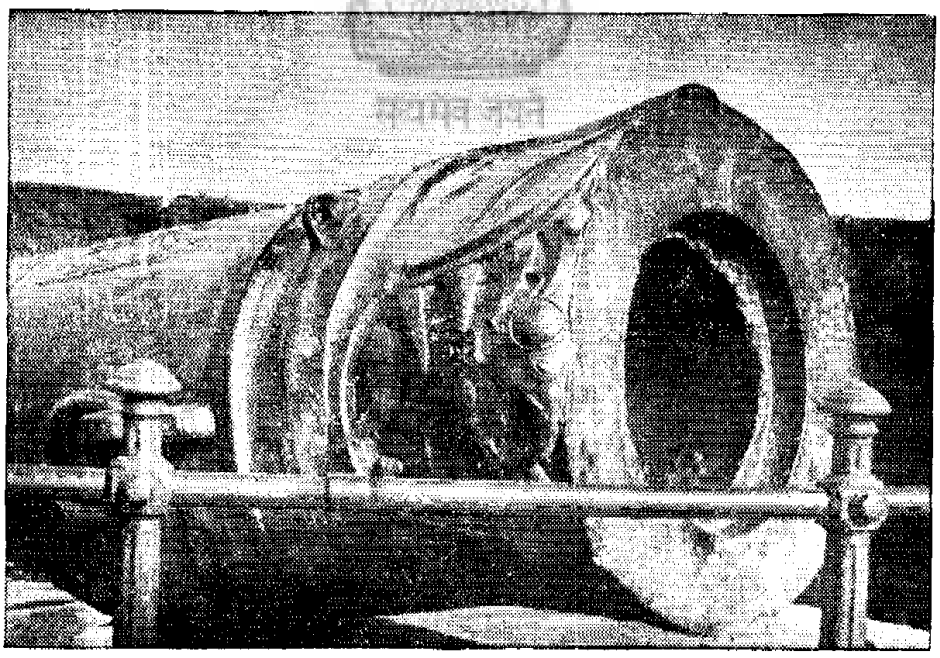


Chakan Fort

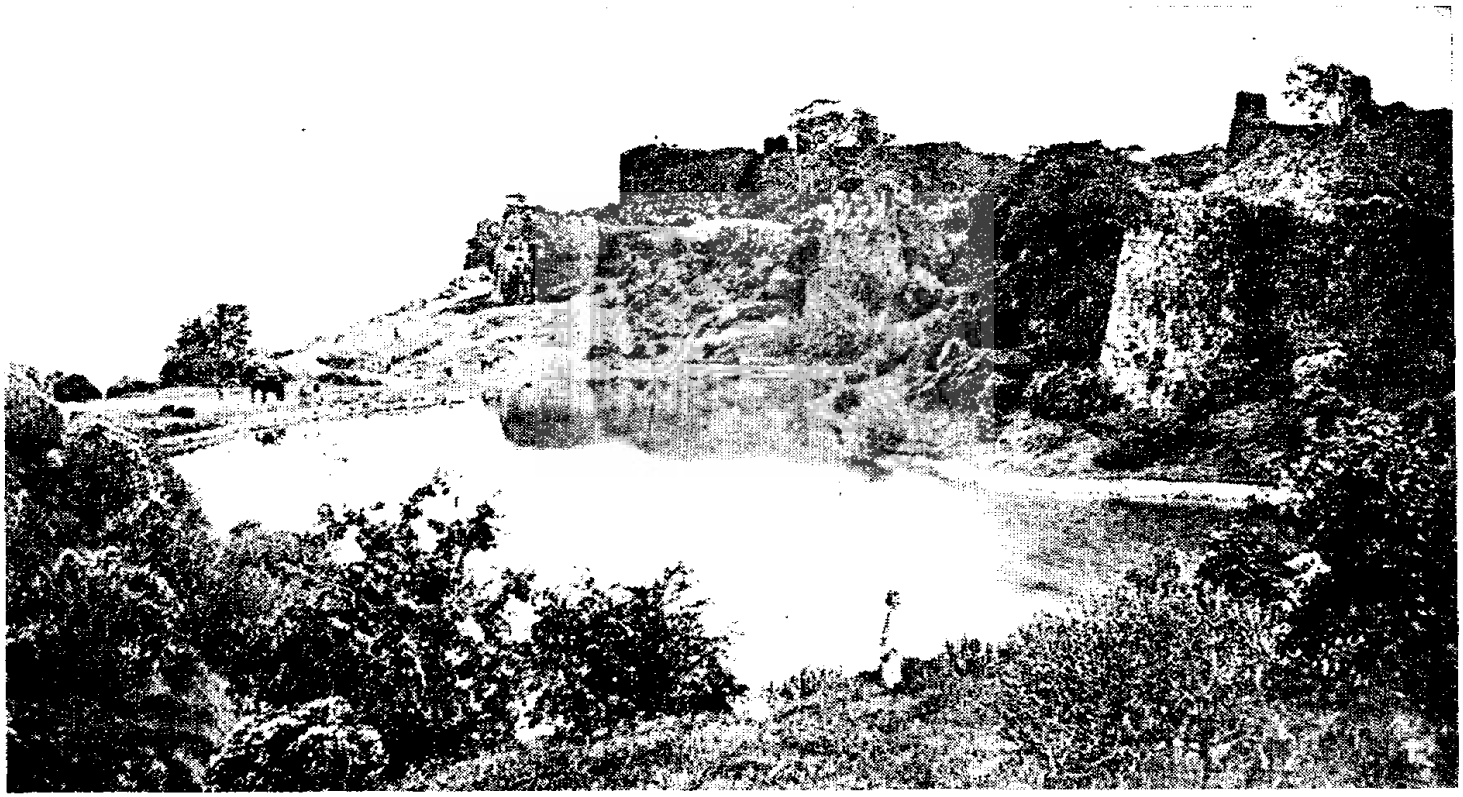
Thalner Fort



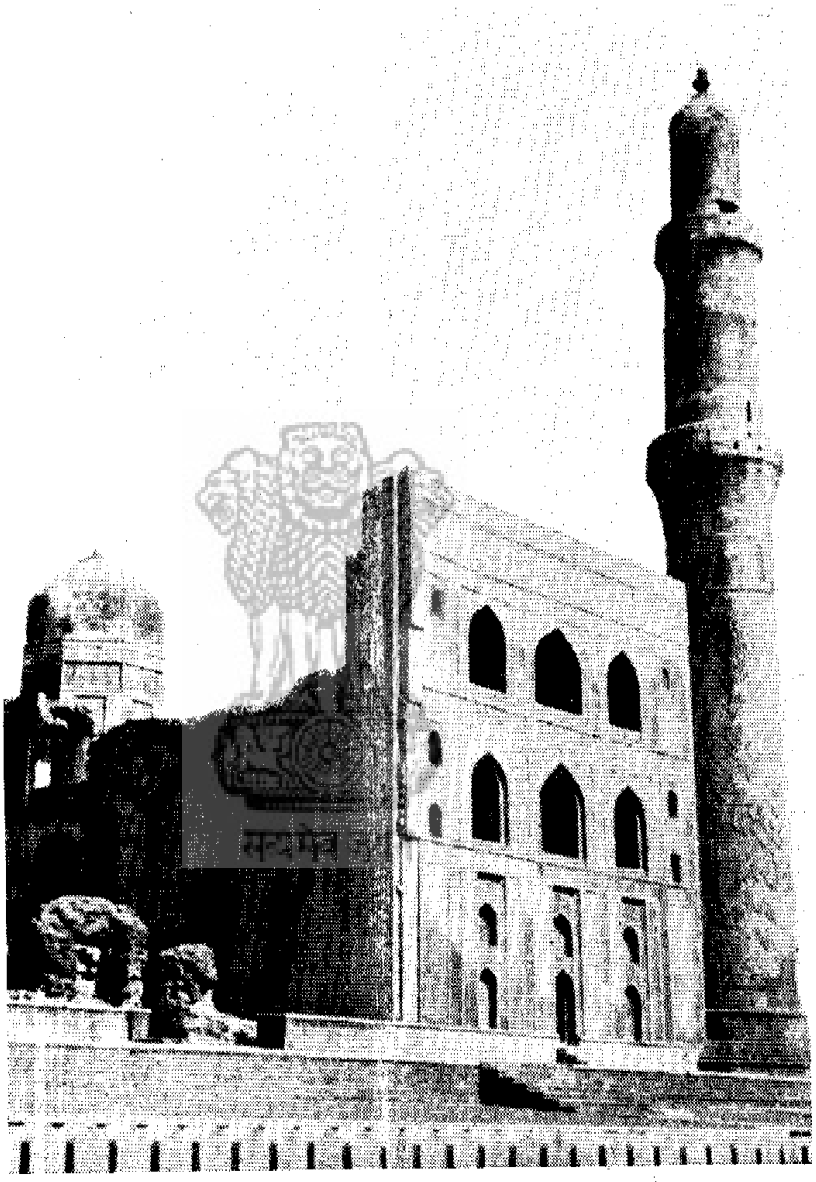
Daulatabad Fort



Mulukh Maidan Toph, Bijapur

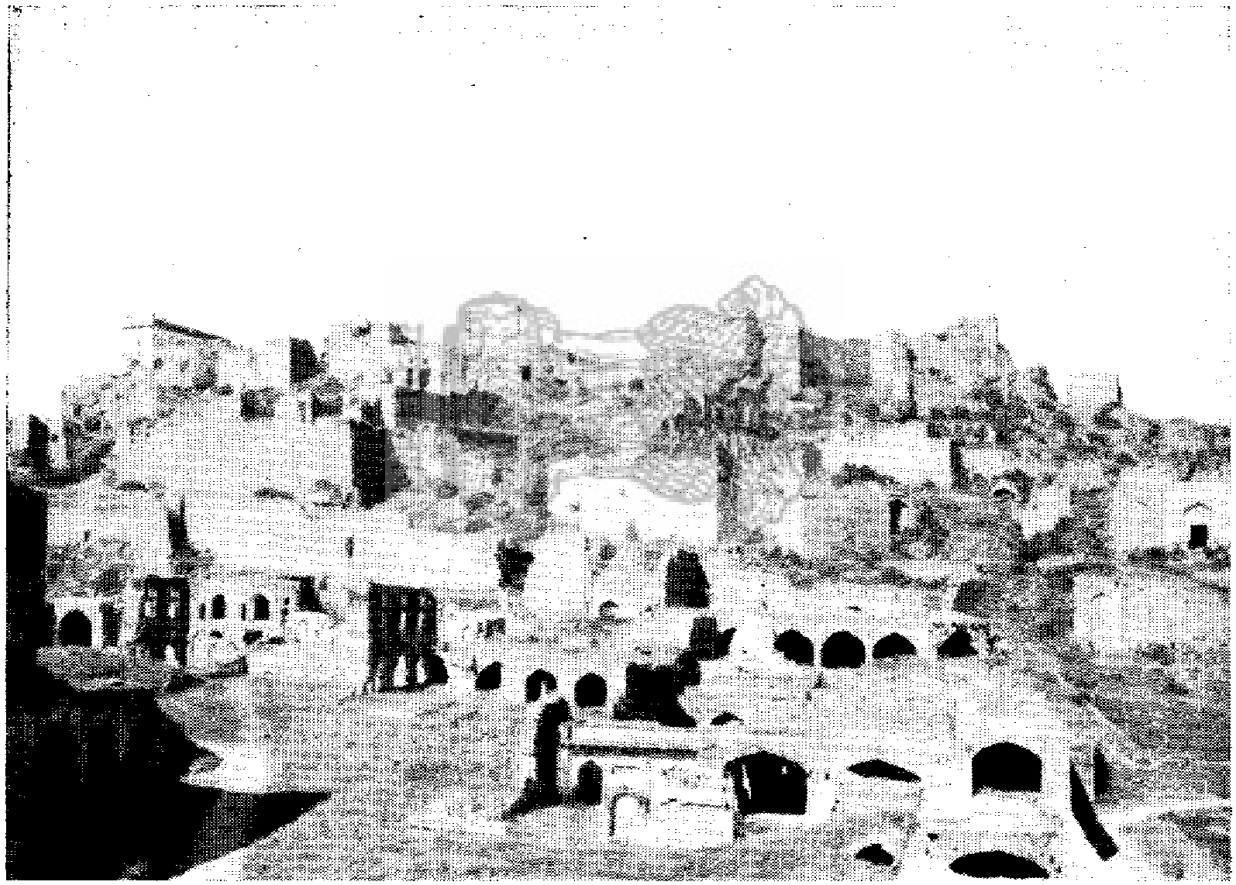


Gavilgad Fort

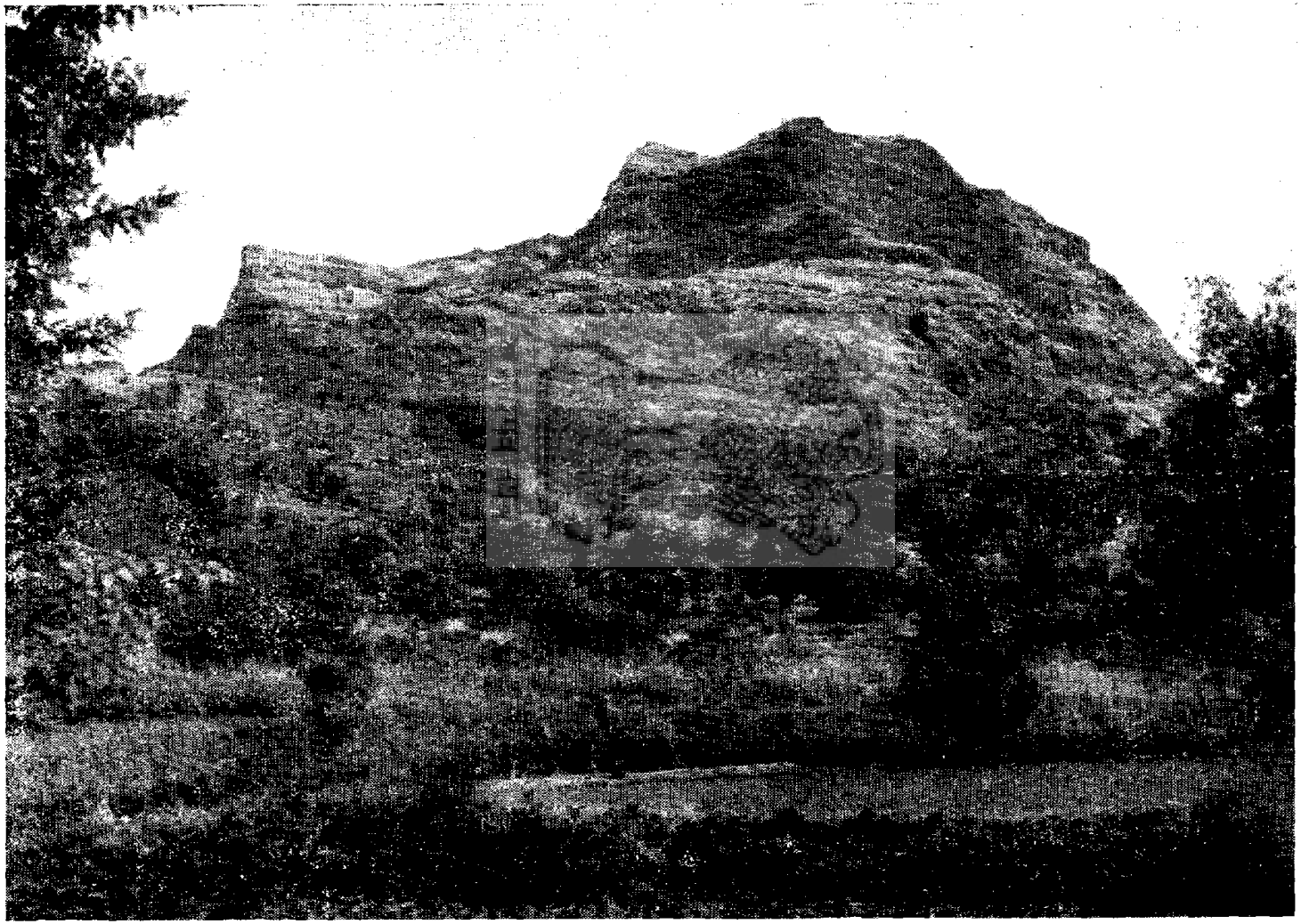


Madrasa, Bidar

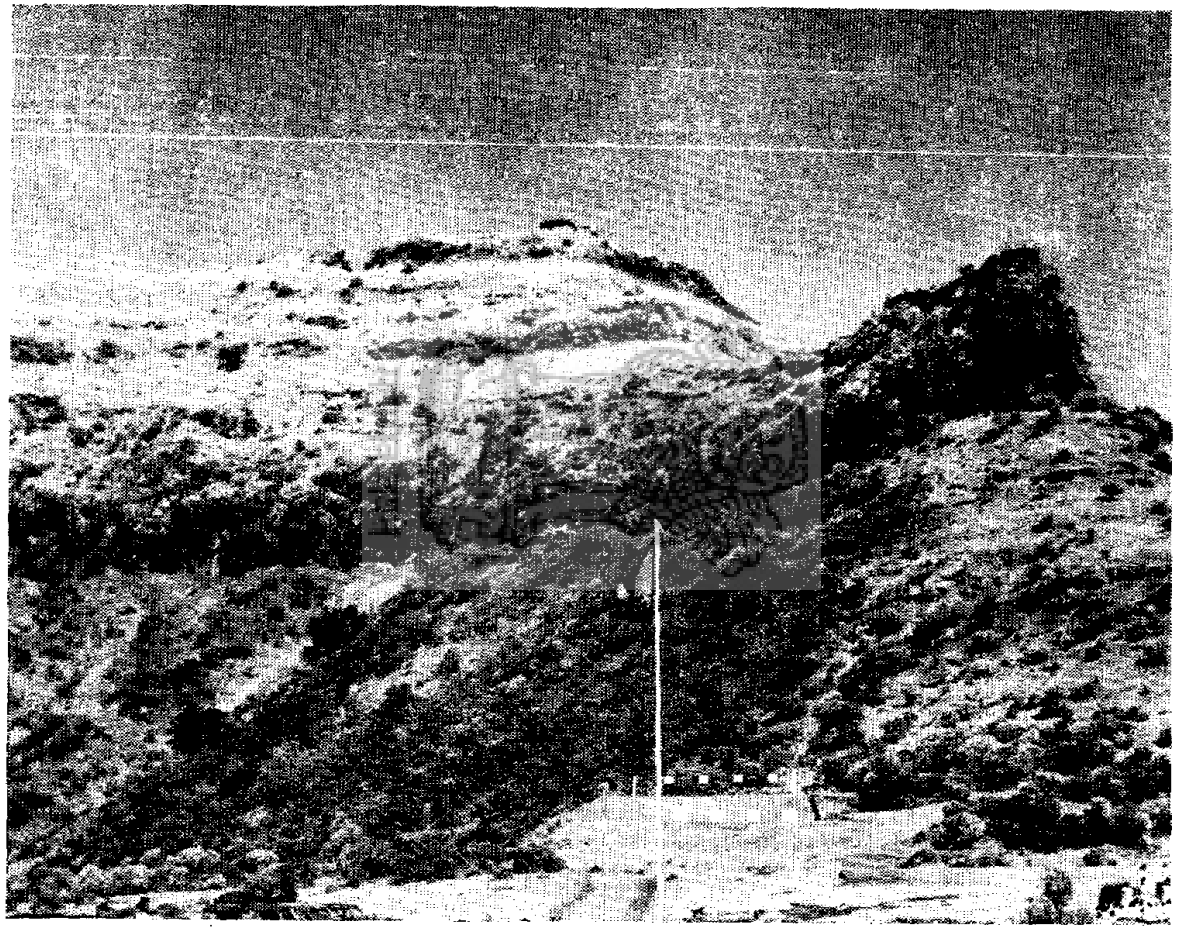
Balapur Fort



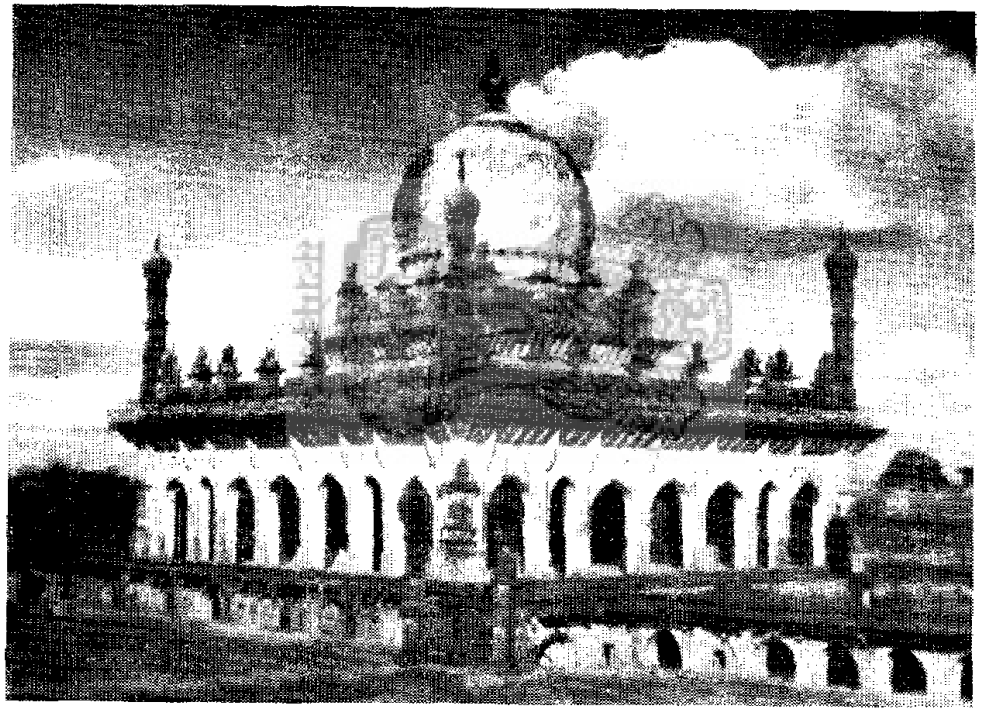
Golconda Fort, a general view



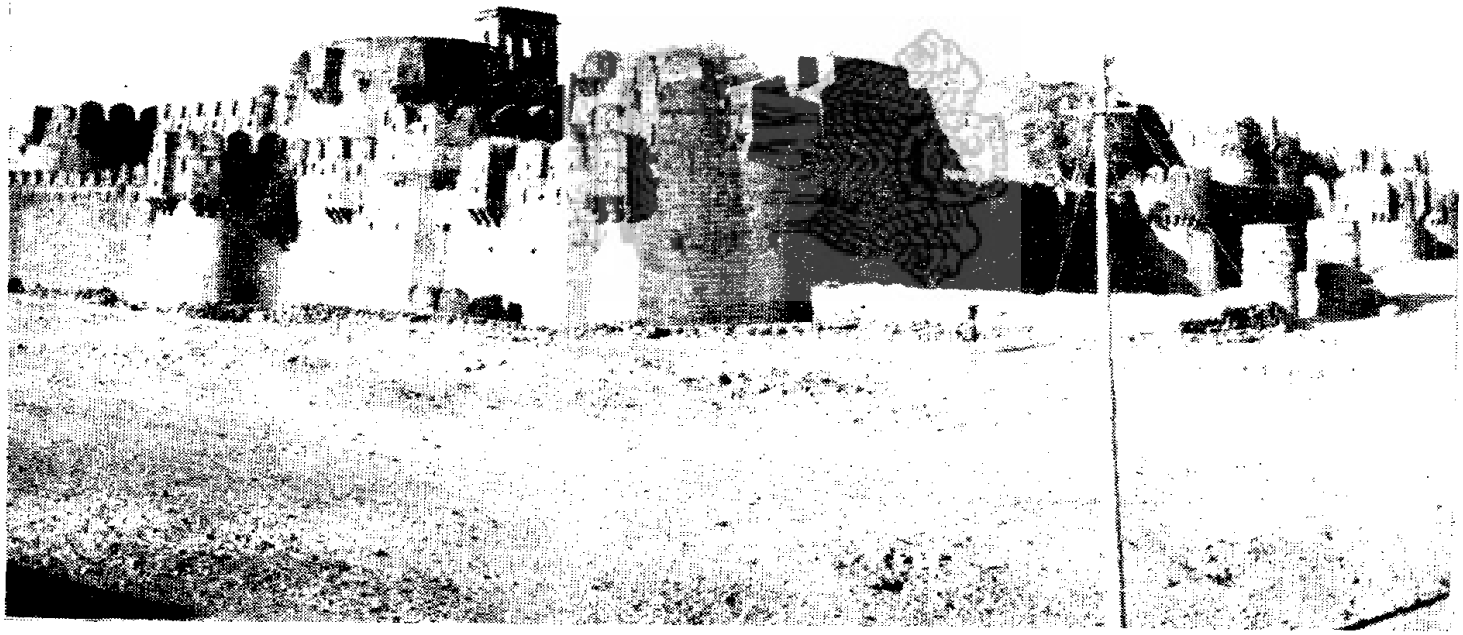
Raygad Fort



Purandar Fort

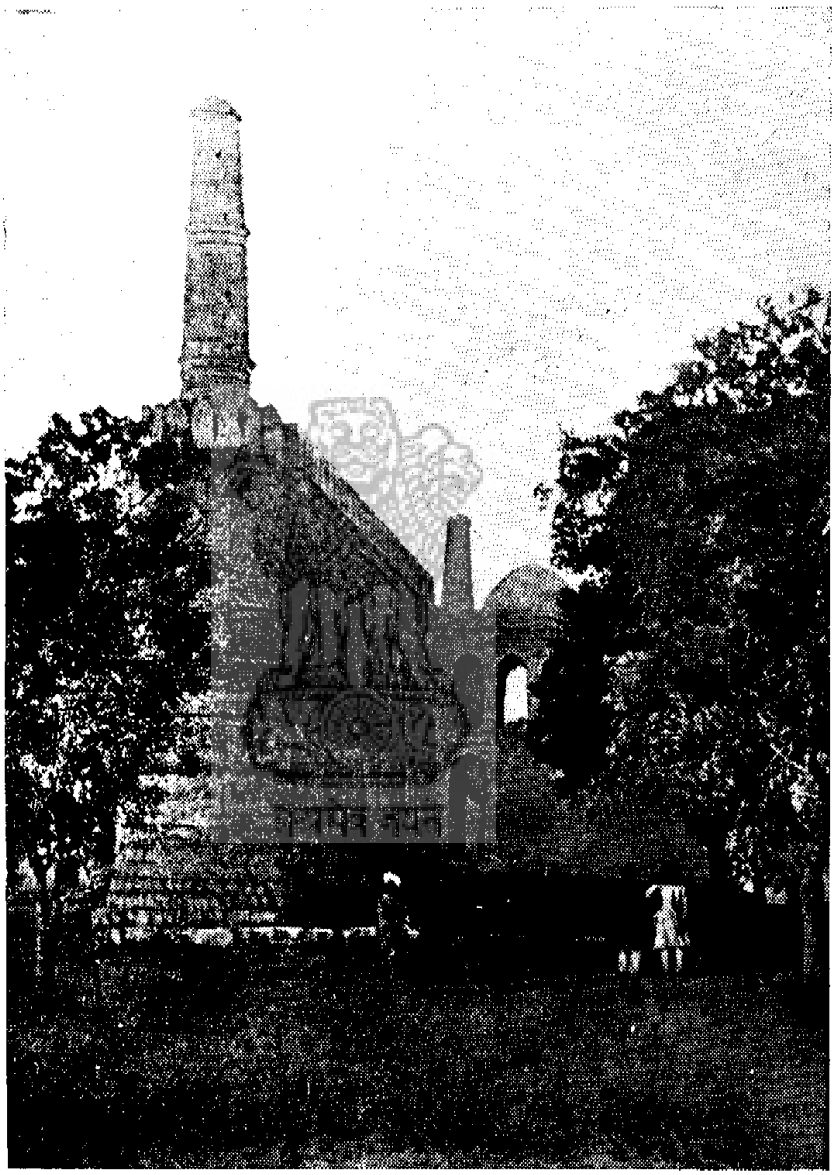


Ibrahim Roza, Bijapur

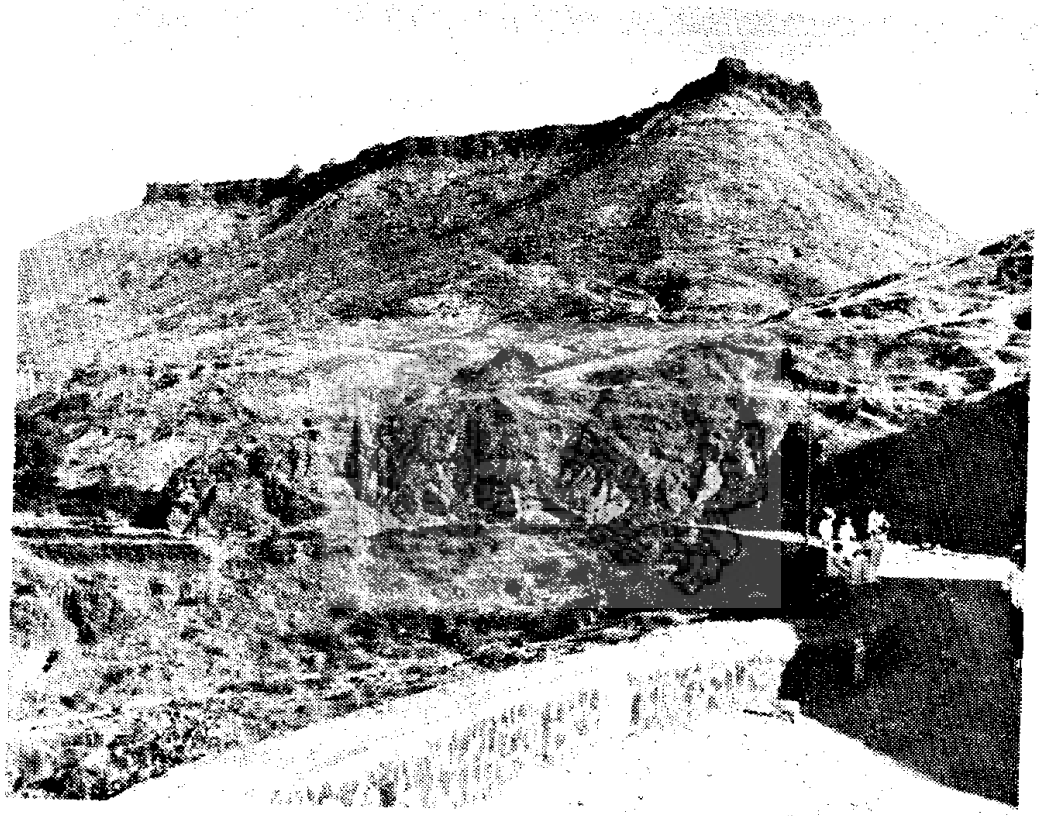


Parenda Fort

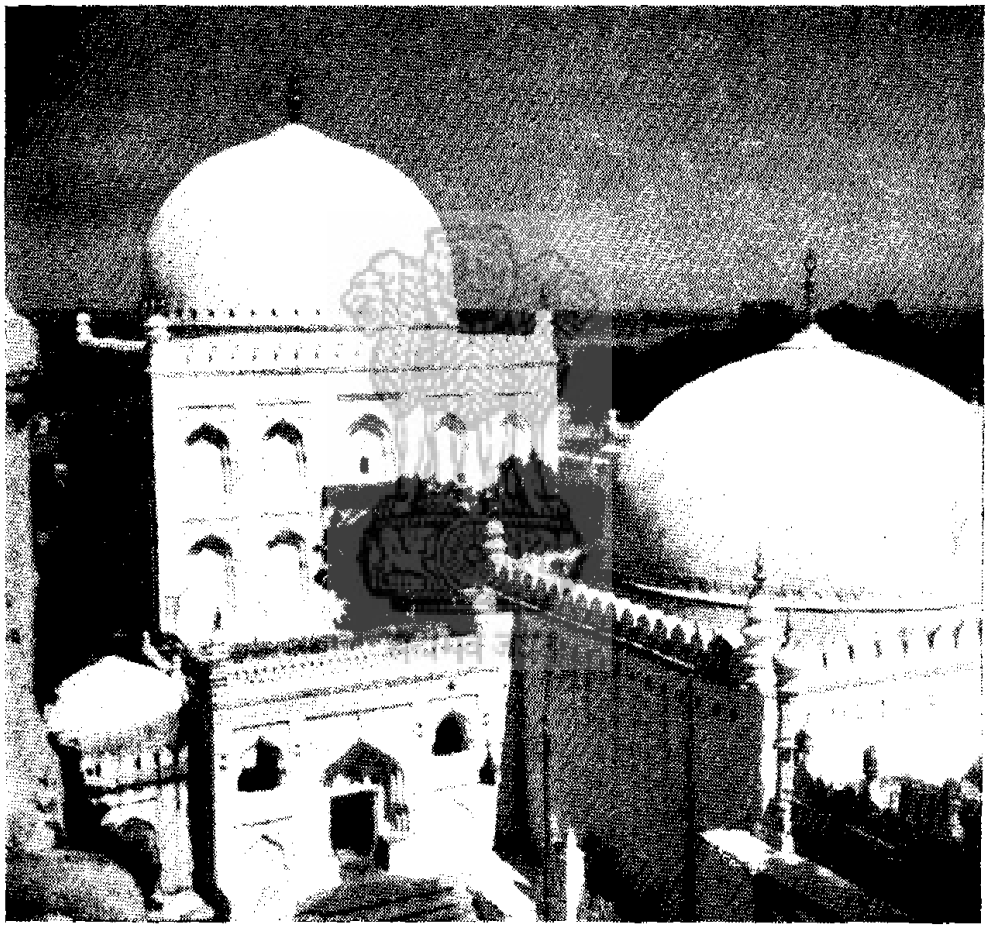
Shivneri Fort



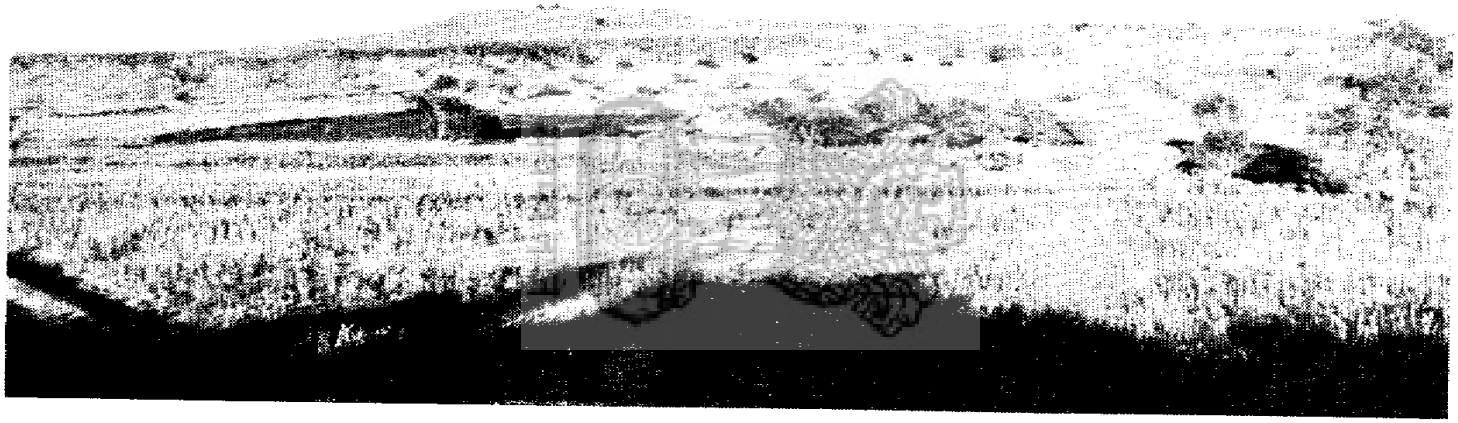
Idgah of Imad-ul-mulk, Ellichpur



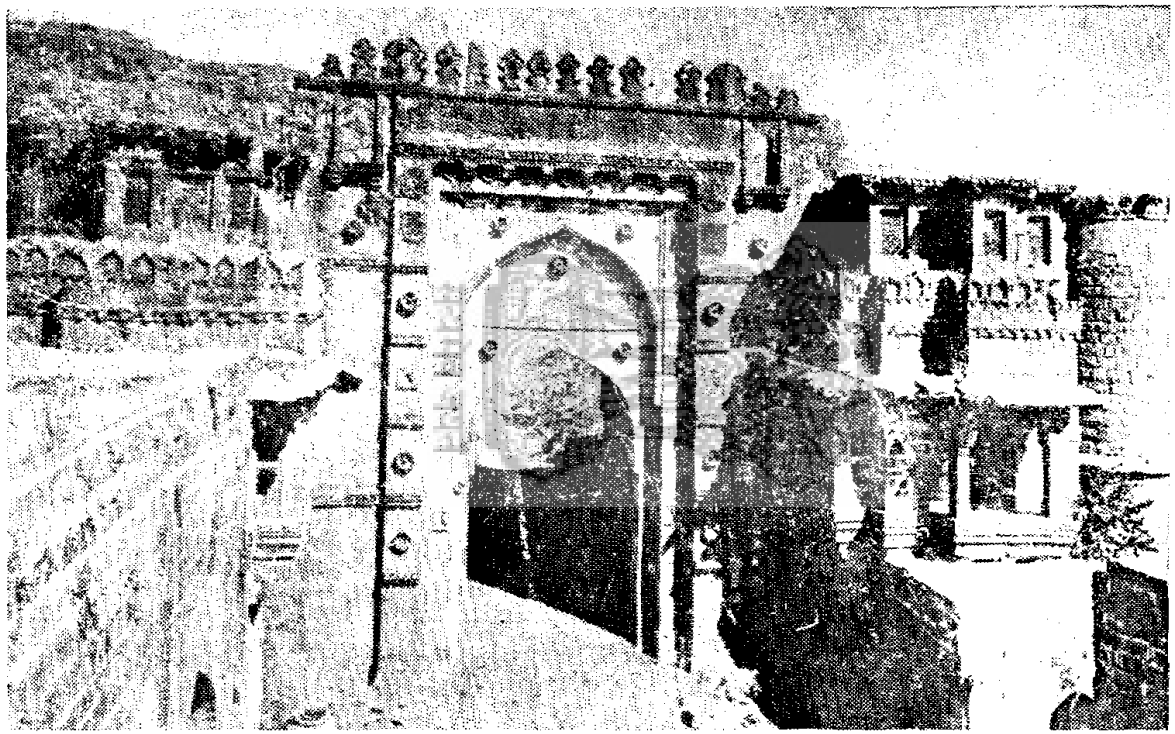
Satara Fort



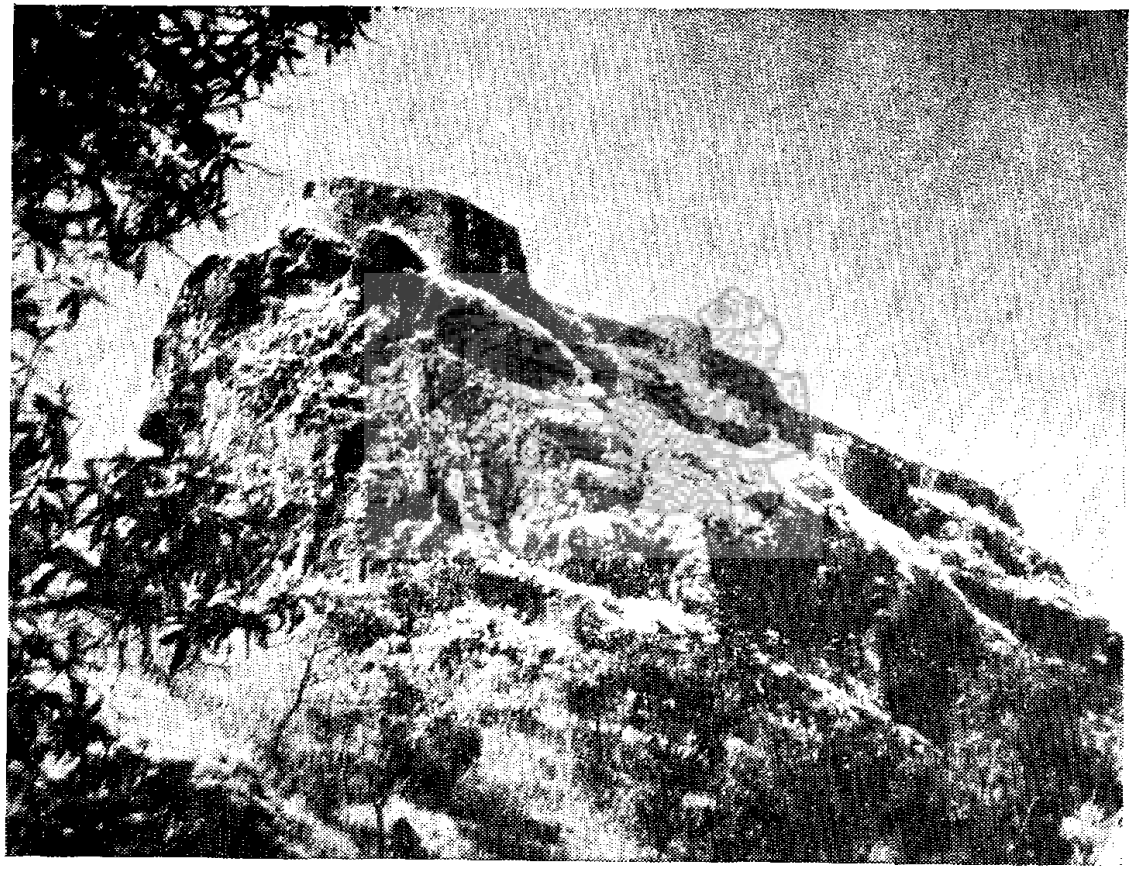
Bande Nawaz Dargah, Gulbarga



Bhopalgad Fort



Mahakali Gate, Narnala



Tikona Fort